

A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts in the Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries

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A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Edited by

Andrew H. Weaver



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Cover illustration: 'Die suessen Melodey', plate 24 of the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I, woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, begun 1512, published 1526. From *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Beilage to vol. 1 (Vienna, 1883-84), public domain. Courtesy Florida State University.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Weaver, Andrew H., editor.

Title: A companion to music at the Habsburg courts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries / edited by Andrew H. Weaver.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2020. | Series: Companions musical culture of medieval and early modern Europe, 2214-9511 ; volume 4 | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020027776 (print) | LCCN 2020027777 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004434363 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004435032 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Music--Europe--16th century--History and criticism. | Music--Europe--17th century--History and criticism. | Habsburg, House of--Music patronage.

Classification: LCC ML240.2 .C66 2020 (print) | LCC ML240.2 (ebook) | DDC 780.9/031--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020027776>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020027777>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2214-9511

ISBN 978-90-04-43436-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-43503-2 (e-book)

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hoteli Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

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Contents

Acknowledgements	IX
List of Illustrations	X
List of Tables	XII
List of Music Examples	XIII
Manuscript Sigla and Other Abbreviations	XIV
Notes on Contributors	XXIII

Introduction 1

Andrew H. Weaver

- 1 Politics, Religion, and Music at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts 16
Paula Sutter Fichtner with Andrew H. Weaver

PART 1

Institutional Contexts

- 2 The Court Chapels of the Habsburg-Burgundian Line: From Emperor Maximilian I to Emperor Charles V 59
Honey Meconi
- 3 The Court Chapels of the Spanish Line: From King Philip II to King Charles II 96
Pablo L. Rodríguez
- 4 The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (I): From Emperor Ferdinand I to Emperor Matthias 131
Jonas Pfohl
- 5 The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (II): From Archduke Charles II to Emperor Leopold I 176
Lawrence Bennett, Steven Saunders, and Andrew H. Weaver
- 6 The Court Chapels of the Tyrolean Line: From Archduke Ferdinand II to Archduke Ferdinand Charles 220
Sara Pecknold

PART 2***Cultural Contexts***

- 7 Italian Musical Dramatic Genres at the Courts of the Austrian Habsburgs 255
Herbert Seifert
- 8 Festivity and Spectacle at the Spanish Royal Court 273
Louise K. Stein
- 9 Contexts for and Functions of Instrumental Music in Central Europe 308
Charles E. Brewer
- 10 Manuscript Culture: The Habsburg-Burgundian Scriptorium and Some Successors 347
Honey Meconi
- 11 Print Culture: Printed Music and Other Media in the Service of the Habsburgs 397
Andrew H. Weaver
- 12 Colonialism and Music in Habsburg New Spain 439
Drew Edward Davies

PART 3***International Contexts***

- 13 Die Teutsche Nation: Musical Links between the Habsburg Courts and the German States of the Empire 467
Alexander J. Fisher
- 14 Milan: Imperial City and 'Theatre of the World' 499
Christine Getz
- 15 Musical Connections between the Austrian Habsburgs and Venice in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 534
Beth L. Glixon, Jeffrey Kurtzman, and Steven Saunders

- 16 A Tale of Two *entrate*: Processions, Politics, and Patronage for the
Habsburgs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rome 571
Virginia Christy Lamothe
- Index 611

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I must thank Kate Hammond, Acquisitions Editor at Brill, for approaching me about this project and helping to shepherd it through the proposal process. She and Marcella Mulder have been infinitely patient and helpful throughout the book's prolonged gestation. For their valuable assistance in various aspects of this project, but especially for their assistance early on in helping to shape the contents and select authors, I am grateful to Robert Bireley, Erika Supria Honisch, Honey Meconi, Luis Robledo, and Steven Saunders. My research assistant Anna Brashears has been instrumental in getting this book into its final form, performing numerous tasks from helping edit essays and checking sources to preparing the index. For their discerning eyes and help with the images I thank Benjamin Fresquez and Daniel Weaver, with extra special gratitude to Dan, as ever, for his boundless patience, love, and support. *I.L.D.E.U.E.*

Andrew H. Weaver

Illustrations

Figures

- 0.1 Habsburg family tree 11
- 2.1 Maximilian of Austria, manuscript illumination 60
- 2.2 The *Hofkapelle* as represented in the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I (plate 26), woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, begun 1512, published 1526 69
- 2.3 Maximilian I Hearing Mass, woodcut by Hans Weiditz the Younger, c. 1515-18 71
- 2.4 Philip the Fair, manuscript illumination 73
- 2.5 Charles V as Archduke, manuscript illumination 81
- 3.1 Plan of the chapel of the Royal Alcázar palace, drawing on paper, c. 1650 101
- 3.2 Carlos Patiño, painted by his son Pedro Félix Patiño 123
- 3.3 Claudio Coello, *La sagrada forma*, oil on canvas, 1685-90 126
- 4.1 Title page of the cantus partbook of Petrus Joannellus (ed.), *Novus atque catholicus thesaurus musicus, liber secundus* (Venice, 1568) 147
- 4.2 Banquet at Maximilian II's court in 1560, etching by Monogrammist FA, 1561 153
- 7.1 Scene from the carnival ballet in Prague, engraving, 1617 257
- 8.1 'Carro dell'America', engraving from Andrea Cirino, *Feste celebrate in Napoli per la nascita del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna* (Naples, 1659) 280
- 8.2 Illustration of the *loa* (prologue) from *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, drawing by Baccio del Bianco, 1653 285
- 8.3 Illustration from *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, drawing by Baccio del Bianco, 1653 285
- 9.1 'Die suessen Melodey', plate 24 of the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I, woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, begun 1512, published 1526 310
- 9.2 Detail of *The Fountain of Youth* depicting a bathhouse, woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham, c. 1536 319
- 10.1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 1783, fols. 1^v-2^r 351
- 10.2 Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 4, fols. 29v-30r 365
- 10.3 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 11883, fol. 30v 367
- 10.4 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus A Augusteus 2^o, fols. 28v-29r 378
- 10.5 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 19248, fol. 2r 391

- 11.1 Scenes from Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans, engraving by Lucas Schnitzer, 1636-37 403
- 11.2 Triumphal arch for Rudolph II's arrival into Wrocław (Breslau) on 24 May 1577, engraving by Johann Twenger, 1577 404
- 11.3 Title page of Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones sacrae ... liber primus* (Augsburg, 1559) 423
- 11.4 Frontispiece of Andreas Rauch, *Currus triumphalis musicus* (Vienna, 1648), partbook 1, engraving by Michael Frommer 432
- 12.1 Allegory of Christian evangelization in the Americas, engraving from Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579) 440
- 13.1 Eleonora Gonzaga's coronation as Empress in the Regensburg Cathedral, engraving, 1630 484
- 14.1 The first arch at the bridge of the Porta Romana for Charles V's triumphal entry into Milan, woodcut, 1541 513
- 14.2 Arch at the entrance to the Piazza Duomo for Charles V's triumphal entry into Milan, woodcut, 1541 514
- 16.1 Appearance of Religione in Act 3 of Stefano Landi's opera *Sant'Alessio*, engraving, 1634 589
- 16.2 Procession of Johann Anton von Eggenberg and his retinue into Rome, November 1638, etching 602

Maps

- 0.1 Map of Europe in the sixteenth century 14
- 0.2 Map of Europe after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) 15

Tables

3.1	Singers and instrumentalists in the Spanish royal chapel, according to Juan de Sigoney's documents (1580)	108
3.2	Posts for musicians within the institutional structure of the Spanish royal household between 1669 and 1670	109
4.1	Personnel of the court chapel of Maximilian II in 1554	145
10.1	Scribe B manuscripts, extant or documented	350
10.2	Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented	355
10.3	Likely lost Scribe B, Alamire, and Post-Alamire manuscripts	374
10.4	Post-Alamire manuscripts	381
14.1	Milanese prints dedicated to the Habsburgs	529
16.1	Major battles of the Thirty Years' War	587

Music Examples

- 3.1 Philippe Rogier, *Videntes stellam a 12*, bb. 16-21, 42-47, and 86-90 118
- 3.2 Sebastián Durón, Gloria from *Misa a cuatro coros con violines y clarín a la moda francesa*, bb. 35-42 125
- 9.1 Giovanni Valentini, *Sonata à 5* (Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS 2^o, 6o R₁), bb. 1-4 326
- 12.1 Anonymous, *Dios itlatzonantzine*, bb. 15-19 455
- 12.2 Thomas Crecquillon, *Ung gay bergier*, bb. 17-21 455
- 12.3 Hernando Franco, *Memento mei Deus*, bb. 1-9 458

Manuscript Sigla and Other Abbreviations

AntP B948 IV	Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek, MS B948 IV (covers)
AntP M18.13/1	Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek, MS M18.13 (fragment 1)
AntP M18.13/2	Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek, MS M18.13 (fragment 2)
AntP R 43.13	Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek, R 43.13
AugsS 7	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS Tonkunst Schletterer 7
AugsS 23	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS Tonkunst Schletterer 23
AugsS 25	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS Tonkunst Schletterer 25
AugsS 95	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS Tonkunst Schletterer 95
BerlS 30	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MS mus. 30
BerlS 40025	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MS mus. 40025
BHCC	Bruno Bouckaert and Eugene Schreurs (eds.), <i>The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire</i> , Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 5 (Leuven-Neerpelt, 2003)
BrugRA Aanw. 756	Bruges, Rijksarchief Aanwinsten 756
BrusBR IV.922	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.922
BrusBR 215-16	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MSS 215-16
BrusBR 228	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 228
BrusBR 6428	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 6428
BrusBR 9085	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9085
BrusBR 9126	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9126
BrusBR 11239	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11239
BrusBR 15075	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 15075
BrusC 20193	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 20193
BrusC 27086	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 27086
BrusC 27089	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 27089

BrusCPAS H1135	Brussels, Archives de la Commission d'Assistance publique de la ville de Bruxelles, Ms. H1135
BrusSG 9423	Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief van St.-Goedele, No. 9423
BrusSG 9424	Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief van St.-Goedele, No. 9424
CambraiBM 17	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 17
Cambri (Mass.) H 258	Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library, ms Typ 258
CoimU 2	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, ms M.2
ColnAEK 555	Cologne, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, St. Maria im Kapitol, A 11 555
ColnAEK 556	Cologne, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, St. Maria im Kapitol, A 11 556
CopKB 1872	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Ms. Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4 ^o
DetrIA 30.374	The Detroit Institute of Arts, Accession No. 30.374
EscSL iv.a.24	Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, ms iv.a.24
FlorAS 1597	Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato, filza 1597
FlorAS 3029	Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato, filza 3029
FlorC 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, ms Basevi 2439
GhentR D 3360b	Ghent, Rijksarchief, fonds Varia D 3360b
GrazU 67	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms 67
GrazU 2064	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms 2064
's-HerAB 72A	's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, ms 72A
's-HerAB 72B	's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, ms 72B
's-HerAB 72C	's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, ms 72C
InnsSA 5374	Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras, Inventar #5374
InnsSI 1609/11	Innsbruck, Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, Ratsprotokolle 1609/11
InnsTLA 17	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Oberösterreichische Regierung, Kopialbücher, Causa Domini 17
InnsTLA 35	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Landesfürstliche Kanzleien, Kanzlei Erzherzog Leopold V., Akten, Sonderposition 35
InnsTLA 39	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Aktenselekte, Ferdinanda, Pos. 39

InnsTLA 115	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Oberösterreichische Kammer, Raitbuch 115
InnsTLA 162.2	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Aktenselekte, Ferdinanda, Pos. 162.2
InnsTLA 182	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Aktenselekte, Ferdinanda, Pos. 182
InnsTLA 710	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Kunstsachen I 710
InnsTLA 991/2	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, MF 991/2
InnsTLA 991/4	Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, MF 991/4
JenaU 2	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2
JenaU 3	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 3
JenaU 4	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 4
JenaU 5	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 5
JenaU 7	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 7
JenaU 8	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 8
JenaU 9	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 9
JenaU 12	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 12
JenaU 20	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 20
JenaU 21	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 21
JenaU 22	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 22
JenaU 30	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 30
JenaU 31	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 31
JenaU 32	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 32
JenaU 33	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 33
JenuU 35	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 35
JenaU 36	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 36
KasL 60 R ₁	Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS 2 ^o , 60 R ₁
KrakJ 40 043	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ms. 40 043
LimaPM 33	Lima, Archivo del Palacio Municipal de Lima, Libro 33 de Cabildos
LimaNP C-149	Lima, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, MS C-149
LonBLE 1822-1823	London, British Library, MS Egerton 1822-1823
LonBLR 8 G.vii	London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G. vii
LüneR 28	Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, MS Mus. ant. pract. K.N. 28
LüneR 207	Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, MS Mus. ant. pract. K.N. 207
MadAGP A 649	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Administrativa, leg. 649
MadAGP A 116	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Administrativa, leg. 116
MadAGP A 5638	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Administrativa, leg. 5638
MadAGP H 113	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Histórica, caja 113
MadAGP RC 72	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Real Capilla, caja 72

MadAGP RC 79	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Real Capilla, caja 79
MadAGP RC 223	Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Real Capilla, caja 223
MadHM M-34	Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica Municipal de Madrid, M-34
MadN 2431	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Sección de Música, MS M. 2431
MadN 8740	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Sección de Musica, MS 8740
MadN 14069/221-232	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14069/221-232
MadN 14842	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 14842
MadRAH 9/708	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 9/708
MantuaAS E.VI.3	Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Seria E.VI.3
MechAS s.s.	Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, MS s.s.
MilAS 46	Milan, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci Reali 46 (1603-1604: Filippo III)
MilAS 47	Milan, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci Reali 47 (1605-1606: Filippo III)
MilAS 48-49	Milan, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci Reali 48-49 (1607-1609: Filippo III)
MilAS 1824	Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo di Religione 1824 (Milano-Conventi-S. Maria Segreta-Somaschi-Culto), Libro della Cura di S. Nazaro Pietra Santa e Santa Maria Segreta dal 1570 al 1580
MilAS XII/46	Milan, Archivio di Stato, Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XII/46 (Mandati 1603-1604)
MilASD XIII/5-6	Milan, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Archivio spirituale x (Visite pastorali e documenti aggiunti), San Fedele XIII, fasc. 5-6
MilASD Q. 19	Milano, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Archivio Spirituale x, Miscellanea Citta IX (Visite pastorali e documenti aggiunti), Q. 19
MontsM 765	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 765
MontsM 766	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 766
MontsM 767	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 767
MontsM 768	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 768
MontsM 769	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 769
MontsM 771	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 771
MontsM 772	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 772
MontsM 773	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 773
MontsM 774	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 774
MontsM 775	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 775
MontsM 776	Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 776
MunBS 6	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 6

MunBS 7	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 7
MunBS 34	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 34
MunBS 35	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 35
MunBS 36	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 36
MunBS 37	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 37
MunBS 38	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 38
MunBS 82	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 82
MunBS 510	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. ms. 510
MunBS A 11	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung, Mus. ms. A 11
MunBS F	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung, Mus. ms. F
NapBN X.B.19	Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III MS X.B.19
NurGN 83795	Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 83795
NYorkP 76-235	New York Public Library, Humanities-Rare Books, KSD 76-235
OttB 3	Ottobeuren, Benediktinerabtei Sign. Lit. 3
OxfBA 831	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 831
OxfBLL a.8	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Latin liturgies a.8
PragNM AZ 33	Prague, Národní Muzeum, MS AZ 33
PragU XVII A 32	Prague, Státní Knihovna ČSR XVII A 32
PragU XVII A 39	Prague, Státní Knihovna ČSR XVII A 39
RegB 775-777	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A.R. 775-777
RegB 908-929	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A.R. 908-929
RegB 940/41	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A.R. 940/41
RegB C90	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS C90
RegB C120	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS C120
RegT 5	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, MS Freie Künste Musik 5
RegT 48	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, MS Freie Künste Musik 48
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RomeAS 23	Rome, Archivio di Stato, MS Archivio Camerale Series 2, 23

RomeAS 69	Rome, Archivio di Stato, Santacroce vol. 69
SGalls 461	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 461
SubA 248	Subiaco, Monumento Nazionale dell'Abbazia di Santa Scolastica, Biblioteca Statale, MS 248
ToleAHN 75/2	Toledo, Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, <i>Osuna</i> , Cartas leg. 75/2
ToleF 23	Toledo, Catedral, Obra y Fábrica, MS Reservado 23
TongerensA 183	Tongerens, Stadsarchief, Oud regime MS 183
<i>Treasury</i>	Herbert Kellman (ed.), <i>The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535</i> (Ghent-Amsterdam, 1999)
TrentBC 1947-4	Trent, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 1947-4
TrentC 88	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1375
TrentC 93	Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare/Museo Diocesano di Trento, MS B.L.
UtreC 47/1 & 2	Utrecht, Rijksmuseum, Het Catherijneconvent, MS 47, fragments 1 and 2
VatB 5322	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberiniani Latini 5322
VatB 6362	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberiniani Latini 6362
VatC 205	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VII.205
VatC 234	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C.VIII.234
VatO 2701	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottoboniani Latini 2701
VatO 3394	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottoboniani Latini 3394
VatP 1976-79	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Palatini Latini 1976-79
VatS 34	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 34
VatS 36	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 36
VatS 160	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 160
VatSD 58	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina Diario, vol. 58

VatV 11953	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 11953
VatV 12353	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 12353
VatV 12431	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 12431
VatV 13363	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vaticani Latini 13363
VenASP 71	Venice, Archivio storico del patriarcato di Venezia, Examinum matrimoniorum, b. 71, Ex actis Leopardi
VerBC 756	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Mus. MS 756
VienHHSA 186	Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Hofarchiv, Obershofmeisteramt, Sonderreihe, Bd. 186
VienHKA W61/A/32	Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten, W61/A/32
VienKHM GG_1059	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. nr. GG_1059
VienKHM 5269	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kk. Inv. nr. 5269
VienNB 1783	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 1783
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VienNB Ser. nov. 4270	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nov. 4270
VienNB Sup. Mus. 2451	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Cod. Suppl. Mus. 2451
WeimB A	Weimar, Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde, MS A
WhalleyS 23	Whalley (Lancashire), Stonyhurst College Library, MS B. VI.23
WolfA A	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus A Augusteus 2°

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Introduction

Andrew H. Weaver

Few royal families have been subjected to as much scholarly scrutiny or have impacted the popular imagination as much as the Habsburgs. But then again, there has never been a royal family quite like the Habsburgs. They remain unsurpassed in the length of their rule – spanning eight centuries from the thirteenth until the twentieth – as well as in the geographical scope of the territories they ruled, stretching as far north as the Netherlands, as far south as Spain and Naples, as far east as Hungary, and as far west as the colonies in the New World. The titles held by various members of the family are too numerous to list; in addition to countless archduchies and governorships, they also claimed several royal crowns (including those of Spain, Bohemia, and Hungary), not to mention the prestigious (but in many ways meaningless) title of Holy Roman Emperor. This latter title, an elected one, first came to the family in 1273, and after a few gaps, the Habsburgs managed to hold it continuously from 1438 until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 (at which point they took on the title of Emperor of Austria until the final dissolution of that Empire in 1918).

While there is no shortage of general overviews of the Habsburg dynasty from a wide range of disciplinary angles,¹ no books have provided a detailed

1 A representative sample of titles just within the past three decades is: Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire* (London, 1997); Benjamin W. Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2013); Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2003); Michael Erbe, *Die Habsburger 1493-1918: Eine Dynastie im Reich und in Europa* (Stuttgart, 2000); R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 2002); Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490-1848: Attributes of Empire* (Houndmills, 2003); Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (London, 2014); Andreas Hansert, *Die Habsburger: Geschichte einer Herrscherdynastie* (Petersberg, 2009); Heinz-Dieter Heimann, *Die Habsburger: Dynastie und Kaiserreiche* (Munich, 2001); Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge, 1994); Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, 2016); A. Wess Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire* (Princeton, 2018); Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York, 2001); Dietmar Pieper and Johannes Saltzwedel (eds.), *Die Welt der Habsburger: Glanz und Tragik eines europäischen Herrscherhauses*, 2 vols. (Munich, 2010); Walter Pohl, Karl Vocelka, and Brigitte Vacha, *Die Habsburger: Eine europäische Familiengeschichte* (Graz, 1992); Martyn C. Rady, *The Habsburg Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2017); Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (eds.), *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit 1519-1918* (Munich, 1990); René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaekers, and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds.), *A Constellation of Courts: The Courts and*

survey of music at the Habsburg courts over a broad span of time, despite the fact that the Habsburgs' enthusiastic patronage of music is widely celebrated and has been thoroughly investigated by scholars. These are, after all, the rulers who inherited the legendary artistic and musical glories of the court of Burgundy, who employed some of the best musicians of the day, and who actively took part in such new musical developments as the rise of the *stile moderno* and the growth of opera in the early seventeenth century. Several Habsburg rulers were even active as composers themselves. Only one book, Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher's *Mit Leier und Schwert: Die Habsburger und die Musik* (Graz etc., 2000), provides an overview of Habsburg musical patronage; spanning the entire chronological range from 1273 to 1918 in under 300 pages, this survey, while valuable, is unable to dig into the material in much depth. The numerous existing studies of music at the Habsburg courts have focused instead on limited chronological and/or geographical ranges. Many encompass the reign of just one ruler,² while others approach the material through the lens of a single composer,³ or even a single musical

Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665 (Leuven, 2014); Karl Vocelka and Lynne Heller, *Die Lebenswelt der Habsburger: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte einer Familie* (Graz, 1997); and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London, 1995). See also the well-curated website *Die Welt der Habsburger*, <<http://www.habsburger.net>> (accessed 24 June 2020).

- 2 See, for instance: Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London etc., 1973); Georges van Doorslaer, 'La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau', in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 4 (1934), 21-57, 139-65; Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion*, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 12 (Woodbridge, 2012); Robert Lindell, 'Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1994), 254-71; Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* (Tutzing, 1980); Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995); Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012); and Michaela Zackova Rossi, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576-1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers*, *Clavis monumentorum musicorum regni Bohemiae: Subsidia* 6 (Prague, 2017). A related approach is to focus on one geographical location, as in Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton (eds.), *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005); Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich* (Mainz, 1967), and Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954).
- 3 Paul Becquart, *Musiciens néerlandais à la cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école (1560-1647)* (Brussels, 1967); Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, *Henricus Finck: Musicus excellentissimus (1445-1527)* (Cologne, 1982); Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-*

genre.⁴ The pursuit of such focused studies is methodologically sound, and indeed, these works have been indispensable in illuminating many aspects of musical life at the Habsburgs courts. The time is nevertheless ripe for us to take stock of the state of research and set our sights on a broad view of Habsburg musical patronage across the early modern era.

This companion aims to redress the lack of scholarly surveys of Habsburg musical patronage by providing a detailed overview of music at the Habsburg courts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spanning the reigns of Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493-1519) through Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705). The goal is not to present new research, but to build on the wealth of existing scholarship on music at the Habsburg courts, to bring together previously disconnected strands of research, and to point the way for future scholarly examinations of Habsburg musical patronage. Maximilian I is the ideal starting point, as he, more than any of his predecessors, set the stage for many aspects of Habsburg rule for centuries: Not only did his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 bring the Habsburgs into the Burgundian orbit and introduce the dynasty to the world of courtly luxury, but his famous skills at marriage negotiations – especially the double marriage between his children and those of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain – set the Habsburgs on the road to greatly expanding their patrimony, inspiring the famous adage, ‘Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube!’ (let others wage war; you, fortunate Austria, marry!).⁵ Limiting the range of inquiry to two centuries helps keep the book at a manageable scope and can also be justified for at least two reasons. First, with King Charles II’s death in 1700, the Habsburgs lost their hold on the Spanish crown,

Burgundian Court (Oxford, 2003); Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1929); Othmar Wessely, ‘Arnold von Bruck – Leben und Umwelt: Mit Beiträgen zur Musikgeschichte des Hofes Ferdinands I. von 1527 bis 1545’ (Habilitationsschrift, University of Vienna, 1959).

- 4 Lawrence Bennett, *The Italian Cantata in Vienna: Entertainment in the Age of Absolutism* (Bloomington-Indianapolis, 2013); Camelo P. Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II*, Musicology Series 4 (New York etc., 1987); Robert L. Kendrick, *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna* (Berkeley, 2018); Jonas Pfohl, ‘Motetten am Hof Maximilians II. (1527-1576)’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 2017); Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tutzing, 1985); Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1993); Andrew H. Weaver, ‘Piety, Politics, and Patronage: Motets at the Habsburg Court in Vienna during the Reign of Ferdinand III (1637-1657)’ (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002).
- 5 On the origins of this phrase and its application to the Habsburgs, see Elisabeth Klecker, ‘Bella gerant alii: tu, felix Austria, nube! Eine Spurensuche’, in *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur (mit Geographie)* 41 (1997), 30-44.

relinquishing it to the Bourbons of France. Second, Emperor Leopold I offers a fitting conclusion, both for his legendary patronage of music (especially opera) and for the fact that, as discussed in Chapter 1, the decisive defeat of the Ottomans in 1683 helped secure the Habsburgs' power in their Central European realms, cementing their status as world leaders and opening a new chapter in their history. Combining the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is still uncommon in the musicological literature, which tends to segregate the sixteenth-century 'Renaissance' Habsburgs from the 'Baroque' Habsburgs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶ This book thus contributes to the breaking down of arbitrary period divisions, and in so doing it helps draw connections between these two centuries, pointing out not only ruptures but also continuities in musical practice, culture, and style at the various Habsburg courts. The broad view of Habsburg musical activities offered here helps affirm the dynasty's unique position in the cultural life of early modern Europe.

Given the wide-ranging nature of Habsburg rule, there was never just one single Habsburg court; accordingly, this book covers a wide geographical scope. Attention is given not only to the courts of the Holy Roman Emperors but also to the courts of other branches of the family, including the gubernatorial courts in the Low Countries, the royal court in Spain, and the archducal courts in Graz and Innsbruck. The focus is nevertheless on those cities in which the Habsburgs established permanent residences, which means that the important city of Prague appears primarily only in connection to the brief interval during which Emperor Rudolph II (r. 1576-1612) established the imperial court there. Similarly, although beginning with Ferdinand I the Habsburgs claimed the crown of Hungary, no Habsburg ruler established permanent residence there, so Hungary and other eastern-most parts of the patrimony are not featured prominently here. Due to the uneven nature of scholarship on the Habsburg courts, in which some figures and locales have received more scholarly attention than others, the book by necessity emphasizes certain historical actors and geographical locales more than others, but by still touching upon those that are not well represented in the existing musicological literature, the book lays a foundation for future research by exposing areas in need of further study.

The book is organized into three large parts. After an opening chapter by historian Paula Sutter Fichtner that introduces the main actors and situates the Habsburg courts into their political and religious contexts, the first part,

6 A case in point is Tassilo Erhardt (ed.), *Sakralmusik im Habsburgerreich 1570-1770* (Vienna, 2013), which despite its title contains only one essay covering music before 1600. The conference from which that volume derived was titled 'Sacred Music in the Habsburg Empire 1619-1740 and Its Contexts'.

'Institutional Contexts', focuses on the practical matter of how music was made at the Habsburg courts. The five chapters in this section cover such topics as the structure of the court chapel, the prominent composers and musicians employed by the Habsburgs, and the varied functions of the chapel. Although the focus is on the historical context and not so much on musical developments, these chapters also offer overviews of the dominant genres and styles of music composed and performed by Habsburg musicians at the various courts. Over the course of these chapters, then, we trace both the gradually changing function of the chapel – from a primarily religious to a primarily musical institution – as well as important shifts in musical taste, most famously as the preference for Netherlandish musical styles turned to one for Italian music. This part is organized according to the various familial lines within the Habsburg dynasty, with chapter breaks coinciding with obvious political or patrimonial ruptures. Honey Meconi's chapter considers the Habsburg-Burgundian line, beginning with Maximilian I and ending with Charles V (r. 1519–56), upon whose abdication the offices of Spanish King and Holy Roman Emperor were separated into two different lines. Chapter 3, by Pablo L. Rodríguez, considers the Spanish line, from Charles V's successor as King of Spain, Philip II (r. 1556–98), until the extinguishment of the line with Charles II (r. 1665–1700). Jonas Pfohl's chapter takes up the Austrian line from Charles V's brother and successor as Emperor, Ferdinand I (r. 1558–64), through Emperor Matthias (r. 1612–19), who died without an heir. The following chapter, by Lawrence Bennett, Steven Saunders, and Andrew H. Weaver, discusses the ensuing Austrian line, beginning with the archducal court of Charles II (r. 1564–90) in Graz. Charles's son moved to Vienna upon succeeding Matthias as Emperor Ferdinand II (r. 1619–37), at which point the succession remained intact well into the eighteenth century. The final chapter of this part, by Sara Pecknold, is devoted to the members of the dynasty centred at the archducal court in Innsbruck; while never holding the political clout as the other lines, these archdukes were nevertheless important musical patrons in their own right. There is considerable chronological overlap between the chapters, and many of them cover a wide geographical range, taking into account those courts that travelled frequently, as well as those rulers who chose to move the court to a different city from their predecessors.

The second part, 'Cultural Contexts', places the music making discussed in the first part into a broader cultural context by examining how the music of the court chapels interacted with important aspects of cultural life at the Habsburg courts. These chapters thus provide a multidisciplinary perspective of the Habsburgs' musical patronage, discussing, for instance, the function of music in court festivity and spectacle, as well as the manuscript and print cultures

that supported the dissemination of music from the Habsburg courts. Some chapters also allow for in-depth discussions of specific musical genres. The first two chapters, by Herbert Seifert and Louise K. Stein, focus on the most important courtly genre of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: opera. No other musical genre was of such a multidisciplinary scope – encompassing not only vocal and instrumental music but also theatre, poetry, dance, painting, scenography, engineering, fashion, and more – so discussions of opera open windows into many aspects of cultural life at the Habsburgs courts, while also highlighting tangible connections between musical patronage and politics. In Chapter 7, Seifert focuses on Italian musico-dramatic productions at the Habsburg courts north of the Alps, discussing not only the thriving culture of opera but also the performance of other Italian dramatic musical genres, such as oratorio, sacred dramatic opera, and the unique Austrian genre that blends the two: the *sepolcro*. In Chapter 8, Stein places the operatic productions of the Spanish royal court into the larger context of festivity and spectacle, taking into account the political function of musico-dramatic performances, as well as the spread of operatic works to other important Spanish Habsburg centres across the globe, including Naples and Lima. An important contrast that emerges from these two chapters is that whereas the Austrian Habsburgs were content to import genres from Italy, the Spanish rulers were careful to draw upon existing Spanish theatrical traditions. In Chapter 9, Charles E. Brewer turns our attention to purely instrumental music, a genre that tends to be overshadowed in the musicological literature by vocal genres such as opera and sacred music. His chapter not only surveys the changing styles of instrumental music in Central Europe throughout the two centuries under discussion but also provides valuable information about the contexts in which instrumental music was heard at court and the various functions it served.

The following pair of chapters in Part 2, by Honey Meconi and Andrew H. Weaver, shifts gears away from musical genres and toward the sources that provide some of our most valuable information about musical life at the Habsburg courts. In Chapter 10, Meconi provides a survey of Habsburg manuscript culture. During the sixteenth century, the Habsburgs boasted one of the most famous scriptoria of the time, headed by the scribe Petrus Alamire (c. 1470–1536). Meconi's chapter offers a comprehensive survey of the manuscripts prepared under Alamire's supervision, as well as related manuscripts from before and after his tenure at the court; she also extends her discussion to include trends in the copying of music manuscripts into the seventeenth century. Her chapter serves as a valuable resource for anybody interested in manuscripts from the Habsburg courts. In Chapter 11, Weaver takes up the flip side of manuscript culture: print culture. Although the growth of music printing in the early

sixteenth century never entirely eclipsed the copying of music manuscripts (especially at the Habsburg courts), the Habsburgs nevertheless took advantage of the printing press in many ways, using music prints not only to disseminate the music of their composers but also to spread political messages. Weaver's chapter considers the various uses of printed materials (both music prints and other types of media) by the Habsburgs while also offering discussions of particularly significant music prints connected to the Habsburg courts. The final chapter in Part 2, by Drew Edward Davies, expands the geographical scope to the New World by discussing the role of music in the Habsburgs' colonization of New Spain. In the process, Davies tackles such important issues as the definition of 'colonial music', the identification of colonial repertoires, as well as to what extent the music composed and performed in New Spain can be considered 'Habsburg music'.

The third and final part, 'International Contexts', expands further outward by discussing the relationships between music at the Habsburg courts and that composed and performed at other European political centres. All four chapters in this part discuss musical and cultural interactions (cross-cultural influences, interactions among musicians, etc.), which are often inseparable from international relations and politics. The selection of topics in this part was guided primarily by the current state of research; while chapters on musical connections between the Habsburg courts and Poland, Russia, and Turkey – not to mention their arch-rival France – would be fascinating and valuable, too much foundational research needs to be done in these areas before chapters could be written for a book of this sort. The part opens with a chapter by Alexander J. Fisher that considers the large, diverse realm that the Habsburgs nominally ruled as emperor: the Holy Roman Empire. Fisher begins by exploring connections between the Habsburgs and important cities and states within the Empire, before going on to investigate two specific musical genres that were important loci of musical exchange between musicians at the Habsburg courts and those elsewhere in the Empire: the polyphonic mass proper and the German-texted Lied. In Chapter 14, Christine Getz examines Milan, another important city-state that was under Habsburg control during the period covered in this book. Getz provides an overview of the Milanese chapels and other musical institutions that helped promulgate Habsburg power and influence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and she surveys the methods through which music was used to create tangible expressions of Habsburg might, most notably in triumphal entries for members of the dynasty, public commemorations of Habsburg births and deaths, and music prints issued by Milanese publishers in honour of the Habsburgs.

The book concludes with two chapters that examine musical interactions and exchange with the two most important and powerful city-states in Italy, Venice and Rome. In Chapter 15, Beth L. Glixon, Jeffrey Kurtzman, and Steven Saunders provide an overview of the myriad musical connections between the Austrian Habsburg courts and the *Serenissima*. They focus first on the connections that made possible the first flowerings of Italianate Baroque musical styles in Habsburg courts across the Alps, especially at the archducal court in Graz under Charles II and the future Ferdinand II. After a discussion of the ties between the Habsburgs and the Venetian musical press, the chapter concludes with an examination of the complex machinations involved in producing Venetian-style opera at the Habsburg courts in the later seventeenth century.

In Chapter 16, Virginia Christy Lamothe focuses on the complicated political relationship between the Habsburg emperors and the Pope in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the ways that music contributed to facilitating (but sometimes also hindering) smooth relations between the two Catholic powers. In lieu of a survey, Lamothe focuses on case studies, examining two triumphal entries staged in the Eternal City a hundred years apart, one for Charles V in 1536 and one for Ferdinand II's representative Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg (1610-49) in 1638. The similarities and differences between these two entries provide an instructive overview of the challenges faced by the Pope in acknowledging the Emperor's power while also maintaining diplomatic ties to other Catholic rulers, as well as of the evolving nature of the Habsburgs' relationship to the Holy See as the centuries progressed. Through all of this, music played an important role in projecting and acknowledging political power, an artful dance that, as this book shows, the Habsburgs were fully conversant in and knew how to exploit to the fullest extent possible.

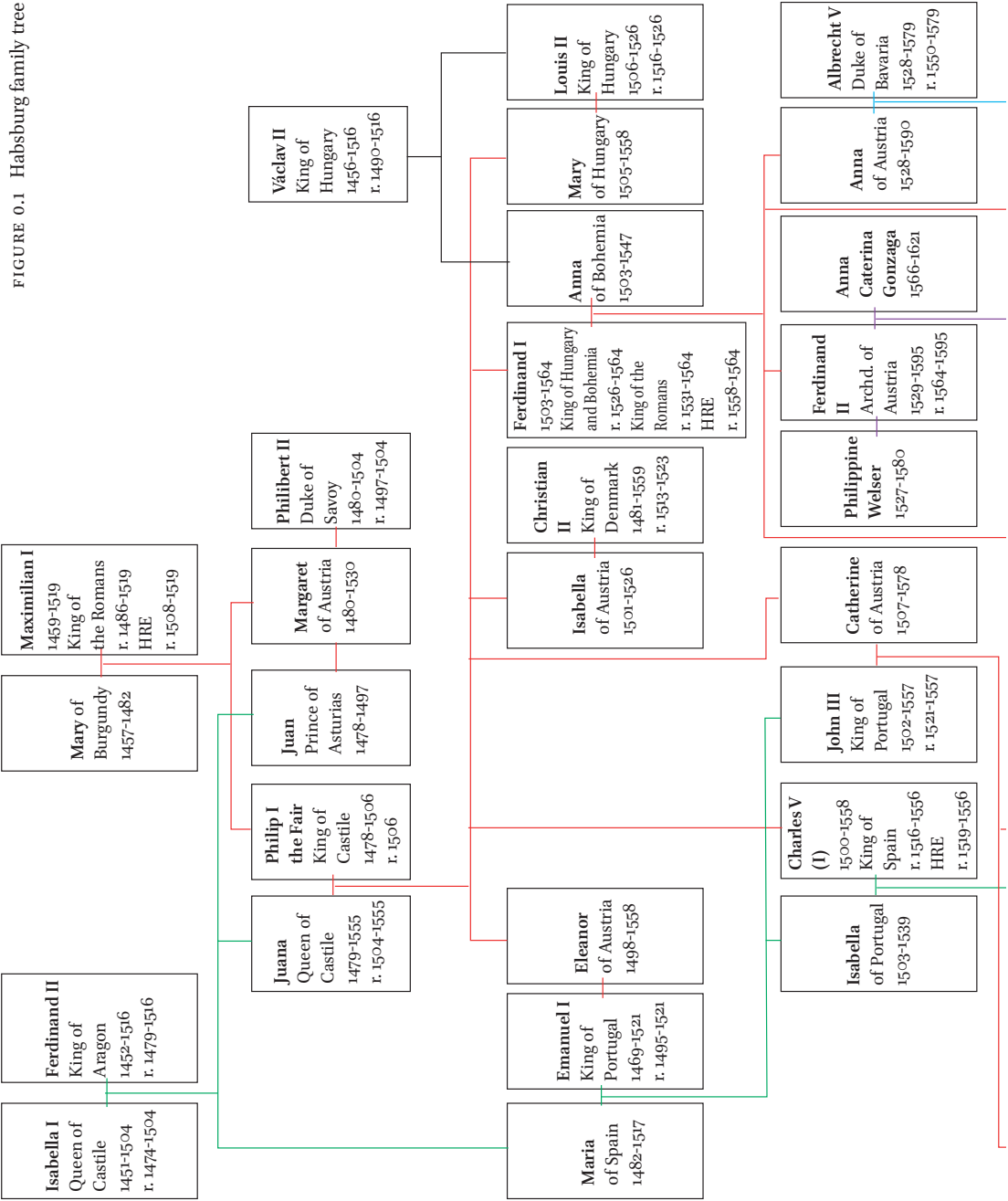
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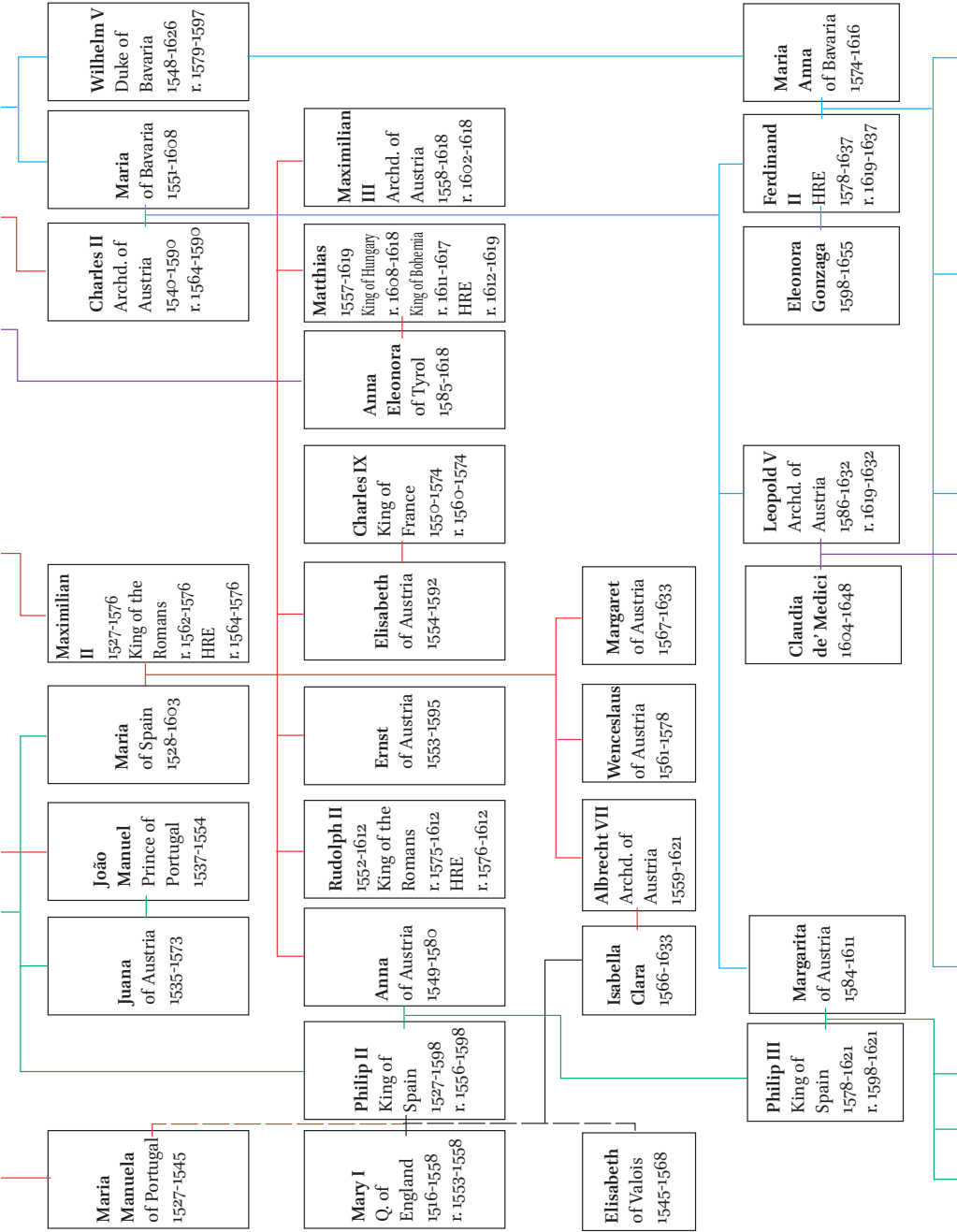
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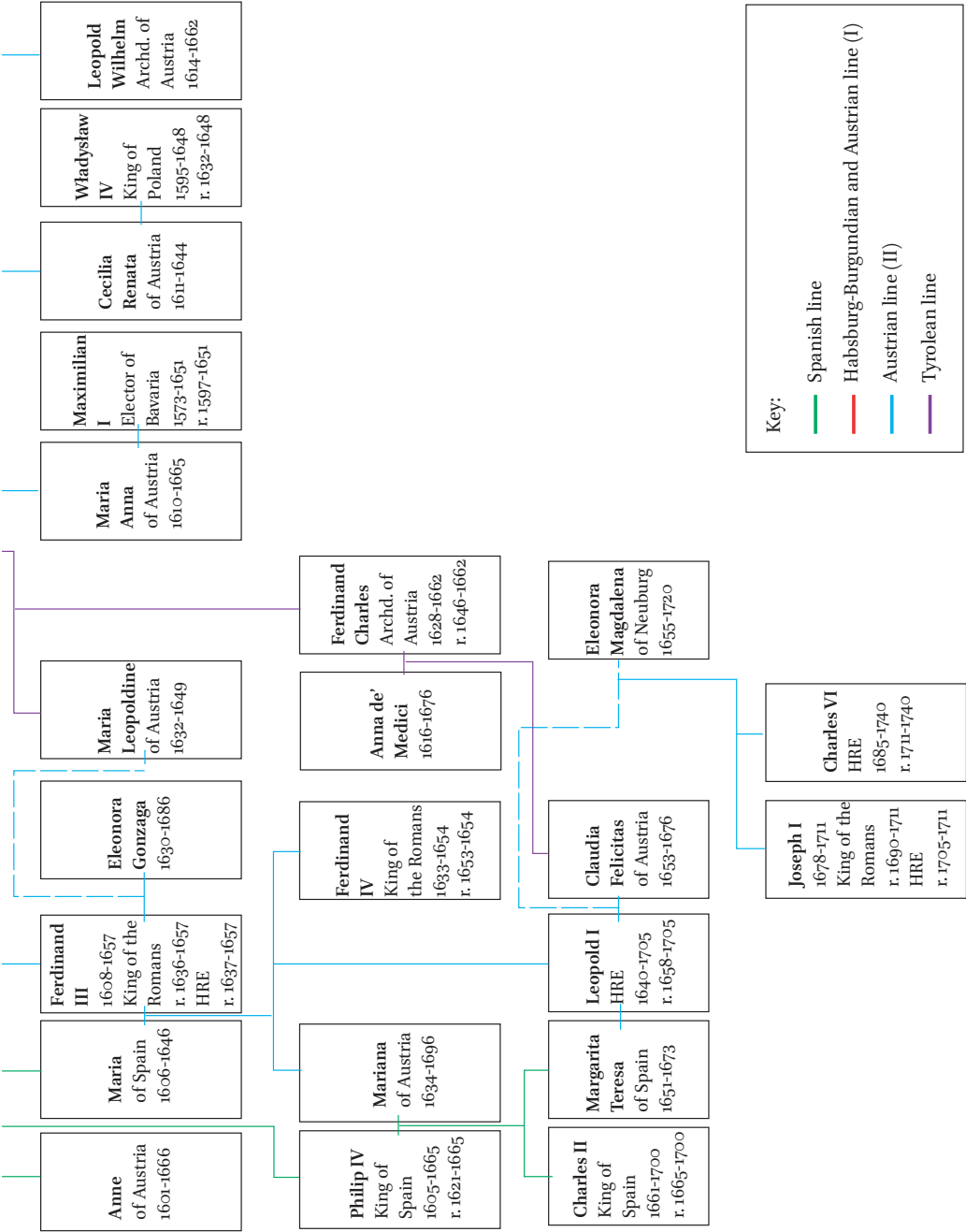
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FIGURE 0.1 Habsburg family tree

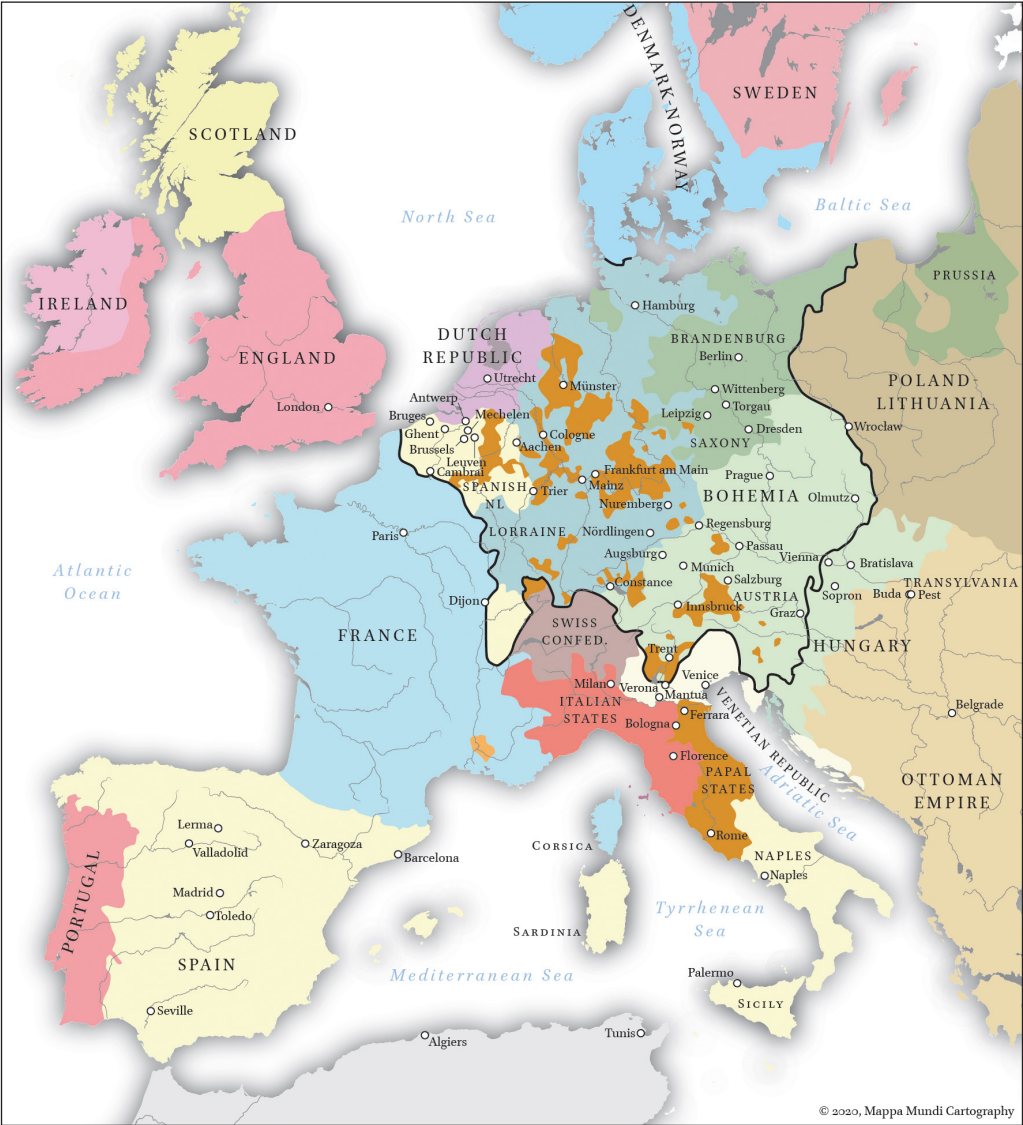








Map 0.1 Map of Europe in the sixteenth century



Map 0.2 Map of Europe after the Peace of Westphalia (1648)

Politics, Religion, and Music at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts

Paula Sutter Fichtner with Andrew H. Weaver

1 A Brief Overview

Habsburg rulers in early modern Europe routinely comingled politics and religious principles without distinguishing the two. By and large, they seemed to be guided by bromides familiar to all of Europe's Christian monarchs of the day. Answerable to God, they were also his agents on earth. There, as overlords of sinful humankind and the planet it inhabited, sovereigns were free to use all the resources at their command to defend their positions and the confession that legitimated their assignment. Just when and how the Habsburgs learned this lesson is not certain, but they seem to have followed it as a matter of course.¹ What set them off from their counterparts was their skill at combining Catholicism, territorial acquisition, and defence into an operative dynastic agenda. They would also be uncommonly adept at using their faith to bind themselves to the peoples, noble and common, who served at their courts, and to promulgate that creed, along with their dynastic image, through the savvy patronage of music.²

Carefully respecting such parameters, the house of Habsburg could in good conscience solidify their sovereign status in a central and east-central European patrimony that grew spectacularly from a medieval core that covered modern Austria, northern Italy, and south-western Germany. By 1526 the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, along with the various lands associated with both crowns, had been added to the complex. The dynasty remained equally determined to rule the Holy Roman Empire as emperors. Chosen after the middle of the seventeenth century by eight electors (five secular and three

1 See, for example, Mark Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III. (1608-1657): Eine Biographie* (Vienna, 2012), 38-39. This comprehensive work features a massive bibliography.

2 Thomas Brockmann, 'Das Bild des Hauses Habsburg in der dynastienahen Historiographie um 1700', in *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: Konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700*, ed. Christoph Kampmann, Katharina Krause, Eva-Bettina Krems, and Anuschka Tischer (Cologne, 2008), 39. See also Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2003), 319.

ecclesiastical), the title was a somewhat degraded artefact of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, those who bore it still had significant constitutional powers, such as enforcing the imperial ban that declared someone to be an outlaw (a move that the Habsburgs used to good effect in crucial moments) and raising armies to defend the Empire. Imperial diets often grumbled that they would only be aiding the house of Austria in many of these conflicts; nevertheless, they normally recognized that they were obliged to help emperors in wartime, especially when the integrity of the Empire as a whole was at stake. Emperors also bestowed prestigious titles such as 'count' (*Graf*) and 'prince' (*Fürst*), the latter the highest noble ranking in the Habsburg patrimonial lands and at the Habsburg imperial courts.³

Historians today rightly avoid calling Habsburg rule 'absolute'.⁴ While in some locales the dynasty exercised strong authority, in others their administration remained notoriously erratic until the middle of the eighteenth century, if even then.⁵ More typically, the house of Austria enforced its will in its lands as much by negotiation with local estates (with whom they often competed for resources and court personnel) as it did by administrative fiat or armed intervention. In some situations, the dynasty prevailed; at other times the estates had the controlling hand. On many occasions, however, the interests of monarchs and noble estates coincided productively. During the war-ridden sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Habsburg armies deployed at the Hungarian border with the Ottoman Empire were supplied from noble estates in Austria

3 An accessible introduction to a very complex arrangement is Peter Moraw, 'The Court of the German King and of the Emperor at the End of the Middle Ages, 1440-1519', in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London, 1991), 103-38. See also Volker Press, 'The Imperial Court of the Habsburgs: From Maximilian I to Ferdinand III, 1493-1657', in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, 289-314; Geoff Mortimer, *Wallenstein: The Enigma of the Thirty Years War* (Houndmills, 2010), 32, 70, 106-7; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 282-88; and Thomas Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener: Gundaker von Liechtenstein, ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Vienna, 1999), 198-202.

4 On the debate over the term 'absolutism' and its application to the Habsburg monarchy see 'Einleitung: Das Absolutismuskonzept, die Neubewertung der frühneuzeitlichen Monarchie und der zusammengesetzte Staat der österreichischen Habsburger im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert', in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740: Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, ed. Petr Mat'a and Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart, 2006), 22-24; Joachim Bahlcke, 'Hungaria eliberata? Zum Zusammenstoß von altständischer Libertät und monarchischer Autorität in Ungarn an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert', in *Die Habsburgermonarchie*, 303; and Karin J. MacHardy, 'Staatsbildung in den habsburgischen Ländern in der Frühen Neuzeit: Konzepte zur Überwindung des Absolutismusparadigmas', in *Die Habsburgermonarchie*, 88-89.

5 The variance in Habsburg authority across their realms is outlined in R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979).

and Bohemia.⁶ Aristocratic residences built in and around Vienna, especially after 1680, bespoke both the wealth of their owners and the power of a monarch who could call upon such men not only for loans, but also to serve in court positions that affirmed their high status.⁷ Nevertheless, the dualism implied in this relationship remained more latent than expressed. If one must label Habsburg government in the early modern era, one would best call it a work in the making, in which considerable give and take went on among all established institutions. The results added up to what Michael Hochedlinger has called a 'belated Empire', slow to rise to that status, but functional on a day-to-day basis.⁸ Indeed, it was when the Habsburgs turned arbitrary – politically, confessionally, or managerially – that they ran into grievous trouble.⁹

Habsburg political pragmatism in bargaining with local estates carried over to their religious policies. The dynasty's rulers learned very early that reliably devout Catholicism did not always foster cooperative relations with the church hierarchy in Rome. The first Habsburg to serve as German King and Emperor, Rudolph I (1218–91), had a well-deserved reputation for exceptional piety that ran not only through his bloodline but also those who would marry into it.¹⁰ Political pressures, however, led successive popes to withhold support for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Similar reservations made Rome wait decades before raising Vienna, the dynasty's capital, to a bishopric in 1469.¹¹ Indeed, the Church of Rome and successive Habsburg territorial rulers had fundamentally competing interests. Themselves great landlords in Italy, popes of the early modern era strove to keep both branches of the dynasty as far from

6 Jean Meyer, 'States, Roads, Armies and the Organization of Space', in *War and Competition between States*, ed. Philippe Contamine (New York, 2000), 115.

7 John P. Spielman, 'Status as Commodity: The Habsburg Economy of Privilege', in *State and Society in Early Modern Austria*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette, IN, 1994), 110–18. See also Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 317; Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener*, 162–63.

8 Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683–1797* (Harlow, 2003), 29.

9 Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 29.

10 Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, IN, 2004). Though the author somewhat altered her view on the relationship between Roman Catholicism and Austrian culture between the first (1959) and second (1982) editions of this influential monograph, her text remains a starting point for the study of Austrian Catholic piety, dynastic and popular. See also Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993), 208–11, 222.

11 On bishoprics, see Erwin Gatz, *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, 1448 bis 1648: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1996), and Alois Niederstätter, 1400–1522: *Das Jahrhundert der Mitte: An der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Vienna, 1996), 306–7.

the peninsula as they could.¹² For their part, the Vienna Habsburgs capitalized on any opportunity they had to trim back the holdings of great bishoprics such as Passau and Salzburg in the Austrian lands. Squabbles over the appointment of high clergy arose frequently. Some of these differences were ironed out in negotiations, some by accepting a standoff, and some forgotten with the passage of time and changing circumstances. But as was true in their dealings with their estates, Habsburg rulers had many reasons to cooperate with popes, and the other way around.¹³ The dynasty even made use of papal personnel. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, nuncios assigned to Vienna on diplomatic missions were assigned liturgical functions in religious ceremonies at the Habsburg court.¹⁴

Two major challenges in the opening decades of the sixteenth century threatened the house of Habsburg and the papacy alike: the Protestant Reformation and the westward drive of the Ottoman Empire into Europe. Both brought politics into religion and the other way around in ways that tested Habsburg relations with their peoples and their church. The confessional upheaval set off by Martin Luther in 1517 lashed out at papal authority but also called into question the common assumption that effective rule in this world required monarchs and their subjects to follow the same creed. Confessional heterodoxy encouraged doctrinal squabbling that split kingdoms and weakened them.¹⁵ No ruler wanted to face such a problem, least of all those who governed the early modern Habsburg lands whose resource-poor Austrian holdings were directly on the Ottoman line of march. Sultan Süleyman II (1494-1566) had declared that he was waging a holy war to protect his peoples from neighbouring heretics, and his concern appeared to stretch as far west up the Danube as he could go.¹⁶

12 Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578-1637* (New York, 2014), 212.

13 Niederstätter, 1400-1522, 306-7.

14 Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, 'Liturgie und Diplomatie zum Zeremoniell des Nuntius am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in *Kaiserhof-Papsthof (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein, and Alexander Koller (Vienna, 2006), 126, 131.

15 This was one of the primary tenets of the Catholic political philosophy, now known as 'anti-Machiavellianism', that guided the Habsburgs in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

16 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526-1850* (London, 2008), 31. A sound chronological narrative of the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry is Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power* (Houndmills, 2002), 48-86. Other recent studies of the conflicts between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs include Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden,

Cooperation between Christian rulers and Rome was clearly called for. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Habsburg regimes in central Europe would be preoccupied with the Ottomans and struggling to eradicate confessional diversity, the latter task complicated by the fact that the Habsburg emperors were required by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg to respect the confessional preferences of rulers throughout the Empire and could only enforce unity within their patrimonial lands. Neither issue would be fully put to rest in the early modern era; nevertheless, as dependable Catholics with a Spanish branch whose influence and faith was spreading globally, the Habsburgs were understandably eager to minimize these problems as best they could.

To do so, the dynasty needed effective military leadership and organization, resourceful diplomacy (including strategic marriages), and flexibility where religious scruples were at play. Good luck was often helpful, but so was skilful cultivation of the arts, especially the patronage of renowned musicians, the promulgation of music manuscripts and prints, and the production of spectacular musical performances at court. Both the papacy and the house of Habsburg would survive into the eighteenth century, albeit as somewhat different (and in the case of the Church, noticeably reformed) institutions. The dynasty would be more firmly grounded in its central European lands than in pre-Reformation times and would also be much safer from Ottoman takeover, especially after 1683. Taken together, these developments would make the Austrian Habsburgs major European rulers, a status they had craved for centuries.

2 From Patrimony to Empire

For Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) and for the house of Habsburg as whole, 1495 was a banner year. Diligent negotiations had ended in a marriage contract between his son Archduke Philip the Fair (1478-1506) and Princess Juana (1479-1555), the daughter of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon. Maximilian's daughter Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) was simultaneously betrothed to the heir apparent to the Spanish crown, Juan (1478-97). The frail Prince would predecease his parents and widow his wife. Philip and Juana, however, produced a family that would inherit the Spanish crowns, arguable claims to Portugal, parts of Italy, and the vast riches only recently

2000); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gates: Habsburgs, Ottomans, and the Battle for Europe* (New York, 2009); and Phillip Williams, *Empire and Holy War in the Mediterranean: The Galley and Maritime Conflict between the Habsburgs and Ottomans* (London, 2014).

coming to light in the New World. Such enviable holdings made Spanish rulers of the sixteenth century preeminent players in the competitive dynastic environment of the early modern era. The house of Austria had governed its outpost in central Europe since the thirteenth century, but when Europe's rulers, especially the kings of France, worried about Habsburg hegemony, they were thinking of Spain. Here, from 1516 to 1700, a line of Habsburg kings, beginning with Charles I (who was also Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) and three Philips, would dominate the western Mediterranean (including the Kingdom of Naples and, after 1535, the Duchy of Milan) and the cross-Atlantic world until the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ Recent scholarship has pointed out that Spanish forces could not have done what they did without support from a variety of non-Spanish resources and peoples, but rulers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe were not given to subtle academic qualifications.¹⁸

The Austrian Habsburgs and their longstanding holdings in the heart of Europe were far poorer. With a couple of exceptions they had not done much since the opening decades of the fourteenth century to distinguish themselves from other German princes of their time. The heart of their story was familiar to the entire Empire: repeated intra-dynastic quarrelling over territorial divisions among brothers. At stake for male Habsburgs was most of modern Austria, along with some holdings now in the north-eastern reaches of Italy and south-western Germany. These disputes almost always ended by partitioning the family holdings, a step that rarely took care of the problem for more than one generation. Worst of all, the dynasty's European competitors read these conflicts as signs of weakness.¹⁹ For all these internal fissures, however, some Habsburgs, as dukes (later archdukes) of Austria, were unshakably convinced that their dynasty was meant for great things; in the fourteenth century, Duke Rudolph IV (1339-65) shamelessly forged documents to prove it.²⁰

17 Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 16. See also two solid but accessible biographies: Alfred Kohler, *Karl v.: 1500-1558: Eine Biographie* (Munich, 1999) and Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven etc., 1997). A painstaking narrative of Habsburg family relations and the governments of Charles I (V) and Philip II is Mía J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II, and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge, 1988).

18 Krishnan Kumar, *Visions of Empire: How Five Imperial Regimes Shaped the World* (Princeton, 2017), 149. See also the thought-provoking study by Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Biography of Charles V* (New Haven, 2019).

19 Karl Friedrich Krieger, *Die Habsburger im Mittelalter: Von Rudolf I. bis Friedrich III.* (Stuttgart, 2004), 148, 155.

20 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburgs: Dynasty, Culture and Politics* (London, 2014), 46-48. See also Wilhelm Baum, *Rudolf IV. der Stifter: Seine Welt und seine Zeit* (Graz, 1996).

Smaller cohorts of fraternal claimants to the Habsburg patrimony curbed intra-dynastic rivalries in the second half of the fifteenth century. Habsburg fortunes brightened correspondingly during the reign of Duke Frederick v (1415-93), after 1440 Emperor Frederick III. In fact, his rise to the position marked the beginning of the near perpetual hold that the Habsburgs had on the title until it was abolished in 1806. He was also the last member of his house to receive the crown in Rome from a pope, Nicholas v, in 1452. Eccentric and notoriously lethargic though he was, Frederick brought under his political control most of the Habsburg Austrian patrimony, except the Tyrol. The plague helped; his belligerent younger brother, Duke Albrecht VI (1418-63), died unexpectedly in the midst of an Austrian insurgency he was promoting against his elder sibling. With no other relatives to satisfy, Frederick brought something resembling peace to the conflict-ridden Habsburg lands.

He also oversaw a project that immeasurably enhanced the prestige of his house. As Emperor, he was strategically placed to negotiate advantageous dynastic marriages with other princes. Just how far he and the house of Habsburg could go became apparent when he paired his only son, Archduke Maximilian I, with Duchess Mary of Burgundy (1457-82), heiress to one of the richest territorial conglomerates in Europe.

As Emperor, overlord of the entire Habsburg patrimony, and Duke of Burgundy by marriage, Maximilian I seemed well on the way to establishing his house as a European political power. Like his predecessors, however, he ruled neither the Empire nor his patrimony 'absolutely'. Estates throughout his holdings had traditional fiscal and political rights and privileges, and they were ready to defend them vigorously.²¹ A striking example was the concession that the Tyrol extracted in 1499 from Maximilian after the Swiss humiliated him in battle. The province, Maximilian's favourite recreational site, was freed from its obligation to support their overlord in his wars, except when he was fighting to defend the region.²² The various principalities represented in the imperial diet rarely contributed to Habsburg requests for military funding without receiving significant concessions in return. Even agreed-upon commitments of money and troops materialized slowly, if indeed at all. Distinctions of faith that became ever more entrenched during the Reformation only made German

21 Manfred Holleger, 'Unerhörte Neuerungen: Maximilians I. Bestrebungen von Land und Herrschaft zu Staat und Hoheit', in *Maximilian I., 1459-1519: Wahrnehmung, Übersetzungen, Gender*, ed. Heinz Nollatscher, Michael A. Chisholm, and Bertrand Schnerb (Innsbruck, 2011), 344-52.

22 Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Vienna, 1991), 118-19.

territorial princes and town councils more aggressive in defending their power to determine how their subjects prayed.²³

Self-inflicted fiscal problems limited the Austrian Habsburgs' influence in Europe as well. Maximilian, along with his grandson Ferdinand I (1503-64), his great-grandson Maximilian II (1527-76), and great-great-grandson Ferdinand II (1578-1637), thought very seriously about rationalizing and reorganizing their incomes and expenditures, both in their patrimonial lands and in the Empire. Ferdinand I fleshed out an administrative structure first suggested by his grandfather, which many German princely houses and imperial free cities would follow with some modifications through the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, neither he nor his immediate successors ever mastered their financial problems. The debt burden that they passed on to their successors was the most unwelcome part of their legacies.²⁴

None of these problems ever deterred Maximilian I from performing as an established great monarch for publics both humble and august and for a variety of reasons. Understanding very well the advantages of the titles that his father had passed on to him, he defended them as vigorously as he could, both on the battlefield and in diplomatic exchanges. Receiving an envoy from the Grand Duke Vassily of Muscovy in 1518, he kept the Russian ruler one notch in status below his own as an emperor by refraining from calling him 'Tsar' in ceremonial exchanges.²⁵ Nor was Maximilian content with recognition in his

23 Bernhard Distelkamp, 'Reichskammergericht und Reichshofrat im Spannungsfeld zwischen reichständischer Libertät und habsburgischem Kaisertum', in *Reichsständische Libertät und habsburgisches Kaisertum*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Matthias Schnettger (Mainz, 1999), 186-87. Modern scholars use the term 'confessionalization' to describe the process of the hardening of confessions and their contribution to the formation of early modern states; for overviews of the concept, see Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment', in *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989), 383-404 and Heinz Schilling, 'Confessionalization in Europe: Causes and Effects for Church, State, Society, and Culture', in 1648: *War and Peace in Europe*, ed. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, 3 vols. ([Münster], 1998), vol. 1, 219-28. Schilling argues for the centrality of confessionalization in early modern European history in his *Early Modern European Civilization and Its Political and Cultural Dynamism* (Lebanon, NH, 2008).

24 Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht: Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Vienna, 2003), vol. 1, 29-78; Alfred Kohler, *Ferdinand I. 1503-1564: Fürst, König, und Kaiser* (Munich, 2003), 71-72; Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, 2001), 63-79.

25 Michail A. Bojcov, 'Maximilian I. und sein Hof 1518 – von den russischen Gesandten her (nicht?) gesehen?', in *Maximilian I., 1459-1519: Wahrnehmung, Übersetzungen, Gender*, ed. Heinz Nollatscher, Michael A. Chisholm, and Bertrand Schnerb (Innsbruck, 2011), 59.

lifetime; he also spent considerable energy and money insuring that his reputation would live on posthumously.²⁶

Yet it was Maximilian I who began using the court to secure a place for the Habsburgs in the cultural, political, and military history of Europe. Frederick III had been famously parsimonious; bedazzled by the rich cultural environment he found at the Burgundian establishment where his bride-to-be resided, Maximilian's cultural enthusiasms knew no bounds. Convinced that high aesthetic and intellectual standards were traits of great rulers, he carried his taste for luxury and lavish spending on music and art back to a less sophisticated land. There he began the family policy of supporting large-scale chapel choirs, which he staffed with some of the finest German composers and instrumentalists he could find, such as the organist Paul Hofhaimer and the composer Heinrich Isaac.²⁷ He also did not hesitate to use the performance of grand musical works, especially Latin sacred music, to support his imperial image and reinforce his status.²⁸ None of these grand gestures, however, won him the unqualified respect from contemporary rulers that he sought. Important European monarchs such as Henry VIII of England and Louis XII of France remained sceptical about his real power.²⁹

Maximilian, however, turned more territorial ways of underscoring Habsburg might into an art form. Like his father, he was an accomplished marital tactician. That he was also very lucky helped. The marriage of Archduke Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile prospered in ways that the Emperor himself could not have anticipated. Through the improbable chain of deaths in both the Spanish and Portuguese ruling houses mentioned earlier, Juana and Philip's offspring would rule the Iberian kingdoms (including Naples and Milan), most of Burgundy, and the Habsburg lands of Central Europe for the next two

26 The seminal work remains Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I* (Munich, 1982). See also Stephan Füssel, 'Dichtung und Politik um 1500: Das Haus Österreich in Selbstdarstellungen, Volkslied und panegyrischen Carmina', in *Die Österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis ins 18. Jahrhundert (1050-1750)*, Part 2, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp and Herbert Zeman (Graz, 1986), 803-31, and Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton-Oxford, 2008). See also Chapter 11 of this volume.

27 Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 220. See also Chapter 2 of this volume.

28 David J. Rothenberg has convincingly connected Isaac's six-voice motet *Virgo prudentissima*, for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, to Maximilian's coronation as Emperor and his imperial ideology; see his 'The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I', in *Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011), 34-80.

29 Manfred Holleger, *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart, 2005), 288.

centuries. Maximilian's eldest grandson, Archduke Charles (1500-58), who succeeded him in 1519 as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, had also become King Charles I of Spain in 1516. With both titles in Habsburg hands, French kings would be preoccupied for the next century and a half with curbing the house of Austria's reach on the continent and in the Mediterranean.

There was, however, another grandson to support: Charles's younger brother Archduke Ferdinand (1503-64). In 1515 Maximilian contracted marriages for the latter and his sister, Archduchess Mary (1505-58), to the son and daughter of King Václav (1456-1516) from the Polish royal house of Jagellon, who had succeeded to crowns in Bohemia and Hungary in 1471 and 1490 respectively. From the time that Rudolph I had set foot in the Austrian lands, he and his heirs had wanted to secure their borders against invaders from both realms.³⁰ Key to the house of Austria's strategy were inter-dynastic pacts of mutual succession, with provisions that one house would take over the lands of another should either party run out of legitimate heirs. But mortality in the royal houses of Bohemia and Hungary had done nothing to consummate Habsburg ambition. Even when earlier lines in both kingdoms did die out, what hold the Habsburgs had on either crown had not lasted for long.

The biggest hurdle that any dynasty faced in these realms was the right of local estates to choose their monarch and to have him reaffirm their constitutional freedoms at the same time. Strong-minded rulers were not welcome. Thus, there was no reason to believe that the pair of unions Maximilian arranged with the kings of Hungary and Bohemia in 1515 would ever put one of his grandsons on either throne, much less lead to the Habsburgs' having a key position in the power relations of Europe for centuries.

Maximilian I's testament ordered division of his family's holdings in the Austrian lands between the two young men. The precise terms of the arrangement were contested for several years. By 1525, however, Ferdinand was territorial ruler of the Austrian Habsburg lands – Lower and Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Slovenia, and the Tyrol (plus Outer Austria, today the Voralberg) – along with some principalities scattered in south-western Germany and modern Italy. So scant a share in his dynasty's holdings only affirmed Ferdinand's junior status vis-à-vis his brother Charles, the Emperor, King of Spain, and overlord to an impressive part of the trans-Atlantic world.³¹

Ferdinand was eager to assume his new position in the Austrian lands, but the estates of Lower Austria and municipal authorities in Vienna had deep

30 See, for example, Jörg K. Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus: Diplomat, Feldherr und Mäzen* (Graz, 1998), 161-218.

31 Kohler, *Ferdinand I*, 70-72.

reservations about him. Having spent most of his childhood in Spain and his early adolescence in the Netherlands at the court of his Aunt Margaret of Austria in Mechelen, he spoke little, if any, German on his arrival. The Spaniards in his retinue did not sit well with his new subjects either.³² The estates had already blocked Maximilian I's efforts to delegate some of his political and administrative chores to subordinates; faced with Ferdinand as a new ruler, they refused to give him an oath of loyalty, an alarming rebuke to any prince, especially one whose family had determined that his career was to be in the Austrian lands. Challenged by outright sedition, Ferdinand struck it down quickly and brutally. In 1522, he established a special court to try the dissidents. His justice was summary, though niceties of social class were observed. As befit their rank, two leading noblemen were unshackled before they were beheaded. Others, including the mayor of Vienna, met the same fate, but less ceremoniously. Their property was confiscated as well. The young Habsburg ruler relented enough to restore Mayor Martin Siebenbürger's assets to his widow.³³

Nevertheless, noble self-interest and a peasantry prone to violence when forced to assume tax burdens that their landlords were loath to pay would soon become the least of Ferdinand's problems. At their worst, they were at least familiar.³⁴ Added to them would be two more that were quite new, more complicated, and, as such, very dangerous: the Protestant Reformation and the advance of the Ottoman Turks from Constantinople up the Danube valley into the heart of the European continent. Each of these issues, singly and together, threatened Ferdinand's position in Austria.

Martin Luther formally challenged papal authority within the Church of Rome in 1517, two years before Maximilian I died. Devout though the Emperor was, he could be relentlessly mulish when squabbling with popes and prelates. When the Bishop of Brixen in 1518 forbade bringing a Russian Orthodox delegation from Muscovy to Roman Catholic services in Innsbruck, Maximilian invited the group to his private chapel in the Tyrolean capital, where they could observe Roman Catholic liturgy in action. He also saved some of his earthiest language for papal corruption, but like the hierarchy in Rome he depended upon cuts from the proceeds of local indulgence sales. He was therefore not prepared to see the Lutheran reform get too far in the Empire and his

32 Christopher F. Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I. 1522-1564* (Vienna, 1997), 66-67.

33 Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit*, part 1, 360-68; Herbert Knittler, 'Die Städtepolitik Ferdinands I.: Aspekte eines Widerspruchs?', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I: Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, ed. Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler, *Geschichte in der Epoche Karls v. 2* (Münster, 2003), 71-75.

34 Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Vienna-Munich, 2001), 111-31.

own lands. In fact, Maximilian was willing to impose the imperial ban on the bothersome cleric should he get out of hand.³⁵ He died, however, without having followed through.

Thus it was left to his eldest grandson, Emperor Charles v, to execute the German imperial ban on Luther in 1521. But it was for Charles's younger brother in Vienna, Archduke Ferdinand – for whom the Turks and Protestants were a constant source of pressure – to deal with both issues on a problem-by-problem basis. Though he firmly believed that contemporary clerical morals and education called for renovation 'root and branch' (as contemporaries put it), he dutifully applied his brother's edict to the Habsburg Austrian lands: In 1524 he forbade evangelical worship within the city limits of Vienna. He met, however, with stiff resistance, above all from local nobles, who controlled both provincial estates and large numbers of people who worked their lands and followed the religious preferences of their overlords. Crucial advocates of the Lutheran reform, they did so partially out of conviction, partially as a way of resisting any curbs that Habsburg territorial rulers might want to put on their privileges, and sometimes as ways of gaining the confidence of the many new Lutherans in the labour force on their lands.³⁶

Ferdinand would never bring either aristocrats or peasants back to the Church of Rome in significant numbers. Looked at in the long run, however, he did make a very significant contribution toward restoring his faith to Habsburg central Europe with the Vienna Jesuit college he founded in 1550. Two years later, he called a Netherlandic cleric, Peter Canisius, to the new institution. Here the order would do much to spearhead moral and intellectual reform of the Roman church. In 1556 a similar academy was established in Prague.³⁷

Given his punitive response to the dissidents in the Lower Austrian estates and the political leadership of Vienna, Ferdinand might very well have used the same technique to subdue religious heterodoxy in his lands. But his other problem, the Ottoman Turks, foreclosed that possibility, at least in his mind. The Sultan's forces had been advancing to the north and west of Europe since the late fourteenth century; their capture of Constantinople in 1453 mightily

35 Bojcov, 'Maximilian I. und sein Hof', 60; Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 284-90.

36 A still valuable study of one such Austrian noble family is Heinrich Wurm, *Die Jörger von Tollet*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Oberösterreichs* 4 (Graz-Cologne, 1955). See also Gustav Reingrabner, *Adel und Reformation: Beiträge zur Geschichte des protestantischen Adels im Lande unter d. Enns während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1976), 33.

37 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 275-76; Kohler, *Ferdinand I.*, 136-37. For the interaction of the Jesuits and sixteenth-century Habsburg rulers, see Gernot Heiss, 'Princes, Jesuits, and the Origins of Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg Lands', in *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York, 1991), 92-109.

alarmed Christian rulers and the papacy.³⁸ While their progress was occasionally halted, for example at the fortifications of Belgrade in 1456, they unfailingly regrouped to try again. Both Frederick III and Maximilian I had aspired to organizing crusades against the Ottomans, but Christian support for such ventures had been lukewarm at best.³⁹ Spurred on by visions of limitless booty and profits from slavery into which they sold captives, the Sultan's forces finally took Belgrade in 1521, the same year that Ferdinand came to Austria. The danger to Central Europe was uncomfortably obvious, but it also gave Ferdinand an opportunity to enlarge his dynasty's presence in Central Europe dramatically.

But that was not obvious in 1526, as the Ottoman Sultan, Süleyman II the Magnificent, prepared an offensive against Hungary and possibly Vienna. Ferdinand had little choice but to concentrate on the defence of his share in the Habsburg patrimony, even at the expense of the Catholicism in which he was raised and to which he remained doggedly faithful. His desperate pleas for assistance went out to all Christendom, which was by no means as frightened by the Turks as he was; it surely did not help that Martin Luther had written that the Turks were God's punishment of corrupt Roman Catholics. Ferdinand's own brother, Emperor Charles V, was far more concerned about driving Süleyman away from his Mediterranean shorelines than from Danubian Europe. Acting as Charles's deputy at a meeting of the German imperial diet in 1526, Ferdinand agreed not to take any measures to stifle Protestant worship in the principalities and towns in the Empire where the new creeds had taken hold. In return, he received promises of aid from the German princes, secular and ecclesiastic, a good part of which never arrived as the Turks continued to press forward.⁴⁰

The realm immediately open to Ottoman takeover was Hungary. Assembled during the Middle Ages, it included lands that constitute its modern core, along with Croatia, Transylvania (now part of Romania), and Slavonia, at the northernmost tip of modern Serbia. With attack from the Turks imminent, it

38 For the trajectory of Habsburg military engagement with the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, see James D. Tracy, 'The Habsburg Monarchy in Conflict with the Ottoman Empire: A Clash of Civilizations', in *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015), 1-28.

39 Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 68-74. See also Paula Sutter Fichtner, 'From Rhetoric to Memory: Islam, Ottomans, and Austrian Historians in the Renaissance', in *Nordic Journal of Renaissance Studies* 16 (2019), 1-47.

40 An essential study is Albrecht Pius Luttenberger, *Kurfürsten, Kaiser, und Reich: Politische Führung und Friedenssicherung unter Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II* (Mainz, 1994). See also Winfried Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu dem politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung* (Munich, 1978).

was ruled by an erratic young Jagellonian king, Louis II (1506-26), the husband of Charles and Ferdinand's sister, Archduchess Mary. Ferdinand had not been in Austria long before he started badgering his brother-in-law to take a greater interest in defending his holdings. Louis's reluctance to act in part reflected divisions among Hungary's great landed nobility on how best to counter the dangers gathering around them; some Hungarian Protestants went so far as to ally themselves with the Turks,⁴¹ and only at the last minute did the nobility agree to aid their kingdom as the frantic Ferdinand wanted them to do. Their belated cooperation, along with an ill-thought-out battle plan, cost their kingdom its independence.⁴² Confronting the Ottoman army at Mohács in the southwestern corner of his realm, Louis himself was killed, falling from his horse as he left the fray.

His death provided the Habsburgs, in this case Ferdinand, with the opportunity that his family had long sought: kingships in Hungary and Bohemia. He would win both, but his hold on the Crown of St. Stephen was qualified at best. One faction of the Hungarian estates had already chosen a native successor, John Zapolya, the Governor of Transylvania. Ferdinand managed to defeat him militarily in 1527, thus gaining a legitimate foothold in the realm. A pro-Habsburg party in the estates recognized him as king, but only in the north and north-eastern parts of the country. Nor, in fact, were his supporters especially interested in him. It was the young Archduke's brother, the Emperor and King of Spain, whom the Hungarian nobility hoped would rescue them and their properties from Ottoman raiding and occupation. Indeed, the Hungarian estates long blamed Ferdinand for accepting a division of the kingdom that left vast parts of it open to Ottoman control and, in many instances, confiscation of their lands.⁴³

41 Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Budapest, 1994).

42 Géza Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Mohács 1526-Buda 1541* (Boulder, CO, 1989), 214-22. See also James D. Tracy, *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, and Venetian Dalmatia, 1499-1617* (Lanham, MD, 2016), esp. 64-78. A sound introductory narrative of Hungarian history in the early modern period is István G. Tóth (ed.), *A Concise History of Hungary: The History of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the Present* (Budapest, 2005), 167-273.

43 Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom*, 132. See also József Bessenyei, 'König Ferdinand und die ungarische Aristokratie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Partei Ferdinands', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher*, ed. Martina Fuchs, Teréz Oborní, and Gábor Ujváry, *Geschichte in der Epoche Karls v. 5* (Münster, 2005), 79-94; and Peter E. Kovács, 'Erzherzog Ferdinand und Ungarn (1521-1526)', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher*, 57-78. The confessional side of the story is well covered in Brian A. Hodson, 'The Development of Habsburg Policy in Hungary and the *Einrichtungswerk* of Cardinal Kollonich, 1683-90', in *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (2007), 92-107.

The Bohemian kingship was less contested; it was also the more economically attractive of the two. Largely agricultural, Hungary exported beef cattle but had no mercantile urban class to speak of. Parts of Bohemia had been thriving centres of taxable trade and commerce since the Middle Ages. Though running out fast, its silver mines were also still valuable. Ferdinand faced no significant rivals for the throne. As in Hungary, however, he still had to make limiting compromises with Bohemia's political classes, including its clergy, to win his new subjects' approval as their ruler. The most troublesome for the next century and then some was Utraquism, a Christian heterodoxy that had taken hold in Bohemia during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Inspired by the reform-minded local cleric Jan Hus, it did not break officially with the papacy. It did, however, adopt crucial liturgical changes, most notably the distribution of both bread and wine to the laity during communion services. As with the division of Hungary, Ferdinand had no choice but to recognize the practice before the realm's estates would make him their king.⁴⁴

Qualified though his powers were in both kingdoms to his immediate east, Archduke Ferdinand I now had two royal titles. He also had more land under his control, a prerequisite for any ruler who aspired to a voice in the cutthroat monarchical politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But his new stature did not impress other rulers, particularly his enemies. Süleyman II dismissed him as 'the little king'.⁴⁵ In fact, the Ottoman presence in Hungary expanded, with Buda falling to the Sultan in 1541. Ferdinand would never dislodge them; his most signal victory would be turning back the Ottoman armies from the walls of Vienna in 1529. But whatever glory the victory brought him, it was overshadowed in public opinion by his absence from the scene – he was in Linz, frantically begging for last-minute aid.⁴⁶

His efforts to rid Central Europe of Islam once and for all by capturing Buda and Pest on opposite banks of the Danube failed dismally; the Turks would be there until 1686. Even his immediate family criticized him. His eldest son, the future Emperor Maximilian II (1527–76), chafed against a father who thought that periodic tribute payments would dissuade the Sultan from large-scale

44 A good introductory narrative is Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, 2004), 55–80. A detailed but clear overview of the relationship is Kenneth J. Dillon, *King and Estates in the Bohemian Lands, 1526–1564* (Brussels, 1976). On Hussite doctrine, see Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, 1967), 97–140.

45 Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 84; Jan Lindgren, 'Money, Men, Means', in *War and Competition between States*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Oxford, 2000), 129–62.

46 Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 82–83.

offensives in Central Europe.⁴⁷ Luckily for Ferdinand, Süleyman shifted his attention to Persia, a perennial threat to the Ottoman border. He did not, however, abandon the hit-and-run raids into central and east-central Europe that weakened local will to resist outright conquest when it came.⁴⁸

Ferdinand's signature contribution to muting the venomous clash of religion and politics in central Europe has grown only in hindsight. In desperate need of German support in confrontations to come with the Ottomans, he brokered a compromise with the imperial diet in Augsburg in 1555: The Empire's Lutheran and Catholic princes would be able to determine which of the two creeds their holdings followed. The arrangement did not solve all the problems that the Protestant movements had brought to the Empire. The status of ecclesiastical properties remained contested, and the formal recognition of only one new doctrine, the Lutheran Augsburg Confession, did not sit well with the other confessions, especially Calvinism, which was making significant inroads into one electorate, the Rhenish Palatinate.⁴⁹ The policy brought him even fewer accolades in the Catholic camp, including members of his own family. His brother, Emperor Charles v, who was unshakeably committed to restoring western Christendom's traditional faith to all German-speaking lands, read the move as an insult to his office. Rome abhorred it, so much so that Pope Paul iv bitterly opposed Ferdinand's elevation to Emperor after Charles v resigned the position in 1558.⁵⁰ Ferdinand was even briefly excommunicated for his part in the arrangement. Nevertheless, the so-called Peace of Augsburg would become the core of a more comprehensive German religious settlement in the middle of the seventeenth century. It also gave the Habsburgs a freer hand in re-Catholicizing their patrimonial lands, especially Austria and Bohemia.

Confronting a steady assault of such challenges, and the fiscal burdens they placed on his lands and personal resources, Ferdinand I left no grand physical or cultural monuments to himself. While he was the subject of several portraits, his sole visual legacy to Vienna is his name inscribed on the entrance to the main courtyard of the Hofburg, scorned throughout Europe during much of the early modern era for its dowdy exterior. His image on the cover of his sarcophagus, in the cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague, is more notable for disembodied peacefulness than for recollection of his life and achievements. Clearly

47 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, 133-34.

48 Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London, 2007), 20-23.

49 Kohler, *Ferdinand I.*, 243-58.

50 Ernst Laubach, 'Politik und Selbstverständnis Kaiser Ferdinands I.', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, ed. Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler, *Geschichte in der Epoche Karls v. 2* (Münster, 2003), 130-31.

there was not much to celebrate.⁵¹ But troubled or not, he found both pleasure and solace in music. Even when deeply in debt he underwrote his chapel choir as generously as had his extravagant grandfather. Dying most probably of cardiac tuberculosis in 1564, he had musicians play for him as he lay awaiting the end.

The absence of distinctive accomplishment genuinely tormented Ferdinand's eldest son and successor, Maximilian II. Intellectually gifted, broadly cultivated, and fiercely ambitious, he was eager to take on the Turks and drive them out of Hungary. He also hoped to bring lasting religious peace to the Empire. Unlike his father, who stopped short of recommending the Peace of Augsburg as a permanent solution to religious factionalism in the Empire, Maximilian came to think that *cuius regio, eius religio* would hold well into the future. Like his father, however, he excluded Calvinists from the arrangement, a politically questionable decision inasmuch as two of the imperial secular electors, one from the Rhenish Palatinate and the other from Brandenburg, would follow the Calvinist movement that was spreading to the Empire from Geneva. Maximilian's agenda was typically ambitious. Just as typically, he failed to realize it.

A massive offensive he sponsored in 1566 against Süleyman and the Ottoman armies ended in an embarrassing defeat, the outcome of bad strategy and quirks of weather and climate. The loss of a major fortress in Hungary at Szigetvár would be recorded in the Kingdom's national history as a display of Hungarian bravery rather than Habsburg prowess. Maximilian himself was personally crushed. For the rest of his career, he paid for peace as a tributary to the Porte, a role he had once scorned in his father.

The religious situation that vexed Maximilian II throughout his career was also complicated enormously by the dynastic policies of both the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs. Ferdinand I had begun arranging cross-cousin marriages, a strategy with which his house linked both branches to the many titles they held throughout Europe and beyond. Maximilian II happily married Princess Maria, Charles I (V)'s daughter and sister to the future King of Spain, Philip II. Should Philip die without a male heir, Maximilian was positioned to claim the Spanish crowns. But confessional issues brought considerable tension to relations between the two. While Maximilian never abandoned the Church of

51 Paula Sutter Fichtner, 'A Community of Illness: Ferdinand I and his Family', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, ed. Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler, Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V. 2 (Münster, 2003), 203-16; Wolfgang Hilger, 'Die Bildnisse Ferdinands I', in *Kaiser Ferdinand I.: Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens*, 7-34.

Rome, he sympathized with the anti-papal critique of the Protestant reform. As he grew older, he called himself a Christian and left it at that.

Such behaviour was the despair of his father, who threatened to disinherit him if he did not swear to rule as a Roman Catholic. Indeed, Ferdinand I's testament called for the division of the Habsburg patrimony among his three sons: Maximilian received Lower Austria and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, the Tyrol went to Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-95), and the youngest of the brothers, Archduke Charles II (1540-90), was left with Inner Austria, with Graz as its centre. The territorial unity of the Habsburgs was once again rent asunder. Ferdinand I himself may have wanted all his sons to be equally marriageable to appeal to prestigious and wealthy princesses. He may also have intended to spread his debts equally among them. Religious convictions, however, along with tradition, also recommended that entrusting Maximilian II with the entire Habsburg inheritance in central Europe would be dynastically and politically unwise.⁵²

Intra-dynastic conflicts over faith and political sovereignty in the Netherlands also strained Habsburg family ties to the utmost. As Duke of Burgundy, King Philip II of Spain was territorial overlord for much of a region where Maximilian II, as Emperor, was technically suzerain. Though constitutionally part of the Empire, estates in these lands had long looked the other way when asked to contribute to the defence of the larger Empire. Still, they had never moved formally to end this relationship. Some of the provinces had adopted variants of the Protestant reform; other princes throughout the Empire who had also left the Church of Rome insisted that the Peace of Augsburg applied to their co-religionists in the Netherlands. As ducal overlord in much of the region, Philip insisted that he was empowered to impose his Catholic faith on territories he had received from his father, Emperor Charles V. Maximilian II was thus torn between the confessional preferences of his house and those of the Protestant German princes, many of whom despised all things Spanish after watching Charles V's clumsy manoeuvring in the 1550s to make Philip II the next Emperor. Maximilian could do little more than privately agonize as he watched his cousin and brother-in-law use armed force to insure that Catholicism and Spanish rule would prevail in some of Europe's most economically significant lands.⁵³ The ensuing Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) between Spain and the rebellious Dutch provinces resulted in the establishment of the Dutch Republic (the United Provinces of the Netherlands) in the 1580s (not formally

⁵² Fichtner, *Ferdinand I*, 241-42.

⁵³ Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, 156-72.

recognized as an independent state until 1648, as part of the Peace of Westphalia), while Spain retained only the Southern Netherlands.

Maximilian II died in 1576, a deeply disappointed man. Like his namesake great-grandfather, however, he did not allow failure to stop his dreams of a great court. Here too he never got what he wanted. A sincere lover of music, he was often overheard singing in private, and he spent generously on his chapel choir, but his court failed to attract some of the greatest composers and musicians of the time. Maximilian's plans for opulent pleasure palaces also came to naught. A summer residence, the *Neugebäude* on the outskirts of Vienna, was never completed. While its spirit might have lived on in a twentieth-century drive-in cinema that was once on the grounds, it was not quite what the Emperor intended.⁵⁴

On the brighter side, Maximilian and his Spanish wife outdid themselves in their most basic dynastic duty: They produced ten children, six of them male. But the pattern of inadequacy and failure haunted these men as well. Of the four who survived to adulthood, none could bring the Habsburg Central European patrimony under control, politically or religiously. The eldest, Archduke Rudolph, who succeeded his father as Emperor in 1576, turned into a reclusive and frustratingly disengaged ruler. Educated at the safely Catholic court of Philip II, he moved his imperial establishment from Vienna to Prague in 1583. There he gathered around him an assemblage of scholars and artists that testified to the great man Rudolph II thought he was. Especially favoured were Italian and Netherlandic painters whose work announced that the Habsburgs were major patrons of art as well as music.⁵⁵ Rudolph himself painted and discoursed without end to those who would, or had to, listen.

For all this glitter, his political standing suffered badly. One of his brothers, Archduke Matthias (1557-1619), an ambitious throwback to the youthful Maximilian II, used Rudolph's disinterest in government to strip the latter of his various titles. To get them, he trimmed Habsburg religious policies accordingly. After promising the estates in Lower Austria that he would treat Protestants leniently, he made similar pledges in Bohemia and Hungary. By 1608, estates in both realms had recognized him as their king, leaving his elder brother with the increasingly empty distinction of Emperor. This too came to Matthias in 1612, following Rudolph's death. But he had helped to create an environment in

54 Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, 85, 97, 99.

55 On Rudolph's court generally, see R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612* (Oxford, 1973), chapters 4-7. An excellent introduction to this complex material is Karl Vocelka, *Rudolf II. und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1985).

which policy throughout much of the Habsburg patrimony was being made by representatives of the nobility and not by Habsburg territorial rulers.

Only two of the dynasty's holdings were strongly Catholic and politically secure in ways that the ruling house could accept. One was the Tyrol, held by Ferdinand I's sturdily devout second son, Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-95), who had inherited it along with Outer Austria upon his father's death. The Protestant reform never took hold there, nor, it should be noted, did Ottoman armies threaten it. Aiding the Archduke were the Jesuits who were intensely active in the province.⁵⁶ The second was Inner Austria, ruled by Ferdinand I's youngest son, Archduke Charles II (1540-90), also firmly Catholic and married to an equally pious woman, Duchess Maria of Bavaria (1551-1608). At Graz, the seat of his court, Charles spent generously for an elaborate chapel choir, among other things.⁵⁷

From the religious perspective, however, Charles II did not have much to celebrate. Protestant belief, especially its Lutheran variant, had set down tenacious roots in the region, especially within the ranks of the nobility, whose peasant agricultural workforce frequently adopted the faith of their landlords. But unlike his oldest brother Emperor Maximilian II, he was determined to restore Catholicism in his lands. Initially conciliatory, he persuaded some members of the estates that he would remain that way, but they soon learned that their trust was misplaced. Charles settled down for the long haul of suppressing all Protestant sects in his lands, again with the aid of the Jesuits, who had come to Graz in 1572.⁵⁸ By his death, he was well along in the task.

3 War as Politics, Politics as War

With impeccable Catholics for parents, Charles's son, the future Emperor Ferdinand II (1578-1637), was well prepared to continue his father's brand of the Counter-Reformation in Styria and Carinthia as soon as he reached his majority.⁵⁹ Proceeding as relentlessly as his father, he quickly became known as a

56 Heiss, 'Princes, Jesuits and the Origins of the Counter-Reformation', 98-101.

57 Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564-1619)* (Mainz, 1967). See also Steven Saunders (ed.), *Fourteen Motets from the Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 75 (Madison, WI, 1995), x, and Chapter 5 of this volume.

58 Regina Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630* (Oxford, 2001), 4, 28, 111-12, 195-222.

59 Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 10-11, 14-30.

champion of papal orthodoxy. His personal habits alone broadcast the message to contemporaries. Religious observance took up roughly two hours of his waking time, not to mention ritual public appearances on feast days. He spent as lavishly on elaborate sacred music as had his father. By 1637, he employed over eighty musicians, full and part time, including some trumpeters whom he ennobled. He encouraged not only spectacular musical performances at court but also the publication of massive works, including a print featuring Latin sacred music for seven choirs and trumpets issued early in his reign by his chapel master, Giovanni Valentini (1582/83-1649).⁶⁰

Had Ferdinand II's anti-Protestant campaign affected only Inner Austria, his confessional rigor may not have made him so fearful to others. His family, however, had plans for him that alarmed most of Protestant Central Europe. Emperor Matthias died childless in 1619. His remaining brothers, all of them also childless, had agreed by 1618 that their nephew in Graz should be both head of the house of Austria and Emperor. Elected to the latter title in 1619 after contentious bickering with Protestant spokesmen in the Empire, Ferdinand II was strategically positioned to begin a substantial rollback of Protestantism. Whether he had sufficient support to do this was questionable, but he was certainly ready to try.⁶¹

Ferdinand was not beyond compromising with Protestants to shore up his political position; he made some concessions to Protestants in Lower Austria in return for their loyalty. Nevertheless, he soon required all his court officials and household members to be Catholic. By 1620, the Bohemian estates were especially apprehensive. Utraquists, along with other Protestant splinter groups, had continued to worship in the Kingdom under ambiguous conditions developed during Maximilian II's reign. Though a few important nobles

60 The authoritative source on sacred music at Ferdinand II's court is Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995); on Valentini's print, see Steven Saunders, 'The Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the *Messa, Magnificat et Iubilatio Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe* (1621) of Giovanni Valentini', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991), 359-403, as well as Chapter 11 of this volume. See also Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 180-82, 202.

61 On Ferdinand II's re-Catholicization programme, see esp. Robert Bireley, 'Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy', in *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York, 1991), 226-44 and Robert Bireley, 'Confessional Absolutism in the Habsburg Lands in the Seventeenth Century', in *State and Society in Early Modern Austria*, ed. Charles W. Ingrao (West Lafayette, IN, 1994), 36-53. On Bohemia specifically, see Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge, 2009).

stubbornly opposed it, Rudolph II's Letter of Majesty, issued in 1609, granted freedom of worship in the Kingdom to Utraquists and other Protestants.⁶² Ferdinand II seemed likely to curb their privileges, indeed to cancel them altogether. Though the Bohemian estates had acknowledged him in 1617 as their next king, they mistrusted him enough to invite another prince to govern them, Elector Palatine Frederick v. A Calvinist, he accepted the offer readily.

The Elector's decision opened a tricky constitutional question in the Empire: Kings of Bohemia were also imperial electors. Should one prince hold two electoral offices? Frederick's colleagues, most notably the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, were unwilling to give so much influence to one among them. When in 1618 Ferdinand went to war to enforce his claims in Bohemia following the Kingdom's rejection of one of his spokesmen in the notorious Defenestration of Prague, it was with Saxony's support. The Bohemian opposition collapsed fairly quickly in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain outside of Prague. The leaders of the sedition were summarily executed, and Ferdinand began the process of re-Catholicizing the country. Combining his own programme with a measure of local Catholic support, he followed an agenda that made Bohemia largely Catholic by the end of the seventeenth century.⁶³ Those who refused to convert, especially members of the noble estates, were forced into exile, their properties and the titles attached to them redistributed to Habsburg supporters.

The victory at White Mountain also strengthened the position of the house of Habsburg in the Kingdom. Ferdinand II forced hereditary succession upon local estates, which he restocked with Catholic noblemen, some of whom were newly coined and, in some cases, complete foreigners. Yet while Ferdinand limited the nobility's constitutional authority, regardless of the quality of pedigrees that were represented, he did not abolish their traditional powers altogether. Most importantly, he left them with the right to appropriate tax monies, a function that equipped the estates with sensitive leverage in future bargaining with their ruler.

Ferdinand II's wars did not, however, end there. The Bohemian episode was only the prelude to a general European conflict that lasted formally until 1648: the Thirty Years' War. While religion drove some important decisions

62 An excellent discussion of the religious and constitutional issues in Bohemia is Jaroslav Pánek, 'The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of the White Mountain', in *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York, 1991), 129-48. See also Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 52, 63, and Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, 193-99.

63 A refreshingly balanced study is Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*.

throughout the hostilities, territorial interests and ambitions weighed heavily as well. Denmark's Lutheran King Christian IV, whose holdings in Lower Saxony made him an imperial prince, intervened on behalf of German Protestants and his own lands in 1625. Five years later, the Swedish ruler Gustavus Adolphus joined the fray, avowedly to protect Protestantism, but also hoping to strengthen his influence over Pomerania and Mecklenburg to his south. Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, as ruthless as he was Catholic, was eyeing Frederick V's electoral Palatinate, to which the Munich branch of the house of Wittelsbach had long-standing claims. The kings of France took the opportunity to push their boundaries east of the Rhine. Perhaps the most transparently Protestant interest in the war was represented by Elector John George of Saxony. In 1620, he helped assure the future of evangelical practice in his lands by agreeing to support Ferdinand II's struggle to keep the Bohemian crown under Habsburg control.⁶⁴

The Habsburg triumph in Bohemia was followed by other military victories, thanks in part to Elector John George and to grudging help from Ferdinand II's Spanish relatives, who hoped in vain for his assistance on their own battlefields in Italy and the Netherlands (a truce in the Eighty Years' War expired in 1621). But the court in Vienna was particularly indebted to Albrecht von Wallenstein, a minor Bohemian nobleman whose strategic canniness and logistical skills kept the house of Austria on top of military encounters from about 1625 to 1630.⁶⁵ Throughout the period, Ferdinand II remained focused on his primary religious goal: to return as much Catholic unity to the Empire as possible. The high point of his vision came in 1629 when he issued the Edict of Restitution, which ordered the return of all ecclesiastical lands confiscated by Protestants since 1522 to the Catholic bishoprics to which they had once belonged. While the Lutheran Augsburg Confession was recognized in the Empire, all other 'sects' were to be disbanded. The measure provoked heated controversy in all the confessional outposts of the Empire and in Europe. Pope Urban VIII denounced the privileging of Lutheran principalities. Calvinists were virtually shut out of public religious life altogether. Ferdinand II himself had some reservations about it, but his decision to let it stand helped persuade contemporaries, and future historians, that religion was the overriding issue of the entire conflict.⁶⁶ From that point on, at least from the Habsburg perspective, the conflict went downhill. Wallenstein lost the confidence of both the Emperor and his court, some of whom suspected that the mercurial

64 Geoffrey Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1997), 54.

65 Mortimer, *Wallenstein*, chapters 5-7.

66 Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 187-91, 194-95, 201-2, 208, 210, 241.

commander wanted to be Emperor himself. Indeed, his practice of issuing recruitment orders in his name and not the Emperor's seemed to confirm those fears.⁶⁷ The last major Catholic victory of the Thirty Years' War was the Battle of Nördlingen on 6 September 1634, at which the imperial troops were led by the Emperor's eldest son Archduke Ferdinand (future Emperor Ferdinand III, 1608-57) and aided by the Spanish army under the command of Ferdinand III's cousin, the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609/10-41), son of King Philip III (1578-1621) and Ferdinand II's sister Margarita (1584-1611).⁶⁸

Ferdinand II died in 1637. While the war he had set off would do little to improve the fortunes of his house, he had contributed much to its internal management. Particularly important was his formal establishment of primogeniture in the eldest male line of his house as the rule of succession, thus putting largely to rest the venerable practice of partible inheritance that had caused the dynasty such grief in the past.⁶⁹ But he had also saddled his house with a wearisome and destructive conflict that would tarnish the moral standing of Habsburgs, Spanish and Austrian, for decades to come. Their very faith associated them with horrific brutalities, even when they were not directly involved in them. There was, for example, the Protestant peasant who was held still by a red-hot pair of pincers; his executioner then nailed the victim's hand to a block, drew his sword, and beheaded him, shouting all the time 'Jesus, Jesus'.⁷⁰ The war had also played havoc with the economies and societies of Upper and Lower Austria, Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia, some of the most economically productive regions of the Habsburg monarchy. Epidemics of plague and typhus wiped out substantial numbers of people as well.⁷¹ Some in the humbler ranks of Ferdinand's subjects had made Wallenstein a kind of folk hero for his willingness to make truces with Habsburg enemies if only they brought about a peace.⁷²

67 Mortimer, *Wallenstein*, 221-39; Luis Ribot García, 'Types of Armies: Early Modern Spain', in *War and Competition between States*, ed. Philippe Contamine (New York, 2001), 54. See also Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 183.

68 See Chapter 16 of this volume for more details about the latter phase of the Thirty Years' War.

69 Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 293.

70 Alexander Schunka, 'Emigration aus der Habsburgerländern nach Mitteldeutschland: Motive und soziale Konsequenzen', in *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil: Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Munich, 2007), 235-39.

71 Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009), 788, 792-93.

72 Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 100-1.

Ferdinand's successor, Emperor Ferdinand III, was thoroughly schooled for the tasks that were handed to him. His Catholic indoctrination had been thorough, and he was equally well trained in the court rituals that identified monarchs. He had also mastered the practical skills required of all Habsburg sovereigns: He spoke German, French, Italian, and Spanish fluently.⁷³ By 1643, serious talk of peace had begun. Both sides of the house were fiscally strained and had long considered multiple strategies that would get it out of the conflict, while adding at least something to its political weight and lustre.⁷⁴ One more decisive victory would have helped, or so reasoning in Vienna went, but the Habsburgs no longer had the armed force to produce it. Ferdinand III had considerable experience with the military and diplomatic aspects of the conflict; he and his advisors tried to wring all the concessions they could from the tortuous negotiations that ended the war.⁷⁵ They did not come away empty handed, but nevertheless, the Peace of Westphalia, finalized in 1648, denied the house of Austria its greater goals: a sweeping restoration of Catholicism in the Empire and a strengthening of the imperial office that the family had held for so long.⁷⁶ The right of *cuius regio, eius religio* was extended to Calvinist princes, most notably the elector of Brandenburg. Even in Lower Austria, part of the Habsburg patrimonial *regio*, where in 1620 seventy-five percent of the nobility had been Protestant, those with feudal holdings were allowed to keep their lands and worship in other principalities where Protestant devotions were held.⁷⁷

One significant ramification of the Peace of Westphalia was the decisive split between the Austrian and Spanish branches of the family. The 'most Catholic' kings of Spain had never approved of the concessions the Emperor became willing to make to Protestants starting in 1635, but the 1648 peace created an even stronger barrier between the two lines. Although the Austrian Habsburgs had made peace with France, no such peace had been brokered between France and Spain; Spain was thus left at the mercy of the expansionist, war-mongering Louis XIV, with the Austrian Habsburgs constrained by the terms of the peace from intervening on their cousins' behalf. The years after 1648 saw constant warfare between France and Spain, ending only in November 1659 with the Peace of the Pyrenees, which culminated with the marriage of Maria

73 Hengerer, *Ferdinand III.*, 29-35.

74 Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 187-91.

75 Hengerer, *Ferdinand III.*, 89-123.

76 Lothar Höbelt, *Ferdinand III.: Friedenskaiser wider Willen* (Graz, 2008), esp. 265-69; Hengerer, *Ferdinand III.*, 227-65. Both of these volumes have valuable cumulative bibliographies that stretch far beyond their subject.

77 Reingrabner, *Adel und Reformation*, 18, 73-74.

Teresa (1638-83), the daughter of Philip IV and Elisabeth of France, to Louis XIV.⁷⁸ While Spanish blood was enlivening the line of the Bourbon kings of France, the same cannot be said for the Spanish Habsburgs: Philip IV's successor Charles II (1661-1700) visibly suffered from generations of Habsburg inbreeding, and despite a French match (with Marie-Louise d'Orléans, daughter of Louis XIV's younger brother), he could not produce an heir. His death in 1700 sparked the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), which resulted in the formal recognition of Louis XIV's grandson as King Philip V of Spain, thereby firmly ensconcing the Bourbons on the Spanish throne.

Nor did Ferdinand III bequeath a politically solid emperorship to his eldest son Ferdinand IV (1633-54), who was chosen to be King of the Romans in 1653. True, the father could take some consolation in the election itself, and the office still had unique powers. The Emperor could call upon the imperial diet to defend the Empire as a whole. Working with an imperial court in Vienna, he could also adjudicate territorial disputes among German princes and within German princely houses over such matters as land divisions. But enhancements to the political status of the various German princes had further diminished his general standing. Formally recognized as sovereign in their own lands, German territorial rulers were free to conclude treaties with foreign states and with one another as long as such agreements did not call for directly attacking the Empire and its suzerain.⁷⁹

The war's end did not spark grand celebrations in Vienna. What it did require was a quick costume change from Ferdinand III. The Emperor was up to the challenge. Disconsolate though he was, he dropped his role as a dogged defender of his dynasty's universal goals, political and religious, to become the champion of a treaty that he had hoped he would never have to make.⁸⁰ Music, art, and the theatre extolled Ferdinand III as God's instrument through whom peace was brought to the continent.⁸¹ Moreover, as disappointing as the Westphalian accords were for the house of Austria, they opened the way for Ferdinand III and his successors to lead a Counter-Reformation in their own central

78 This was not the first match between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons; Philip III's daughter Anne of Austria (1601-1666) had married King Louis XIII (1601-43) in 1615, and Elisabeth of France (Philip IV's first wife, also married in 1615) was the daughter of King Henry IV (1553-1610).

79 An informative and provocative assessment of the post-Westphalian German Empire is Karl Otmar von Aretin, *Das Reich: Friedensgarantie und europäisches Gleichgewicht* (Stuttgart, 1986), esp. 19-51.

80 Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 251-53.

81 Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 256-57, 260.

European holdings, if not in all of the Empire. Protestants in the Habsburg Austrian patrimony and in Bohemia came under continued heavy pressure to conform to Catholic belief. Jesuits had fostered the cult of the Virgin in Prague and throughout Bohemia; Ferdinand III supported the movement vigorously. At the universities in Vienna and Prague, students were required to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Abundant popular religious literature celebrated a *Mariensäule* (Marian column) that Ferdinand had constructed in Vienna.⁸² Copied in Prague under the supervision of an imperial commission, it was set up in 1650 in the city's Old Town Square on the spot where Bohemia's twenty-seven rebel leaders had been executed in 1621. Ferdinand tactfully removed the gallows that had been left standing.⁸³

From the start of the re-Catholicization of the Habsburg lands, steadfast Protestants who persisted in their faith were allowed to emigrate, a painful, unforgettable process for the many who chose to leave. An émigré from Hernals, a suburb of Vienna that had been a redoubt of Lutheranism in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, put it this way:

Abandoned by God;
Zion speaks of this time;
The Lord has forgotten me;
In my great suffering.
Just like a little turtledove;
I am now alone;
Hernals, garden of God
Your anguish darkens me.⁸⁴

There are no reliable figures for the number of Protestants who left the Austrian lands and Bohemia for religious reasons, but we do know that their exodus had a palpable impact on local economies, especially in Vienna where

82 Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 236-48.

83 Howard Louthan, 'Religious Art and the Formation of a Catholic Identity in Baroque Prague', in *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, ed. Gary B. Cohen and Franz A. J. Szabo (New York, 2008), 55-58. On the process of Catholic confessionalization in the Habsburg monarchy generally, see Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit*, vol. 2, 195-266.

84 'Von Gott bin ich verlassen, / Spricht Sion dieser Zeit, / Der Herr hat mein vergessen / In meinem großen Leid. / Nach Turteltaubleins Arte / Einsam bin worden ich; / Hernals, du Gottes Garten, / Dein Leid betrübet mich'; Gustav Reingrabner, *Protestanten in Österreich: Geschichte und Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1981), 138. See also Pörtlner, *Styria*, 225-26.

many émigrés were bourgeois tradesmen and clothiers.⁸⁵ By 1620, their property was being confiscated. In 1623 they were no longer eligible for municipal citizenship and office. In 1625, they were ordered to leave the city, some after paying a tax on the assets they were taking with them. In one of history's more poignant ironies, thirty-one Protestant houses were turned over in 1625 to Jews. Protestants who remained in the city, so-called *Unkatholiken*, were largely from the lower classes of society, servants in particular; most of them eventually joined or re-joined the church of their monarch. Indeed, the costs of emigration were so very high that many *Exulanten*, as they were known, settled just over the Hungarian border in Bratislava (Pozsony) and Sopron, not far from their former home.⁸⁶

Most of the Habsburg nobility, especially in Lower Austria, reconciled themselves to Catholic orthodoxy as well. For some, conversion had always been a political calculation. Restlessness in the Austrian peasantry, in part inspired by Lutheran ideas, had encouraged some landlords to adopt the new faith as a way of insuring the loyalty of their workforces. As access to positions at the court of the Austrian Habsburgs were tied increasingly to one's creed, however, such men found reconversion very easy. By 1650, only 150 out of 450 still stubbornly professed their Protestant confession.⁸⁷ Equally important, their often-massive peasant labour forces went along with them. Although pockets of crypto-Protestants remained scattered throughout the Habsburg patrimony in Bohemia and the various Austrian provinces, overwhelming numbers of Protestants would re-enter the papist fold. The most significant exception was the eastern part of Hungary.⁸⁸ Here Calvinism had embedded itself among important noble families, many of whom would vigorously resist any campaigns to make them Catholic again.⁸⁹

85 Schunka, 'Emigration', 235-39. On Austrian exiles generally, see Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten in Oberdeutschen Reichsstädten: Zur Migrationen von Führungsschichten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte 101 (Munich, 1992), and Hans Krawarik, *Exul Austriacus: Konfessionelle Migrationen aus Österreich in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Austria Forschung und Wissenschaft / Geschichte 4 (Vienna, 2010).

86 Andreas Weigl, 'Residenz, Bastion, und Konsumptionsstadt Stadtwachstum und Demographische Entwicklung einer werdenden Metropole', in *Wien im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Bevölkerung, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Konfession*, ed. Andreas Weigl (Vienna, 2001), 100-3, 105.

87 Reingrabner, *Adel*, 19; Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit*, part 2, 106-7.

88 Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, 2000), 10-45; Pörtner, *Styria*, 142, 228.

89 Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 235-74.

But even discounting for a realm where nobles great and small were hypersensitive to possible infringements of their constitutional rights, the Habsburgs' reputation as champions of the Church of Rome caused serious problems for their relations with other rulers, especially non-Catholics. In no place was this truer than in German-speaking lands, now heavily Protestant. For all the fissures that the Thirty Years' War had exposed in Spanish-Austrian relations, Protestants in the Empire generally saw the regime in Vienna as a willing outpost of Spanish Catholicism. Nor were other Catholic European rulers inclined to respect them. This was especially true in France, where royal appetites for expansion into the western reaches of the Empire had been activated by the Thirty Years' War and by ambitions to scale back the Spanish Habsburg presence in Italy.

Nevertheless, the Habsburgs persisted in reinforcing confessional uniformity in their patrimony, aided by both the institutions of the Catholic Church and by a nobility now fully awake to the fact that allegiance to the Church of Rome brought them closer to monarchs who were ready to reward them for their support. Out of this symbiosis emerged a species of cultural coherence, in which cross-class common religious institutions played a leading role. The cult of the Virgin, for example, attracted many followers in all three segments of the Habsburg patrimony: the Austrian lands, Bohemia, and even in Hungary, where it was often given a national twist.⁹⁰

4 One Draw, Two Triumphs

Positive though these developments were, the dynasty was faced in the second half of the seventeenth century with a very different crisis: Its reproductive capacity at Ferdinand III's death in 1657 was running low, in Austria as well as in Spain. Ferdinand IV, the heir whose coronation as King of the Romans had overjoyed his father, died in 1654, apparently of smallpox. Two younger brothers remained, Leopold (1640-1705) and Charles Joseph (1649-64). Both had been assigned to ecclesiastical high offices, where the Habsburgs often stored younger sons without requiring them to take all the holy orders that would have made retrieving them for secular duties very hard. The crowns of the Habsburg lands and the imperial office fell to Leopold, a retiring and timorous man who would probably have been happy to remain cloistered. His idea of government was to preside over an assemblage of advisors, almost always noblemen from Bohemia or the Austrian lands, who periodically sorted and

90 Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 255-58.

resorted themselves into rancorous factions dictated by policy and, more often, raw self-interest.⁹¹ Leopold's deep piety and humility, however, contrasted sharply with such behaviour. He prayed happily as a child and occasionally played at being a priest. As an adult he gave generously to the poor, looked in on the monasteries of Vienna several times a week, heard three masses every day, and went on pilgrimages. Like several seventeenth-century Habsburgs, he was especially devoted to the Virgin Mother. In 1659, he joined a secular brotherhood, the Society of Joseph, dedicated to promoting the Virgin's husband to a status more nearly equivalent to her own. By 1696, the humble carpenter had become a patron saint of Austria, with his movement, numbering around 60,000 members, well established throughout the entire monarchy. With Leopold's first son and eventual heir named Joseph, the link between the Church and Habsburg rule was forged ever more tightly, at least symbolically.⁹²

Such intense religiosity was somewhat offset by Leopold's passionate cultivation of the arts, especially music. Indeed, he was (like his father) a talented composer, with 175 secular and seventy-nine spiritual works to his credit. He wrote parts of the score for *Il pomo d'oro*, an extravagant operatic paean to his first wife, the Spanish Infanta Margarita Teresa (1651-73), performed at the Viennese court in 1667. He also played several instruments. Concerned about the impact of operatic productions on audiences, he micromanaged many of them from start to finish.⁹³ He was also eager to have his musical and theatrical projects publicized abroad, particularly when their quality approached similar presentations at the French court of Louis XIV, Leopold's arch-rival.⁹⁴ His spending on these affairs was correspondingly prodigious. While he began a systematic programme to develop commerce and manufacturing in his lands, it never generated enough taxable revenue to offset the ongoing depletion of his gold and silver mines. Landed nobility and their peasant workers alike continued to live almost exclusively from agriculture in the Habsburg domains. Increasing old taxes or creating new ones to lighten the imperial debt load was

91 See, for example, John P. Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1977), 42-48, 50, 56-57, 62, 96-97.

92 Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit*, part 2, 206, 231-32.

93 Spielman, *Leopold I*, 55; Thomas Mack Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting* (Albany, 1967), 5; Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 117-18; Fichtner, *The Habsburgs*, 106-9. The authoritative book on opera at the Habsburg court is still Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tutzing, 1985).

94 Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle, and Text* (Mainz, 2000), 45-49, 96-97; Jutta Schumann, *Die andere Sonne: Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.* (Berlin, 2003), 296; Magdalena Hawlik-van de Water, *Die Kapuzinergruft: Begräbnisstätte der Habsburger in Wien* (Vienna, 1987), 132, 182-83.

theoretically possible but not easy to do when estates retained significant control over such requests from their sovereign. Hungarians, when asked to pay higher levies after the liberation of their kingdom from Ottoman occupation, were especially defiant.⁹⁵

Leopold's prime goal, however, was to create a court that externally corresponded to his image of his own importance and that of his house. Originally intended to protect the ruler and his immediate family and to assist him in various affairs of state, Habsburg establishments had once been no larger and more lavish than the residences of leading nobles of the time. Leopold had a staff of 1,000 running from high officials to minor house servants – still far more modest than the 10,000 whom Louis XIV installed at Versailles. But its size was less a reflection on the personal needs of the imperial family and the increasing business of state in Vienna than on the breadth and depth of Leopold's cultural projects, especially their operative side.⁹⁶

As for his career as a ruler, Leopold had relatively little difficulty in assuming the various offices he held in the Habsburg patrimony, though his reign would be plagued by fractious relations with the Hungarian nobility over constitutional, religious, and military matters. One faction of his advisors was bent on keeping Louis XIV as far from the east bank of the Rhine as possible, another wedded to driving the Ottoman Empire out of a Central Europe in which the sultans still controlled Buda and Pest. The Hungarian nobility's most bitter complaint about Habsburg governments generally was their failure to liberate their Hungarian kingdom from an occupying Muslim power.⁹⁷

Events forced Leopold to concentrate on the Turks far more than he wished. The Ottomans had been a problem for the Habsburg regime throughout the Thirty Years' War, but far less imminently threatening than the kings of Sweden and France. Weakened by a succession of inadequate, sometimes mentally unbalanced, sultans, the military focus at the Porte had been the south, especially Persia. By 1656, however, the government in Constantinople was effectively under the control of two Grand Viziers of Albanian origin, the Kiuprili, who believed that further conquests in Central Europe would revive the drifting empire. By 1660, it was plain that more moves toward the west through Hungary were in the offing.⁹⁸ The moment came in 1683.

The Roman Catholic Church in Vienna had whipped up fearsome images of Ottoman conquest and its life-threatening implications. Thus primed, terrified

95 Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 30-31, 37.

96 Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit*, part 1, 178-79, 182-83.

97 Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, chapter 7.

98 Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, 63-86; Spielman, *Leopold I*, 49-51.

citizens awaited an attack. By the beginning of July, their worst fears were about to be realized. After a scorched-earth march through the villages and markets to the south and southwest of the Habsburg capital, the Sultan's forces were at its walls on 20 July.⁹⁹ The fear and suffering experienced by the Viennese people during the ensuing siege were captured in an outpouring of devotional and liturgical musical works.¹⁰⁰ The siege lasted until 12 September, when determined local opposition, improved fortifications, and a pan-European coalition of Christian forces that Leopold had put together drove them back. The King of Poland, John Sobieski, was the real victor. Leopold was not even in the city; on 7 July he had fled up the Danube to Passau with his pregnant Empress until it was safe for them to return. A disgruntled public jeered them along the way.

The crushing Ottoman defeat was, in many respects, self-inflicted. Hoping to cover as much terrain as they could in a short time, the Sultan's forces had left behind the cannons and other ordnance that might have breached Vienna's walls. Much of their other equipment was substandard compared to weaponry available in the west. Their lines of supply had also become perilously thin as they advanced to the north and the west. The overall commander of the Ottoman forces, Kara Mustafa, who would lose his head for his mismanagement, had also held back on distributing the booty and other spoils of war that his troops were expecting. He had wrongly assumed that Leopold's somewhat improvised coalition could not hold.¹⁰¹

The breaking of the siege of Vienna in 1683 was followed by a series of Habsburg victories to the east and southeast.¹⁰² By 1700 the Ottomans were no longer a political or military presence in Hungary. Their disappearance had been long desired by the Kingdom's magnates, who were eager to repossess their confiscated properties. They were much aggravated when the dynasty began awarding these lands to other settlers, setting up yet another confrontation with the Habsburgs that did not end until 1705. But the triumph at Vienna in 1683 and the liberation of Buda in 1686 gave Leopold I the moral and political standing in Christendom that the Habsburgs had pursued through the

99 The 1683 siege is the focus of Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gates*.

100 A preliminary investigation of this music is offered in Robert G. Rawson, 'Suffering and Supplication as Emblems of Power in Music Relating to the 1683 Ottoman Siege of Vienna', in *Music and Power in the Baroque Era*, ed. Rudolf Rasch, Music, Criticism and Politics 6 (Turnhout, 2018), 221-36.

101 Barker, *Double Eagle*, 192-97; Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge, 1994), 75-77; Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 61-65.

102 Important studies of the impact and lasting ramifications of the 1683 conflict are Ivan Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683-1739)* (New York, 1995) and Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*.

centuries. Not only had his forces beaten back an existential threat to Europe collectively, but he had also vanquished a generally acknowledged enemy of a faith that was not, at least for a moment, confined to Catholics. Vienna's defenders had been constantly reminded that they were fighting not just for their Emperor – who had urged them to defend the 'Empire' (an exhortation he was still officially entitled to make) – but also for the variants of the religion they professed. Contemporary literature praised Catholics and Protestants for a valour that had proven their superiority to Islam.

The Habsburg court and the Church in Vienna celebrated the victory several times over. In 1685, the Emperor himself composed some of the music for *Il paladino in Roma*, an opera whose libretto glorified the house of Habsburg as the protector of Christendom. Some among the enthusiastic declared Leopold master of both Orient and Occident. While this was an overstatement that events quickly cut down to size, Leopold had indeed brought to his lands a kind of cultural unity built around ruler and the Catholic faith that had been unimaginable at the height of the Protestant Reformation. His armies, and those of his immediate successors, were a prime example of how deeply Catholic belief penetrated all layers of society. The religious makeup of the Habsburg military was not uniform; manpower needs sometimes trumped confessional considerations, and Protestants, especially from German-speaking areas, fought in Leopold's armies. But the form of worship they encountered while serving was exclusively Catholic. Regardless of confession, men were ordered to attend Catholic religious observances, where they could not take sacraments if they were Protestant. The army's head chaplain was private confessor to the Habsburg emperors.¹⁰³

Leopold's military, diplomatic, and political problems did not end with the suppression of what contemporaries called the 'Turks'. The large-scale peasant revolt in Bohemia in 1680 was still fresh in the Emperor's memory. Even more gravely, Louis XIV's ambitions in Germany and Spain were yet at high pitch. Militarily and iconographically, the Habsburg-Bourbon rivalry appeared to be an asymmetric match-up. Louis XIV embodied his might in equestrian poses; Leopold seemed more at home praying at the *Pestsäule* (plague column) that he erected in Vienna in 1679. Nevertheless, the unprepossessing Habsburgs came out of the contest with a draw. Another 'Grand Alliance' that Leopold coaxed into being by 1689 had removed at least some of the French King's beachheads in south-western Germany. More important still for his Austrian branch of the dynasty, the family's centre of power had shifted away from Madrid, which had lost its continental pre-eminence to France, to a court in

103 Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, 136–37.

Vienna that had stood up to Versailles and reversed at least some of its most far-reaching eastward thrusts. In the end, Leopold emerged as the victor in two wars. In his own lands he had knit together a community of religious and political interests, especially with his Catholic nobles, whom his immediate successors could call upon to meet the challenges that would arise in the decades to come.¹⁰⁴ Rudolph I would have been proud of him indeed.

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104 Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 65-69; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 75-84; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 16.

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PART 1

Institutional Contexts



The Court Chapels of the Habsburg-Burgundian Line: From Emperor Maximilian I to Emperor Charles V

Honey Meconi

1 Maximilian I

The death of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, on the battlefield of Nancy on 5 January 1477 was catastrophic. The bellicose Charles had perished in a vain attempt to unite the two separate physical realms of his duchy: Burgundy and its environs proper, and the much larger and very prosperous territories across the Low Countries and northern France whose connection to Burgundy began with the marriage of Duke Philip the Bold to Margaret of Male, heiress to the Count of Flanders, in 1369.¹ Charles left no male heir, and Louis XI, King of France and Burgundy's bitter enemy, lost no time in placing the Duchy of Burgundy back under French rule.² The northern territories were threatened as well, but submission to France was staved off through a series of diplomatic manoeuvres, and, ultimately, through the marriage of Charles's daughter Mary to her long-time fiancé, Maximilian of Austria, on 19 August 1477 (see Figure 2.1).³ Military campaigns by Maximilian over the next two years helped secure the autonomy of the region.⁴

Upon his marriage, Maximilian joined one of the most fabled courts of Renaissance Europe.⁵ Philip the Bold, first duke of Burgundy (r. 1364-1404),

1 A good summary of Burgundian history is found in Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman and Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1999).

2 Northern rulers such as Philip the Fair conveniently ignored this loss of territory and continued to style themselves 'Duke of Burgundy' for decades after the loss of Burgundy proper.

3 The definitive biography of Maximilian is Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1971-86). A one-volume condensation is Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Vienna-Munich, 1991). A detailed chronology of his life appears on 389-406 therein.

4 On this time of transition, see Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 195-99.

5 On music at the court of Burgundy see Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History* (Brooklyn, 1979) and Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des*



FIGURE 2.1 Maximilian of Austria, as depicted in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 15495, fol. 2r
USED WITH PERMISSION

established a chapel that had reached twenty-eight members by the time he died, a huge number at a time when many institutions had only a handful of professional singers. Chapel membership waned under his son, John the Fearless (1404-19), though it still included composers Johannes Tapissier, Nicolas Grenon, Pierre Fontaine, and Cardot. Chapel size increased again during the lengthy reign of Philip the Good (1419-67), who counted composers Fontaine, Binchois, Robert Morton, Gilles Joye, and Constans Breuwe among his chapel members. Among the cultural highlights of Philip's dukedom were the establishment of the (still extant) Order of the Golden Fleece, in which music played a crucial role. His chapel and those of his descendants performed extensively at every meeting of the order.⁶ Philip's son, Charles the Bold (1467-77), was if anything an even more passionate music lover who both performed and composed. Both Hayne van Ghizeghem and Antoine Busnois served him.

One of the ways in which Charles the Bold demonstrated his commitment to music is found in his *état de l'hôtel* of 1 January 1469.⁷ Documents such as this were generated at irregular intervals by court rulers for the governance of their extensive households. Charles prefaced his by indicating that he was codifying previous practice, but he also noted that household organization had been slack of late. He then proceeded to devote a full quarter of the lengthy document to the chapel. This document is profoundly important for our understanding of the chapel under later rulers, for it informs almost all aspects of chapel behaviour under successive rulers well into the following century.⁸

One of the most valuable aspects of the document is its listing of the very extensive performance activities of the chapel. These included a daily polyphonic mass (following the Use of Paris) as well as daily Vespers and Compline. The Little Hours were added on various feast days: Christmas; the Circumcision;

musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1419-1467), Collection d'études musicologiques 28 (Strasbourg, 1939).

6 On the order of the Golden Fleece see William F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 113-53; William F. Prizer, 'Charles V, Philip II, and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh (Paris-Tours, 2001), 161-88; William F. Prizer, 'Brussels and the Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece', in *Revue belge de musicologie* 55 (2001), 69-90; and Barbara Haggh, 'The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995), 1-43.

7 The portions relating to music are transcribed and discussed in David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400-1474', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), 109-59. On the *état* in general, see Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London-New York, 1973), 193-96.

8 See Bernadette Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony in the Spanish Royal Chapel, c. 1559-c. 1561', in *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 105-200.

Epiphany; the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary as well as the Annunciation, the Visitation, and her Assumption, Nativity, and Conception; Easter; the Ascension; Pentecost and Pentecost Eve; the Trinity; Corpus Christi; All Saints and All Souls; and the feast days of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, and St. Barbara. The Little Hours were also sung each day in advent and Lent.⁹ The chapel was also to sing any obits and obsequies that the Duke designated.¹⁰ Various aspects of the service were parcelled out among chapel members; for instance, singers who were priests (not a requirement for chapel membership) did the Gospel readings for double feasts.¹¹ The *état* indicated the precise point in the service during which chapel members would enter: in Matins at the close of the first hymn, in the Mass at the Gloria Patri of the Introit, in Vespers at the Gloria Patri of the first psalm, and in mourning vigils at the close of the first psalm. Those entering at the wrong time would be fined.¹²

Another key point outlined in the *état* is the disposition of voice parts for singing polyphony: a minimum of fourteen singers, divided into six high voices, two medium voices, three tenors, and three basses; none of these singers were boys.¹³ Charles outlined as well the full number and kind of chapel members: twenty-five total, comprising thirteen *chapelains*, six *clerics*, five *sommeliers*, and one *fourrier*.¹⁴ The *premier chapelain* had numerous administrative duties, some of which are noted below. *Chapelains* were the top singers, better paid than the others. *Clerics* sang as well, although they also read the Epistle on various occasions. They could rise to the rank of *chapelain* depending on vacancies. The *sommeliers* could also sing, but only when they were not busy with other duties, which included taking turns at the altar during High Mass. Only the *fourrier* was not called upon to sing; his position was logistical, e.g., handling the lodging when the chapel was on the road.

9 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 147-48.

10 At no point in this *état* or in later versions are chapel members designated as participating in performances of secular music, but that they did so is a reasonable assumption. For an extensive treatment of secular music in Maximilian's German realm, see Nicole Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder: Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500* (Kassel, 2018).

11 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 148-49.

12 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 149. The French is *dedens*, 'within'.

13 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 113, 149.

14 Instrumentalists (e.g., trumpeters, players of soft instruments) were named on court pay lists, but not as part of the chapel proper; except for the organist, this remains true into the sixteenth century. A short overview of instruments under the various Habsburg rulers is found in Keith Polk, 'Susato and Instrumental Music in Flanders in the 16th Century', in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series 5 (Hillsdale, 2005), 62-68. On Maximilian's instrumentalists, see also Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992), 88-94.

The numbers in these ranks differ in chapel pay lists from later rulers, and additional jobs within the chapel appear as well. A payment for Philip the Fair's chapel in September 1495, for example, includes as chapel members three *porteurs d'orgues*,¹⁵ while an *état* from 1497 adds a *porteur de livres et chappes*.¹⁶ A chapel pay list from the same year shows three organists as chapel members.¹⁷ The 1515 *état* of Charles V specifies two *souffleurs d'orgues*, each of which served half a year.¹⁸ And actual chapel membership fluctuated greatly over the years.

The 1469 *état* goes into great detail on the behaviour and appearance of chapel members. All absences had to be excused. Only two chapel members could be absent at a time, and there always had to be at least two tenors and two contratenors present. Those absent because of true illness (not merely faking it) were paid.¹⁹ Members are told what to wear inside and outside of chapel services, with chapel robes and hoods in fabric chosen by the *premier chapelain*.²⁰ Clothing outside the chapel was to be modest attire without fancy fur, stuffed sleeves, or other fashionable items.²¹ Chapel members are instructed to pay attention during services and not talk, laugh, mock, play games, make signs to each other, and so on.²² No cards, dice, taverns, or brothels are permitted. They are supposed to behave in public (e.g., no noise, tumult, or singing in the streets, night or day; no swearing).²³ Naturally, the need for injunctions against these types of inappropriate behaviour, whether in or out of chapel, indicates that such activities went on; chapel members were eminently human. They were also exclusively male, which means that a special section of the *état* concerns relations with women: no mistresses permitted, with loss of wages to follow after a first warning.²⁴ And, not surprisingly, the annual Feast of Fools was abolished.²⁵

The chapel held a weekly business meeting, usually on Monday morning, where the activities of the week were organized and discipline was doled out

15 See Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (Oxford, 2003), 61.

16 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 61.

17 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 61.

18 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 62.

19 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 154.

20 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 149-50, 154-55.

21 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 149-50.

22 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 151-52. To today's choir member, this list is oddly comforting, confirming as it does the notion that bad behaviour on the part of some singers is evidently both timeless and universal.

23 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 150-51.

24 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 151.

25 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 151.

as necessary. This was the place for discussion of communal affairs, although anyone who was 'troubling the assembly' and did not quiet down when requested would be docked his day's pay.²⁶ The meeting was to be ended with an exhortation by the *premier chapelain* for the members to 'live honestly in their estate and acquit themselves before God' (among other things), after which everyone was to proceed to the chapel, kneel, and pray. Anyone skipping out before the end of prayers forfeited the day's wages.²⁷

The rewards of being a chapel member were not merely, of course, the artistic ones of singing impressive music for most of the day. In addition to room, board, and wages (the last, admittedly, not always paid regularly), chapel members received miscellaneous payments and gifts, such as cloth to be made into their professional garments. Chapel members were also eligible for the lucrative prebends that Charles the Bold and his successors doled out when vacancies arose. A shrewd singer (such as Pierre de la Rue) could acquire a fair amount of wealth in the service of Habsburg-Burgundy.²⁸

Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 thus placed him at the head of one of the most important chapels in Europe. But the turbulence of the next fifteen years had its effect on the chapel. Maximilian's fiscal policies were problematic, if not disastrous,²⁹ and the chapel suffered accordingly. By September 1485, for example, membership had fallen as low as five.³⁰ As always, though, the chapel was expanded when the occasion arose for public display. In December of the same year Maximilian travelled to Germany to meet his father, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, and the following February he was elected King of the Romans, positioning him as his father's successor as emperor.³¹ His coronation as king took place in Aachen that April. The chapel was accordingly restocked before the journey began, to ensure the appropriate degree of pomp and ceremony throughout the festivities.³²

26 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 153.

27 Fallows, 'Specific Information', 153-54.

28 See Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 45.

29 On contemporary fiscal issues, see Peter Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496* (Leiden, 1970).

30 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 20.

31 An anonymous woodcut of Maximilian at the moment of his election includes a group of six singers clustered around a choirbook; see Uta Henning, *Musica Maximiliana: Die Musikgraphiken in den bibliophilen Unternehmungen Kaiser Maximilian I.* (Neu-Ulm, 1987), 34.

32 Unusually, court chronicler Jean Molinet speaks of individual singers in his discussion of the expanded chapel; see Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London etc., 1973), 32-33.

Maximilian's new title did not help his political fortunes in the Low Countries. Mary of Burgundy's death from a hunting accident in 1482 had placed Maximilian in the position of regent for his four-year-old son Philip the Fair, but he never interacted well with his subjects, and in February 1488 he suffered the humiliation of imprisonment by the citizens of Bruges. Released three and a half months later, he turned his back on the Low Countries in January 1489 to return to German lands, leaving a regency council in charge of the government.

In 1490 Sigismund, Archduke of the Tyrol, retired. Maximilian became the new ruler of that important territory, a crucial bridge for travellers between Austria and Italy, and Innsbruck became an important city for Maximilian. Sigismund's organist, the famed Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537), now became attached to Maximilian's retinue.³³ Hofhaimer, the leading organist of his time and a composer as well, retained his connection with Maximilian until the Emperor's death, but (as later with Isaac) this was an employment that permitted a great deal of freedom on Hofhaimer's part. He was rewarded in 1515 with a knighthood.³⁴

When Maximilian left the Low Countries in 1489, he left the Burgundian chapel behind. He called them to join him only towards the end of 1492, probably in connection with a military campaign against France.³⁵ The following year saw two huge changes in Maximilian's life. His father Frederick III died in August, making Maximilian now the unofficial Holy Roman Emperor, and in November he married Bianca Maria Sforza of the powerful Milanese family.

The precise status of Maximilian's chapel at this time is difficult to determine. It is possible that the Burgundian singers remained with the ruler for a good while after they joined him again in November 1492, travelling with him across imperial lands over the next twenty-one months.³⁶ How many German musicians – from Sigismund's or Frederick's chapels, or from elsewhere – were

33 The standard work on Hofhaimer is Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (rev. ed., Hildesheim, 1966). See also Walter Salmen (ed.), *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian 1.: Bericht über die vom 1. bis 5. Juli 1992 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 16 (Innsbruck, 1997). A critical edition of Hofhaimer's works is in progress; see Paul Hofhaimer, *Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke 1: Lateinische Motetten, Deutsche Lieder, Carmina*, ed. Andrea Lindmayer-Brandl, Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg 15 (Salzburg, 2004).

34 Hofhaimer was renowned as a teacher as well, with students including Hans Buchner, Hans Kotter, and Wolfgang Grefinger.

35 On the complex situation concerning the return of the chapel to Maximilian, see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 20-23.

36 A possible itinerary for this period is given in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 24-26.

with Maximilian during this time is unclear.³⁷ Maximilian himself was back in the Low Countries in August 1494, shortly before Philip the Fair, now sixteen years old, assumed the reins of government.³⁸ On 24 August a beautiful mass was sung by Maximilian's 'oberländischen und französischen' singers – obviously his German musicians and his Burgundian ones – but whether the Burgundian singers had arrived with Maximilian or had been back in the Low Countries before Maximilian's return is unknown. In any event, by the end of the year the Burgundian chapel belonged fully to Philip.³⁹

Maximilian made two additions to his chapel in 1496 that were of far-reaching consequence, although one of the newcomers was internationally renowned while the other was completely unknown. The famous addition was Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450/55–1517), who had already served a decade in Florence for the Medici family and others. Even before that, though, he had been paid as a 'componist' by none other than the Tyrolean Duke Sigismund, and his role for Maximilian was likewise as a composer – at that time still an extremely rare designation. One of the most important composers of his generation, Isaac was extremely prolific and stylistically versatile, with a staggering output of mass ordinary and proper settings, motets, and secular works in French, German, and Italian. His productivity far surpasses that of his immediate contemporaries, and he (along with La Rue) was a leader in textural expansion and in the exploration of polyphony with explicit links to the liturgical calendar. Isaac was a master teacher as well, and his most important pupil was the young chorister who also joined Maximilian's employ in 1496: Ludwig Senfl (1489/91–1543), who grew to be the most significant German composer of his time.⁴⁰ While Senfl remained in court service for the most part until Maximilian's death in 1519,⁴¹ Isaac, like Hofhaimer, was frequently absent, and by 1515 he was

37 Maximilian's German chapel has yet to receive the detailed attention given to those of his son and grandson. Some resources include Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I*; Keith Polk, 'Musik am Hof Maximilians I.', in *Musikgeschichte Tirols, Vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Kurt Drexel and Monika Fink (Innsbruck, 2001), 629–53; Laurenz Lüttken, 'Musikalische Identitäten: Hofkapelle und Kunstpolitik Maximilians um 1500', in *Die Habsburger und die Niederlande: Musik und Politik um 1500*, ed. Jürgen Heidrich, Troja: Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 8 (Kassel, 2008/2009), 15–26; the website *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Birgit Lodes, <<https://musical-life.net>> (accessed 25 June 2020); and other bibliography mentioned in this essay. The research project 'The Court Chapel of Maximilian I: Between Art and Politics' by Grantly McDonald is currently in progress.

38 On the chapel's whereabouts prior to August 1494, see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 26–28.

39 On the transition of power, see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 27–28.

40 Other pupils included Adam Renner, Balthasar Resinarius, and Petrus Tritonius.

41 A period of absence in the early sixteenth century likely coincided with the breaking of his voice, followed by some years pursuing his studies at the Emperor's expense.

living permanently in Florence (his wife's home) though still being paid by Maximilian. He died in 1517, almost two years before Maximilian.

In 1498 Maximilian restructured the musical establishment in Vienna, a city that gradually gained importance as an imperial centre even though the Emperor rarely visited. Georg Slatkonja (1456–1522) was appointed chapel master (and eventually Bishop of Vienna as well),⁴² and the ensemble comprised the unusual combination of two basses and six choirboys (likely including future composer Adam Renner as a new addition). The chapel expanded over the years and regularly joined Maximilian for important occasions.

One of most significant of these was the diet of 1507, held in Constance. The goal was to confirm Maximilian's position as the intended Holy Roman Emperor and prepare for the traditional coronation in Rome by the Pope. This diet, with the full *Hofkapelle* and Isaac in attendance, generated both important compositions and important performances. Isaac was responsible for the four-voice motet *Sancti spiritus assit*, which fit into the Mass for the Holy Spirit that normally opened the diet, as well as the powerful six-voice *Virgo prudentissima* (based on a text by chapel master Slatkonja) and the closely related mass on the same model.⁴³ Franz Körndle has argued that the latter two pieces were performed at the Cathedral of Constance some weeks into the diet in memorial services for Philip the Fair.⁴⁴

Isaac's presence in Constance, where he remained for some time after the departure of Maximilian, prompted the commission by the Cathedral for a collection of polyphonic mass proper settings. The tripartite *Choralis Constantinus*, published many decades after Isaac's death, includes not just the works intended for Constance (essentially the second volume of the collection, plus the Trinity cycle opening volume 1) but also the many mass propers that Isaac

42 Maximilian's previous chapel master was Hans Kerner. Slatkonja first started working for Maximilian in 1495; see Annemarie Fenzl, 'Bischof Georg von Slatkonja, seine Person und seine Einbettung in die Problematik der Zeit am Beginn der Reformation', in *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle 1: Georg von Slatkonja und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher, and Hartmut Krones (Vienna etc., 1999), 50. Slatkonja was also a composer; a single piece survives. He was listed among the 'Distinguished and Most Excellent Authors of Music' in the famous medallion in MunBS A 11; see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 308.

43 On the motet and mass, see David J. Rothenberg, 'The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I', in *Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011), 34–80.

44 Franz Körndle, 'So loblich, costlich und herlich, das darvon nit ist ze schriben: Der Auftritt der Kantorei Maximilians I. bei den Exequien für Philipp der Schönen auf dem Reichstag zu Konstanz', in *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen*, ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, Wiener Forum für Ältere Musikgeschichte 2 (Tutzing, 2007), 87–109.

created for Maximilian's *Hofkapelle* (the rest of volumes one and three).⁴⁵ The imperial settings, in fact, were begun in the late 1490s, were the likely inspiration for the Constance commission, and may even have been the reason that Maximilian hired Isaac in the first place.⁴⁶ No other chapel in Europe had ever explored anything even remotely resembling this vast liturgical project – polyphonic propers for the Sundays and major feasts of the liturgical year – which went on to influence the composition of polyphonic propers elsewhere.⁴⁷

As it happened, Maximilian's goals from Constance were never fully realized. The Venetians blocked his way to Rome, and Maximilian was crowned instead in Trent by a papal legate rather than the Pope himself. This thwarting of his ambitions – this failure for the world to acknowledge his importance appropriately – played out in several ways in the remaining eleven years of Maximilian's life. It was doubtless part of the reason behind the League of Cambrai and the resulting military campaign against Venice that began in 1509, and after the death of Maximilian's wife Bianca Maria Sforza in 1510 it may have prompted Maximilian's bizarre plan to become pope.⁴⁸ It is also generally recognized as part of the impetus behind the extensive publication projects the Emperor undertook to burnish his legacy.⁴⁹

These projects – most left incomplete – included two genealogies, a prayer book, a 'triumphal arch' composed of woodcuts, a threefold biography (*Freydal*, *Weißkunig*, and *Theuerdank*), a 'triumphal procession' (*Triumphzug*) of woodcuts, and various other components. Each of these included images of music-making, sometimes extensive in nature.⁵⁰ The chapel is shown in one of the *Triumphzug* woodcuts (see Figure 2.2). Note the choirboys placed close to the choirbook as well as the presence of a cornettist (Augustin Schubinger) and a sackbut player (Hans Stewdlin).⁵¹ Choirmaster Slatkonja is seated on the

45 See David J. Burn, 'What Did Isaac Write for Constance?', in *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), 45–72. A somewhat different theory of origin is proposed in David J. Rothenberg, 'Isaac's Unfinished Imperial Cycle: A New Hypothesis', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 125–40.

46 Burn, 'What Did Isaac Write for Constance?', 54.

47 Burn and Gasch, *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass*. See also Chapter 13 of this volume.

48 Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian*, 85–91, provides a summary of this unsuccessful project.

49 On Maximilian's publications, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton-Oxford, 2008). See also Chapter 11 of this volume.

50 The musical images are presented and discussed in Henning, *Musica Maximiliana*.

51 Schubinger worked for the Habsburgs – for both Maximilian and Philip the Fair – off and on from 1487 until his death in 1532. He was evidently a composer as well as an instrumentalist, but no compositions survive. See Keith Polk, 'Augustein Schubinger and the Zinck: Innovation in Performance Practice', in *Historic Brass Journal* 1 (1989), 83–92.

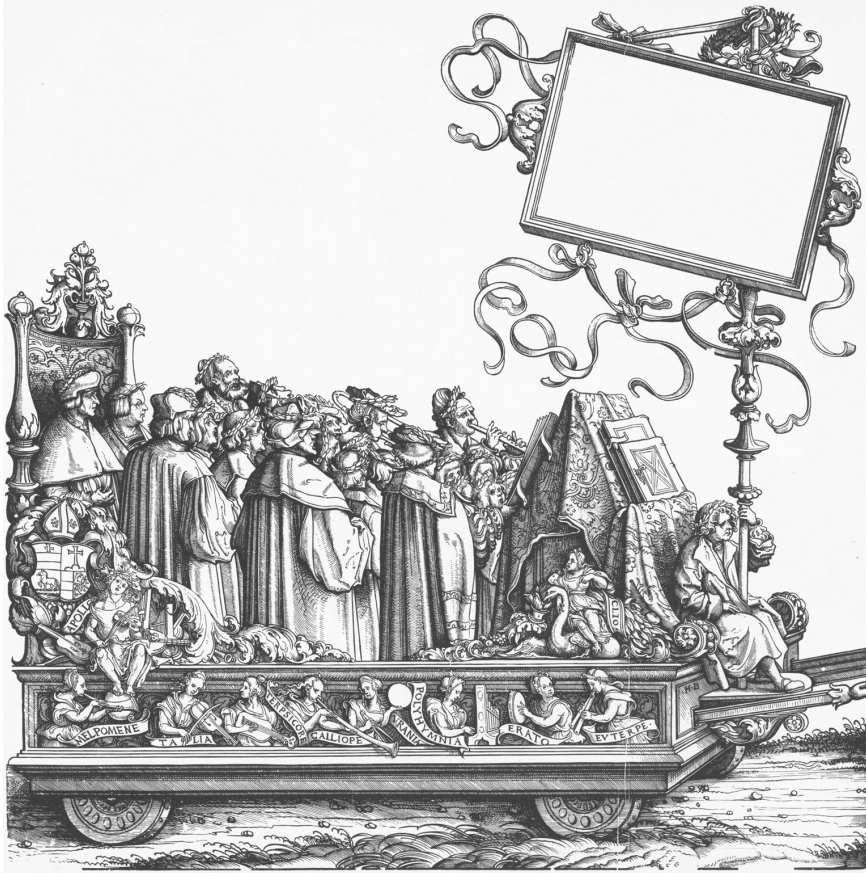


FIGURE 2.2 The *Hofkapelle* as represented in the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I (plate 26), woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, begun 1512, published 1526. From *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Beilage to vol. 1 (Vienna, 1883-84)

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far left, with his bishop's coat of arms below him; Isaac might be seated next to him.⁵² The chariot is also adorned with figures of Apollo and the nine muses, all but Clio (muse of history) playing a musical instrument.

The cumulative effect of the many pictures is that Maximilian was learned in music and a great musical patron, and certainly the latter is true. The

and Keith Polk, 'The Schubingers of Augsburg: Innovation in Renaissance Instrumental Music', in *Quaestiones in musica: Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Friedhelm Brusnniak and Horst Leuchtmann (Tutzing, 1989), 495-503. The identification of Stewdlin is from Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 91.

52 See Rothenberg, 'The Most Prudent Virgin', 76.

musical images, though, are not quite as reliable as one might wish – the same is true of the narratives – and Keith Polk has demonstrated that, at least in the *Triumphzug*, they can present an exaggerated portrayal of what was actually going on.⁵³ Maximilian employed two or three lutenists, for example, not the five who appear in the *Triumphzug*; no pay records exist for a harpist, though one appears in the woodcuts, and so on.

Regardless of visual representation, the chapel continued to play a role on important occasions. At the politically significant double wedding that Maximilian brokered in 1515 in Vienna – his granddaughter Mary to Prince Louis of Hungary, and Louis's sister Anna to Mary's brother – the singers are recorded as producing a jubilant *Te Deum* in alternatim with Hofhaimer's organ.⁵⁴ And they were again a part of Maximilian's final diet, in Augsburg in 1518. Figure 2.3 shows Maximilian at Mass around this time. The organist, tucked into an alcove on the far left, is presumably Hofhaimer. The choir, on the right, is smaller than what was shown in the *Triumphzug* woodcut and is perhaps shown only in part, with the image border cutting off the remainder of the group. Six boys and four or five men face the choirbook, a rather larger one than seen in *Triumphzug*. Note that the organist is playing at the same time that the choir is singing, though whether this is accurate or merely symbolic is impossible to tell.

The Augsburg diet concluded in October, and Maximilian died only a few months later, in January 1519. A period of uncertainty followed for the *Hofkapelle*. Finally, in September 1520 Charles V, the new Holy Roman Emperor, dissolved the chapel. Charles had two chapels of his own and had no need for a third, especially one that had grown to include twenty-one boys, seven altos, six tenors, and six basses.⁵⁵ What may have been a final tribute to Maximilian's chapel was published in Augsburg a little more than a month after its dissolution.⁵⁶ The *Liber selectarum cantionum* was a luxurious collection of twenty-

53 Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 93–94.

54 Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian*, 95. The question of which brother the twelve-year-old Anna was to marry was resolved only later in favour of Ferdinand rather than Charles. It is widely thought that composer Heinrich Finck was with the *Hofkapelle* around this time; see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Heinrich Finck', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 8, 821–23.

55 Herbert Seifert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 41.

56 Published 27 October 1520; see Martin Picker, 'Liber selectarum cantionum (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520), A Neglected Monument of Renaissance Music and Music



FIGURE 2.3 Maximilian I Hearing Mass, woodcut by Hans Weiditz the Younger, c. 1515-18
COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

four motets and a canon, the first to appear north of the Alps. Almost half of its contents are by the two most important members of Maximilian's chapel, Isaac and Senfl, with five motets by the former and half a dozen works by the latter. The genesis and intent of the collection remain in dispute, but the most recent examination of the collection explores the idea that it too was one of Maximilian's many projects to project his importance and nail down his reputation for posterity – this time immortalizing his chapel at the same time.⁵⁷

2 Philip I

Philip the Fair was a much more effective ruler of the Low Countries than his father had been (see Figure 2.4).⁵⁸ The exact date of the transfer of power from father to son is unclear, and the point at which Philip assumed control of the Burgundian chapel is unknown, as noted above. Philip made entrées (with oaths of loyalty) into Leuven and Antwerp on 9 September and 5 October 1494 respectively, and by December 1494 a payment for new clothing for chapel members is given exclusively in his name, in contrast to earlier records concerning the chapel that refer either to both Maximilian and Philip or to just Maximilian alone.⁵⁹ At the end of the following September, Philip authorized a long-overdue payment to chapel members for a period of almost three years, from 17 November 1492 until 30 September 1495.⁶⁰ But it was not until 1497 that Philip turned serious attention to his chapel.

Printing', in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 83, Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance 3 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 149.

57 The most recent discussion is Elisabeth Giselbrecht and L. Elizabeth Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music: Decoding the Elaborate Printing Techniques, Purpose, and Patronage of the *Liber Selectarum Cationum*', in *Senfl-Studien 1*, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 4 (Tutzing, 2012), 17-67. See also Picker, '*Liber selectarum cationum*'; Stephanie P. Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cationum* and the "German Josquin Renaissance"', in *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002), 564-615; Angelika Bator, 'Der Chorbuchdruck *Liber selectarum cationum* (Augsburg 1520): Ein drucktechnischer Vergleich der Exemplare aus Augsburg, München und Stuttgart', in *Musik in Bayern* 67 (2004), 5-38; and Chapter 11 of this volume.

58 For Philip's biography, see Jean-Marie Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau: Le dernier duc de Bourgogne*, Burgundica 6 (Turnhout, 2003). On his chapel, see Georges van Doorslaer, 'La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau', in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 4 (1934), 21-57, 139-65, as well as Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*.

59 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 27-28.

60 See the discussion in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 21-23.



FIGURE 2.4 Philip the Fair, as depicted in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9126, fol. 2r; pictured beneath Philip is his wife Juana of Castile
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From 10 March of that year we have an extensive *état de l'hôtel*, prompted by Philip's 'conspicuous desire to attend to the great disorder' previously found in his household and elsewhere – a phrase reminiscent of the impetus behind Charles the Bold's 1469 document.⁶¹ The importance of Philip's chapel to his household is demonstrated by its placement at the very beginning of the document, which starts by naming the myriad individuals needed to keep the massive court running.⁶² As far as specifics regarding chapel duties, Philip instructs the chapel to follow the dictates of the 1469 ordinance. To these duties only one item is added, the instruction for the *premier chapelain* to report chapel members' absences (pay was docked for those who did not appear).⁶³

Almost three years later, on 1 March 1500, Philip generated a new *état*. In the ninth of nine 'statutes and ordinances', the chapel members are instructed to follow the 1469 rules; in number eight, the *premier chapelain* is required to note chapel members' absences, just as in the 1497 *état*. The other seven items are either new (if obvious in their instruction) or derived from some part of the 1469 ordinance. The chapel is instructed to (1) sing daily Mass, Vespers, and Compline wherever Philip happens to be, clean shaven and appropriately attired in clerical dress, round hats, and surplices; (2) genuflect and bow to Christ, Mary, and the chapel's patron saint upon entering any chapel; (3) stand while singing the office, kneel at appropriate times, and sing with bared heads for specific items in the service; (4) be silent during the Office, with no laughing, talking, or other inappropriate behaviour; (5) do their jobs as designated, with the *premier chapelain* overseeing everything; (6) hold chapter weekly to mete out punishments, etc. as appropriate; and (7) leave chapel members' punishment to Philip's confessor if the *premier chapelain* fails to carry out that responsibility.⁶⁴

The chapel's behaviour, attire, and heavy round of performance obligations served multiple functions. The singers were not merely providing the music needed to make the divine service go forward (almost every part of the liturgy was sung at this time, in either plainchant or polyphony, in contrast to services today where much text is spoken). Everything they did reflected on their patron; they were a symbol of his wealth, power, influence, piety, and culture. As

61 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 54.

62 Philip (and later Charles) had a *petite chapelle* as well as a *grand chapelle*. The latter, which took care of the High Mass and other important music-making, is the focus of this discussion. The former was responsible for Low Mass, a spoken Mass and thus one without musical import.

63 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 54.

64 Full text and translation in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 55-57.

such, they travelled with him everywhere, providing both a visual and aural display of Philip's magnificence.

And Philip was constantly on the road. In a time long before any true mass communication (print still growing in its influence), the presence of the ruler was an important tool for control of one's subjects, and the long tradition of Flemish independence made Philip's appearances across his lands even more vital than for other rulers. For the first portion of Philip's reign, his travel was largely within his own territories, with the exception of a lengthy period in Germany between mid-April and mid-October 1496. But the new century brought unanticipated journeys.

The impetus for Philip's sixteenth-century travel began with his marriage. On 20 October 1496, Philip wed Juana of Castile, daughter of Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella and third in line to the Spanish throne. The following April Philip's younger sister, Margaret of Austria, wed Juana's only brother, Juan. Juan died a few months later; his sister Isabella then became next in line to inherit. On her death in childbirth in 1498, her son Miguel became heir to the Spanish throne. When he passed away in 1500, his aunt Juana, Philip's consort, took over as Spanish heiress. This being the sixteenth century, that meant Philip would be ruling Spain when the time came. As a first step towards that desired future, Philip decided to pay his in-laws a visit. The resulting journey, which began in late 1501 and lasted just over two years, made Philip's chapel the most widely travelled and visible institution in Europe.

Membership in the chapel was beefed up before departure, the better to impress all those who would see and hear the musicians; chapel member Jean Braconnier was sent to 'secret places' to recruit new singers, and a large silver drum was purchased.⁶⁵ In November 1501 Philip's extensive entourage embarked on their journey. Since Philip was on good terms with France for a change (his young son Charles was betrothed to French princess Claude), the path to Spain was across France. The various accounts of Philip's journey note musical specifics only rarely.⁶⁶ The chapel sang at the church of Notre-Dame in Noyon, at the church of Saint-Corneille in Compiègne, at Saint-Denis, at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, and at the cathedral of Orléans before meeting up with the French royal court at Blois. One of the French court singers heard there was described as 'le second maistre alixandre', surely a compliment to chapel member Alexander Agricola (1445/46?-1506). In Blois both choirs participated in a Mass, but independently. The French King's forces sang the In-troit up to the Gloria Patri, which Philip's singers provided. They continued to

65 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 30.

66 For details of the journey, see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 30-37.

alternate: Kyrie (France), Gloria (Burgundy), Credo (France), Sanctus (Burgundy), Agnus (France). The singers are recorded again performing in Cognac, Saint-Émilion, Bayonne (for the King of Navarre), and various places in Spain. With the Spanish royal chapel they sang Mass on Pentecost, each group taking a part of the service. Philip's cornettist 'Maistre Augustin' (Augustine Schubinger, now working for Philip instead of Maximilian) participated as well.

In early 1503 the chapel began the long journey home, first heading back to France, singing at Avignon on their way to rejoin the French royal court in Lyons, where Josquin may have been present. The next destination was Bourg en Bresse, home of Philip's sister Margaret of Austria and her husband Philibert II, Duke of Savoy. Both the Burgundian and Savoyard choirs took turns performing Mass on Easter Sunday, and Maistre Augustin again played the cornet. Philip then went to join his father in the Tyrol. Both chapels sang Mass on 17 September, and they sang together again on 26 September. This latter event provided the funeral obsequies for Maximilian's brother-in-law Hermes of Milan, and for once we have some information about what was performed.⁶⁷ Philip's chapel sang a Requiem Mass – not La Rue's, as sometimes thought, since his was probably written after Philip died,⁶⁸ but possibly that of Du Fay or Ockeghem, both of which were in the chapel's repertoire. Maximilian's chapel sang a Mass for the Assumption. We now know this was not Isaac's *Missa Virgo prudentissima*, as sometimes thought,⁶⁹ which leaves Pierre de la Rue's *Missa Assumpta est Maria* as a candidate. The account of the event also indicates that Philip's chapel sang the Offertory – possibly singled out because it was something unusual – and that Maximilian's sackbuts began the Gradual and played the *Deo gratias* and *Ite missa est*. Again, this level of detail is rare, and it provides welcome evidence for the interpolation of instruments into liturgical performance.

Philip slowly returned home after seeing his father (for the last time, although he could not have known that). In November 1504, just over a year after the end of the first trip to Spain, Queen Isabella died. Philip and Juana received the news the following month and immediately assumed the titles and arms of King and Queen of Castile, León, Granada, and so on. Preparations for a second trip to Spain, now to assume the rule of the Castilian territories, proceeded slowly against the backdrop of Philip's war with Gueldre, Ferdinand's remarriage and quest for a male heir, and Juana's preference that her father,

67 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 36.

68 See Honey Meconi, 'Pierre de la Rue: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis', in *The Book of Requiems*, ed. Pieter Bergé and David Burn (Leuven, in press).

69 See Körndle, 'So loblich, costlich und herlich'.

rather than her husband, take command of her late mother's territories. By this time Burgundy and France were on the outs again; worse, Ferdinand was now allied to France. A land journey was out of the question, so in early January 1506 Philip's entourage embarked on their sea voyage to Spain; the chapel, with instrumentalists and minstrels, had their own ship. A dreadful storm soon forced the fleet to land in England; Philip and his entourage had to remain as guests of Henry VII for three months until their ships could be repaired. The northerners finally reached Spain in April, at which point two months were needed to produce a treaty where Philip's right to rule Juana's lands was acknowledged. And then, barely three months later, Philip died unexpectedly at the age of twenty-eight.

In the disarray that followed, many chapel members left Spain immediately. Those who remained became part of the chapel of the new ruler of Castile, Juana, soon joined by the famous Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523). Although Juana paid her singers very well – paying them was one of the few administrative duties she managed in her grief – they were forced to follow her as she dragged Philip's coffin across Spain for almost a year after his death. Dressed in robes of black camel hair and velvet provided by Juana,⁷⁰ the chapel sang masses and other music of mourning for Philip's soul throughout their travels.⁷¹ Ferdinand, who had been conveniently absent at the time of Philip's death (though rumours of poison plagued him anyway), returned and finally wrested all power from Juana in August 1508. Her chapel disbanded, and some singers (such as Pierre de la Rue) went back north to rejoin the Burgundian chapel (reconstituted in Mechelen in 1507 by Margaret of Austria) while others left court service for good.⁷²

As with all Burgundian and Habsburg rulers, chapel membership under Philip varied, from a low of fifteen (22 June 1497) to a high of thirty-eight (30 November 1505).⁷³ An impressive number of chapel members were

70 Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 12 (Woodbridge, 2012), 38.

71 Tess Knighton, 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 86.

72 Table 2.3 in Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 37-38, provides a summary of the dispersing of the chapel.

73 Numbers from all surviving records are given in Appendix A in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 239-63. Biographical summaries appear in van Doorslaer, 'La Chapelle musicale'.

composers.⁷⁴ Some were but minor figures. Jean Braconnier (also known as Lourdault), a member of the chapel from around May 1497 until Philip's death in September 1506, is known for only a single work, a bawdy chanson.⁷⁵ Gilles Reingot (also known as Gillequin de Bailleul) joined the chapel in time for Philip's first departure for Spain (November 1501) and remained with the institution into Charles's time. Only a setting of *Fors seulement* and a *Salve Regina* are attributed to him. Rogier Herben was a last-minute addition for Philip's second trip to Spain, continuing in Juana's service until her chapel was disbanded in August 1508; after that he is no longer found with the chapel. Two chansons are attributed to him. Another little-known composer is Jheronimus de Clibano (sometimes called du Four), who was part of the chapel from August 1500 to May 1503. One motet of his survives; a *Credo* and a mass are possibly his as well.

Far more significant are Nicolas Champion (= Clais le Liégeois), Anthonius Divitis (Le Riche), Marbriano de Orto (du Jardin), Gaspar van Weerbeke, and especially Alexander Agricola. Champion joined just after the beginning of Philip's first journey to Spain and remained with the chapel into Charles's time. Although only six works by him survive (two masses, three motets, and a Flemish song), their high quality indicates that he was a fine composer. From Divitis we have five masses or mass sections, eight motets, three Magnificats, and a *Fors seulement* setting. He joined the chapel just a few months before Philip embarked on his second Spanish trip, and he remained in Spain in Juana's chapel until June 1508, after which he was no longer in the court's service.

Increasingly recognized as an important compositional figure,⁷⁶ de Orto authored at least nine masses or mass movements, nine other sacred works, and ten secular compositions; he was favoured with one of Petrucci's mass prints as well. He joined the chapel in late 1504 or the first part of 1505, remained in Spain with Juana's chapel only briefly after Philip's death, and then resurfaces in the first northern chapel pay record to survive after 1506, from 1509. Thereafter he remained in court service into Charles's reign. His position within the chapel (alternating with Anthoine de Berghes) was as *premier chapelain*, with its intensive administrative duties.

74 Short biographies of the composers are in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 64–76. While it is not always possible to determine how much of a composer's output was created at the court (with the exception of La Rue, most or all of whose surviving works are likely to have originated there), several composers joined the chapel as already established composers, e.g. de Orto and especially Agricola.

75 He is also known for having killed a man in a street fight; see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 69.

76 See especially the discussion in Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford, 2012), 189–230 and *passim*.

Another major composer was Weerbeke, who joined in October 1495 and left in 1498.⁷⁷ A significant figure in the history of the late-fifteenth-century mass, he was also important in the *motetti missales* tradition. Surviving works include eight masses, two mass movements, three *motetti missales* cycles, at least twenty-two additional motets, a Magnificat, an early set of polyphonic Lamentations, and a series of secular pieces. He was clearly valued by the chapel; he was hired at the highest pay level and usually appears toward the top of the *escroes* (pay lists).

Even more prolific than Weerbeke was Agricola, who entered Philip's service in August 1500.⁷⁸ He died in Spain, still in the chapel, almost exactly six years later. Agricola is probably best known for his numerous secular works, more than seventy-five in number, many of which are art-song reworkings of well-known melodies. His sacred output is considerable as well: a dozen masses or mass movements and more than two dozen other sacred pieces. He too was esteemed by the court, receiving a substantial gift of £96 in September 1502.

By far, though, the most important composer connected with Philip's chapel was Pierre de la Rue (d. 1518). A chapel member from at least 1492, if not before, he served consecutively under Maximilian, Philip, Juana, and Charles, retiring only in 1516.⁷⁹ He rose slowly within the chapel ranks and was named *primer capellan* by Juana,⁸⁰ but he was evidently more interested in composition than in administration. His output is more substantial than any of the other composers who worked for Philip, with thirty-one surviving masses, almost two dozen motets (including six *Salve Regina* settings), a complete Magnificat cycle, and over forty secular works. The subject matter of his sacred music, as seen in his choice of models, suggests a coherent plan on his part to provide

77 Recent work on Weerbeke includes Agnese Pavanello, 'Stabat mater/Vidi speciosam: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex', in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60 (2010), 3-19; Pavanello, 'Il ciclo di motetti "in honorem sancti Spiritus" di Gaspar van Weerbeke: Un'ipotesi sulla sua origine', in *Musica disciplina* 54 (2009), 147-80; and the Gaspar van Weerbeke Project, <<http://www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sgb.ac.at>> ; accessed 25 June 2020.

78 Recent work on Agricola includes *Alexander Agricola: Musik zwischen Vokalität und Instrumentalismus*, Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 6 (Kassel, 2007); *Early Music* 34, no. 3 (2006), which focuses on the composer; and numerous articles by Fabrice Fitch, including 'Agricola and the Rhizome: An Aesthetic of the Late Cantus Firmus Mass', in *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap* 59 (2005), 66-92.

79 Although never technically a member of Margaret of Austria's small private chapel, La Rue (and his fellow chapel members) in effect served her during Charles's minority when she was the future Emperor's guardian.

80 Documentation of this position provided in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 253-54.

works for most of the major feasts of the liturgical year (Christmas, Easter, the Annunciation, the Assumption, and so on). Two common features of his music surely reflect the performers at his disposal. First, many works (both sacred and secular) are for more than four voices. La Rue, along with Isaac and Josquin, was a leader in the expansion of texture, and the sheer number of singers available in the chapel eliminated any barriers to five-, six-, or even eight-voice music. Perhaps of even greater significance is La Rue's expansion of range, with dozens of works extending below the gamut – sometimes as far down as B-flat below the staff – in their written pitch. Although no fixed pitch standard existed in La Rue's time, a considerable amount of evidence suggests that, for much music making, sounding pitch then was likely rather close to what it is today.⁸¹ Certainly the chapel travelled everywhere with an organ, so it had its own constant pitch reference. What this means is that the chapel must have contained a good number of basses with seriously deep voices. In other words, La Rue's penchant for low ranges reflects the vocal abilities of his chapel colleagues.

Philip, then, built a more substantial Burgundian chapel than his father had, and he kept it well-stocked with composers in a way that Maximilian had not. Yet once Maximilian had turned that chapel over to Philip, he built up his own Austrian version and hired one of the best and most prolific composers of the day – hired, in fact, specifically as a composer. The parallels are intriguing.

3 Charles v

Philip the Fair's death in September 1506 meant that the ruler of the Burgundian Low Countries was his six-and-a-half-year-old son Charles (see Figure 2.5).⁸² By March 1507 Maximilian had appointed his daughter Margaret of Austria (Charles's aunt) to govern Charles's Burgundian territories; she was also named guardian of Charles and three of his sisters.⁸³ Margaret left her residence in Savoy and set up court for Charles in Mechelen, where he led a relatively stable existence until coming of age in 1515.

81 See Honey Meconi, 'The Range of Mourning: Nine Questions and Some Answers', in *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen*, ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, Wiener Forum für Ältere Musikgeschichte 2 (Tutzing, 2007), 141–56.

82 On Charles and music, see Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, as well as Francis Maes (ed.), *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles v* (Leuven, 1999; published simultaneously as *De Klanken van de Keizer: Karel v en de Polyfonie*).

83 Charles's brother Ferdinand and his youngest sister Catherine were born and raised in Spain.



FIGURE 2.5 Charles V as Archduke, as depicted in Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, MS S.S., fol. 1^v

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Charles had his own archducal chapel (obviously different from the one Juana took over in Spain), but almost nothing is known of this northern chapel until a pay record of 1509.⁸⁴ This chapel list includes both new and familiar names, the latter category including composers La Rue, Reingot, Champion, and de Orto as well as court organist Henry Bredemers (c. 1472-1522), who helped provide a musical education for Charles and his sisters. New figures in the chapel include composer Johannes Molinet (a different person from the court poet of the same name) and Petrus Alamire.⁸⁵ The latter – one of the more colourful figures of the day – is discussed in more detail in Chapter 10, as he joined the chapel specifically as scribe and keeper of the books and was responsible for one of the most important manuscript collections of polyphony in the sixteenth century.⁸⁶

Charles's youth was spent largely in either Mechelen or Brussels, which meant that his chapel was stationary as well.⁸⁷ The most extensive travelling Charles did before reaching his majority was in the autumn of 1513, when he (and his entourage) visited Tournai, Lille, Kortrijk, Ghent, and other cities in connection with Henry VIII's victory over the French in Tournai. The stability of this existence ended when Charles was declared of age, while he was still only fourteen years old, in January 1515. Right away he began an extensive tour of his northern lands, not resting for any significant period of time until late September of the same year. As always, the chapel accompanied him; they were to remain a part of his various journeys and entrées for the rest of his life.⁸⁸

84 At the funeral ceremonies for Philip held in Mechelen in July 1507, 'the singers of the late King' sang a Requiem mass, but no personnel list survives from that time. See Martin Picker (ed.), *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: MSS 228 and 1239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965), 26, and Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 254. On her move to Mechelen, Margaret established her own, much smaller chapel, but she was also responsible for Charles's chapel in her capacity as his guardian.

85 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, provides many, though not all, of the extant pay lists for Charles's chapel over the years. A list of 'Selected Chapel Personnel' appears as Appendix C, 246-64; individual entries therein are not always complete (e.g., those for La Rue and Alamire). Short biographies of chapel members from 1509 to 1514 are found on 49-58.

86 For a recent discussion of Alamire's relationship with Charles's court as well as a complete account of Alamire's appearance on chapel pay lists, see Honey Meconi, 'Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production in the Time of Charles v', in *'Qui musicam in se habet': Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman, *Miscellanea 9* (Middleton, WI, 2015), 575-613.

87 For Charles's itinerary see Louis Prosper Gachard, *Collection des voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas, ii: Itinéraire de Charles-Quint de 1506 à 1531; Journal des voyages de Charles-Quint, de 1514 à 1551, par Jean de Vandenesse*, *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 1 (Brussels, 1874).

88 A list of music written specifically for Charles's various entrées is provided in Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 228-29.

In October 1515 Charles prepared a new ordinance to govern his household.⁸⁹ The duties of the chapel are placed prominently therein and are discussed immediately after the listing of all household personnel. The 1469 *état* is not referenced, but the list of duties is again derivative. The first five items (of thirteen) are taken from the 1469 ordinance; the remaining eight are almost word-for-word from Philip's 1500 *état*. What to sing and the need to obey and behave properly are, again, the focus.

Ferdinand of Aragon died in January 1516; fifteen-year-old Charles was now King of Spain, and the need to visit his southern lands, where not everyone wanted to accept a northerner as king, became apparent. In September 1517 Charles and his entourage embarked for Spain, beginning a series of international peregrinations that characterized most of the remainder of his life. In his abdication speech thirty-eight years later, he remarked that 'my ... life has been one long journey' and gave the tally of forty trips: ten to the Low Countries, nine across Germany, seven in Italy, six to Iberia, four to France, two to Northern Africa, and two to England.⁹⁰

The large chapel was an important part of Charles's entourage and would remain so. As with earlier rulers, positions within the chapel shifted over time, and membership fluctuated as well. When Charles's brother Ferdinand left Spain for the Low Countries, for example, he took with him several of Charles's chapel members, leaving Charles with a smaller chapel.⁹¹ One big difference after 1517, however, was that Charles now had two households and thus two chapels rather than just one. He brought with him to Spain his own Flemish household, but in Spain, a second household was formed. Known as the *Casa de Castilla del Emperador y la Reina Juana*, it served Juana as well as Charles, with the chapel comprising Spanish musicians.⁹² The chapel Charles brought from the Low Countries, though, remained the more important one by far. Known as the *Capilla Flamenca*, it travelled with him (the Spanish chapel did not), and its musicians were drawn from the cream of the crop of Flemish singers. When membership in the *Capilla Flamenca* declined, as it did from time to time, it was refurbished, always with singers recruited from the north. In 1518, for example, Champion headed north to recruit new singers and a new organist, and in December of the same year Cornille de Grave, a member of the chapel, escorted that new organist and eleven new singers back to Spain.⁹³

89 See discussions in Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 114-23 and passim; Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 57-59; and Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 60-65, 127-31.

90 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 126.

91 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 71.

92 See Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 72-75.

93 See Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 76.

One possible composer to join the chapel during Charles's first years in Spain was Jacques Champion (brother of Nicolas), from whom no known works survive.⁹⁴

Another product of Charles's first Spanish residency was a fresh set of ordinances for chapel governance.⁹⁵ Prepared around 1518 or so, the statutes are derived in large part from earlier guidelines governing the chapel, and they in turn are influential into the reign of Philip II.⁹⁶ They do, however, present several items that are new to chapel practice. One of the most important is the switch from the Use of Paris, which previously governed liturgical practice within the chapel, to the Use of Rome. Other new items include specifying a time for the daily Mass (8:00 a.m. during the summer, 9:00 a.m. in the winter), giving Friday as the day for the weekly chapter meeting, stipulating that singers must sing duos or trios as assigned by the chapel master, and requiring daily performance of a polyphonic Alleluia. The chapel master is to care for the music books (formerly one of Alamire's tasks) and to choose the service music, and 'no books of chant or of polyphony [are] to be taken out of the chapel, not even for the purpose of teaching or any other singing'.⁹⁷ Bernadette Nelson has suggested that some of these changes reflect the influence of Spanish chapel practices.⁹⁸

The death in January 1519 of Charles's grandfather, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, set off a chain of events that eventually took the young ruler back north again. In March of the same year funeral ceremonies for Maximilian in Barcelona (site of a formal gathering of the Order of the Golden Fleece) engaged the chapel (as per the old 1469 statutes) for psalms, Matins, and a mass.⁹⁹ Charles wished to be named Maximilian's successor as Emperor, and he eventually was in June 1519. The following year he headed back north again for his coronation as King of the Romans and Emperor-elect.

In the years 1520-22 Charles and his chapel were up north in both the Netherlands and the Empire, with stops in England on the way north and again when returning to Spain in the summer of 1522. The chapel sang when Charles was crowned King of the Romans in Aachen on 23 October 1520,¹⁰⁰ and one of

94 On Champion as a possible composer, see David Fuller and David Ledbetter, 'Champion, (1) Jacques Champion', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 5, 461.

95 Given in Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 188-91.

96 See the comparative chart in Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 118-19, 121-22.

97 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 121.

98 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 121.

99 Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 'Music and Ceremony during Charles V's 1519 Visit to Barcelona', in *Early Music* 23 (1995), 374-91.

100 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 183.

Alamire's manuscripts is performing parts of music that may reflect Charles's new imperial stature.¹⁰¹ And from 1521 we have another rare indication of a specific piece performed by the chapel: the anonymous *Missa de Spiritu sancto*, sung on Charles's entry into Valenciennes in October of that year.¹⁰²

The chapel pay list of 22 May 1522, one of the few that survive from Charles's reign, is a first in many respects.¹⁰³ It is the first to show organist Florens Nepotis, who had been 'stolen' from Margaret's chapel. It is the first to use the term 'maistre de chappelle' for a role in the chapel, and the first to designate a specific 'maistre des enffans' as well. The list indicates payment for eight children but does not name them. Previously, a 1509 group payment to the chapel indicated four unnamed 'petit enffanz'. At what point boys began singing the top part of polyphony (in Habsburg-Burgundy, at least) is unclear; certainly this was not the case in 1469 or, apparently, for quite some time thereafter.¹⁰⁴ And if they were now singing it in 1522, they were not singing it alone, for the 1522 pay list is noteworthy for its division of the (named) adult singers in the chapel into their voice parts: *bascontres* (four), *haultecontres* (four), *haulteneurs* (five), and the highest part, the *dessus* (four). Prior to this pay list, indication of voice parts in the chapel are rare (although we know that La Rue was a *dessus*),¹⁰⁵ and they are not universally provided after the 1522 list. The division, too, is interesting, for by the 1520s more and more music was composed for five or more parts, with the fifth voice not usually another high part (which might account for separate *dessus* and choirboy parts) but typically one of the lower voices. The balance of singers in music for five and six parts, then, is unclear.

Charles and his chapel returned to Spain in the summer of 1522 and remained there for the next seven years, the chapel's longest spell of Spanish residence. Two major events took place during this time: the wedding of Charles to Isabella of Portugal (10 March 1526) and the birth of the couple's son Philip II on 21 May 1527. At the baptism of the new heir, four choirboys sang Gombert's motet *Dicite in magni*, and the chapel performed the Te Deum.¹⁰⁶

The choir was relatively stable during this period, but three composers did join during this time. One was chapel master Adrien Thiebault dit Pickart, who first appears on a benefice list of 1526; only three of his works, all motets,

101 Honey Meconi, 'Plus outre, Pierre de la Rue, and the Emperor's Music', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2014), 12-32.

102 The mass was also part of a 1515 entry into Ghent; see Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 226-27.

103 The list is given in Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 77-78.

104 See Fallows, 'Specific Information'.

105 See Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 17-18.

106 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 177.

survive.¹⁰⁷ The second was Nicolas Payen (c. 1512-59), who joined as a choirboy in 1523 and eventually rose to the post of chapel master. His compositions include the motet *Carole cur defles* on the death of the Empress Isabella in 1539.¹⁰⁸ The third was by far the most significant: Nicolas Gombert (c. 1495-c. 1560), who never served as chapel master and who, in fact, left the chapel in disgrace but who nonetheless was one of the major compositional figures of his time.¹⁰⁹ His many creations (ten masses, a Magnificat cycle, more than seventy chansons, and more than 160 motets) include many works specifically written as ceremonial works for the court (e.g., the baptismal motet noted above, the dynastic rhapsody *Felix Austriae domus*, and the coronation mass *Missa Sur tous regretz*).¹¹⁰ Gombert was the first major compositional figure to join the chapel in the decade since La Rue had retired.

Charles left Spain in July 1529, making a slow journey to Italy to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Clement VI in Bologna the following 24 February.¹¹¹ Once he departed from Spain, he was never again to spend as long a period of time in any one place. Rather, for the rest of his life he traversed the continent and North Africa, returning to Spain from time to time but also sojourning in the Low Countries and the Empire before his abdication and retirement. As always, the chapel was with him. Charles's peripatetic life took its toll on the chapel, though, and replenishing its membership – always with singers from the north – was a regular undertaking. In 1529 Gilles Reingot was off to the Low Countries to recruit singers, with instructions to join the chapel later in Germany.¹¹² In November 1537 Gombert was paid for enrolling around two dozen new singers for the chapel, and the following year Adrien Thiebault dit Pickart also went on a recruiting mission.¹¹³ Court organist Roger Pathie was

107 See Robert Snow, 'The Extant Music of Adrien Thiebault, *Maestro* of the Flemish chapel of Charles V, 1526-1540', in *Nassarre: Revista Aragonesa de Musicología* 12 (1996), 459-509.

108 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 191-93.

109 Gombert was dismissed for having violated a choirboy. On Gombert, see Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls v.: Leben und Werk* (Bonn, 1938; reprint, Tutzing, 1971). More recent work includes Stephen James Rice, 'The Five-Part Motets of Nicolas Gombert: Stylistic Elements, Theoretical Issues, and Historiography' (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2004); Anthony Newcomb, 'Gombert, Domine, si tu es: An Appreciation', in *Journal of Musicology* 32 (2015), 346-66; and Peter Urquhart, 'Issues of Counterpoint in Gombert's *Missa Tempore paschali*', in *Journal of Musicology* 32 (2015), 410-39.

110 See the list of 'Ceremonial motets, masses, and chansons' connected with Charles's court in Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 161-66.

111 The coronation festivities included singing by the chapel as well as new compositions by various court composers; see Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 179-86.

112 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 95.

113 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 106-7.

sent to Ghent, Lille, and Arras in April 1542 to find singers,¹¹⁴ and composer Cornelius Canis (c. 1500/10-61) escorted four choirboys, doubtless ones Pathie had hired, to Spain shortly thereafter.¹¹⁵

Canis appears to have been new himself in 1542. He served as Charles's chapel master and produced (at least) two masses, thirty-five motets, and thirty-one chansons. Although Gombert had left the chapel by the time Canis came on board, another very important composer had taken Gombert's place: Thomas Crecquillon (c. 1505/15-57). That composer first appears on a benefice list of 1540, served for a while as chapel master, and had left the chapel by 1555 at the latest. He was a major composer of chansons, with over 200 to his name, but he also wrote a dozen masses and 125 or so motets, including two Lamentations cycles. Unusually (though following the example of Isaac), he is specifically referred to as a composer in the chapel records, and he wrote a number of pieces with obvious ceremonial connections (including *Quis te victorem* praising Charles as an unconquered ruler, and *Carole, magnus erat*, on a text from a triumphal arch built for Charles's entry into Lille).¹¹⁶ Also first appearing on the benefice list of 1540 was organist and composer Johannes Lestannier. Finally, the last important composer of Charles's chapel was Jacobus Vaet (c. 1529-67), but he was with the Emperor just a few years; his name is on a benefice list of 1550, but he had moved to the court of the future Emperor Maximilian II by 1554. How many of his compositions were written for Charles is unclear.

Charles's chapel composers were regularly featured in manuscripts and prints of the time, but the connection with Charles was most obvious in the motet anthology *Cantiones selectissimae quatuor vocum*, Book 1 [RISM 1548²], a collection from Augsburg printer Philip Ulhart that was edited by Sigmund Salminger. The print opens with five works by Canis followed by five of Crecquillon, then five by Payen, closing with two by Lestannier. The title page explicitly identifies the composers as the 'exceptional and outstanding musicians of the chapel of his imperial majesty'.¹¹⁷ It is hardly an accident that Salminger drew on the music of Charles's musicians for this volume, for Charles and his

114 Bruno Bouckcart, 'The Capilla Flamenca: The Composition and Duties of the Music Ensemble at the Court of Charles V, 1515-1558', in *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V*, ed. Francis Maes (Leuven, 1999), 41.

115 On Canis see Homer Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1977).

116 See Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 234-37; his many motets fitting the liturgy are listed on 144-50.

117 Ignace Bossuyt, 'Charles V: A Life Story in Music', in *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V*, ed. Francis Maes (Leuven, 1999), 147.

chapel were stationed in Augsburg for more than a year beginning in August 1547 in connection with the diet of Augsburg.¹¹⁸

Several sets of chapel regulations survive from the later years of Charles's reign or the early ones of Philip II's, the latter's regulations clearly drawing on the traditions of his father's chapel. Just as the earlier sets of regulations came from times of transition (the attainment of Charles's majority, his initial establishment of residence and power in Spain), so too do these later sets of regulations reflect the slow winding down of Charles's reign and the assumption of power – and chapel authority – by his son.¹¹⁹

An undated set of regulations from early in Philip's time explicitly draws a connection to the practices under Charles in 1545, calling itself *Relation de la manière de servir qui s'observait à la cour de l'empereur don Carlos ... en l'année 1545*.¹²⁰ A second set, first drawn up around 1550 with additions after Philip inherited the throne, is *La Orden que se tiene en los Officios en la Capilla de Su Magestad*,¹²¹ while a third batch, *Leges et Constitutiones Capellae Catholicae Maiestatis, a maioribus institutae a Car. Quinto studiosè custodite, hodierno die, mandato Regis Catholici*, is of uncertain date.¹²² The 1545 *Relation* is largely a list of the various categories of chapel membership, which, as before, continue to evolve. Now, for example, a separate organ tuner is always part of the entourage. One significant entry concerns the future of choirboys. Once their voices had broken, they were given three years of study at the Emperor's expense. At the end of that period, those who had developed decent adult voices were given preference in applications to join the imperial chapel.¹²³ Although this is the first (surviving) set of chapel instructions to spell this out, the practice had likely been going on for decades.

La Orden outlines a number of practices not indicated in earlier ordinances. For example, chapel singers must now pay an entrance fee upon joining the

118 For music in the imperial diets, see Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 79 (Munich, 2018); on the *Cantiones selectissimae* specifically, see 256–78.

119 On Philip's assumption of power and the need to stabilize structure, see Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 106 and *passim*.

120 These regulations survive in multiple copies and two languages; see Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 244–45. They are given in full in Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 367–70, with the appropriate portions translated on 81–84.

121 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', is a detailed exploration of these regulations, which are given on 175–87.

122 The *Leges* can be found in both Schmidt-Görg, 'Nicolas Gombert', 340–42 and Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 409–12, with translation of appropriate parts at 156–60. See Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 120, on possible datings.

123 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 83.

ensemble.¹²⁴ The chapel no longer sings Vespers and Compline daily, but rather only on specified days.¹²⁵ Compline on Saturdays is followed by the *Salve Regina*, except between Easter and the Feast of the Ascension, at which time *Regina caeli* (with organ response) is performed. On days other than Saturdays, a motet is sung after Compline.¹²⁶ During Holy Week the Lamentations are performed by four singers and four violins, a rare documentation of designated vocal/instrumental music making.¹²⁷

The *Leges* offer a wealth of detail on performance. Items to be sung in *fabordon* are listed, such as the psalm *In exitu Israel*; versicles and responsories at first Vespers, Compline, and Mass on the birthdays of the King, Queen, and Prince (or future king);¹²⁸ litanies, responsories, and versicles in votive masses that 'call upon the favorable issue of Kings or Princes';¹²⁹ and the *Salve Regina*. Information on intonations is given; for instance, 'At all double feasts two singers with equal voices shall intone at Mass and Vespers.'¹³⁰ Initial pitches could obviously be an issue, for 'no singer shall presume to begin, not even so much as *fabordon*, unless previously given the pitch by the chapel master or his assistant'.¹³¹

The solemnity of the service was of concern as well, for 'the chapel master shall complete the singing of the Sanctus before the Elevation of the Body of Christ, in order that it shall be honored reverently', and 'a motet shall not be sung during the sacrifice unless commanded by His Royal Majesty'.¹³² The *Leges* reiterate appropriate places to stand, genuflect, and bare heads, but – curiously – we now find the explicit instruction that 'there shall be a bench for the singers while at rest'.¹³³ A specific standing order is now codified: choirboys in the centre, tenors to the left, contratenors to the right, and basses in the back. This makes sense, of course, given the standard choirbook layout outside of German-speaking lands with tenor parts on the left and altus on the right, but the instructions are spelled out not just once but twice in the *Leges*, suggesting

124 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 110.

125 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 128.

126 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 129.

127 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 146-47, including a chart of Holy Week ceremonial requirements. Nelson notes that four performers of the *vihuela de arco* were on the pay list by 1556 (148).

128 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 140.

129 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 158.

130 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 156.

131 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 160.

132 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 157.

133 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 158.

that deviations from the appropriate pattern must have occurred with some regularity.

Specific items are assigned to choirboys, such as the first three readings in vigils for the deceased.¹³⁴ The organist is explicitly required at Saturday Masses for the Virgin (though no specifics are given regarding his performance).¹³⁵ The *Pange lingua* is to be performed in polyphony when the Holy Sacrament is venerated, with responsories and versicles in *fabordon*.¹³⁶ The *Te Deum* is repeated until prayers are completed at services of thanksgiving, after which comes a motet and then versicles and responsories in *fabordon*. Various instructions are given concerning funeral rites and anniversary observations. For example, the deaths of a King, Queen, or royal family member of the House of Austria would generate a tripartite round of Masses: one for the Holy Spirit, one for Mary, and one Requiem Mass.¹³⁷ And once more we find the order to leave the books alone: 'No one shall presume to remove any books unless by consent of the chapel master.'¹³⁸ Finally, like institutions everywhere, some allowance was made for summer heat: Vespers was omitted during the dog days.¹³⁹

Charles was different from most other Habsburgs in that he chose to relinquish his positions during his lifetime rather than cling to them as long as possible. In 1555 he turned over rule of the Netherlands to his son Philip II, and he gradually relinquished his other titles as well, including that of Holy Roman Emperor. With his impending retirement, many chapel members left his employ, and only one of those who remained accompanied him to Spain.¹⁴⁰ Even without a chapel at his disposal, though, music remained his passion. In a famous passage from one of his early biographies, Charles pointed out borrowings in a mass by Guerrero to the astonished group of singers who had performed the work for him.¹⁴¹ A lifetime of listening to his chapel perform the best compositions of the day had rendered those works indelible in his memory.

134 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 159.

135 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 157.

136 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 144.

137 Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony', 157.

138 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 160.

139 Rudolf, 'The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis', 159.

140 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 118-19.

141 Ferer, *Music and Ceremony*, 217-18.

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The Court Chapels of the Spanish Line: From King Philip II to King Charles II

Pablo L. Rodríguez

By around four o'clock on Christmas morning 1734, the fire that engulfed the Royal Alcázar of Madrid had spread to the chapel. Part of the vault and the floor caved in, destroying the vestry below. In no time at all, everything was gone except a few unstable walls, later to be knocked down due to the risk of collapse.¹ Within hours, what had been the setting of power and devotion for the Spanish monarchy for two hundred years appeared prostrate before the fire, reduced to a sad spectacle of ash and rubble. The ceremonies that once publicly flaunted the splendour of the Spanish Habsburg court, showcasing their main musical activities, were now consigned to the past.

From the reign of Philip II up until that fateful year, the Alcázar chapel had occupied a central place in the Spanish court. The King attended Mass there on Sundays and holy days. His presence ensured that members of all tiers of the court, including the various foreign ambassadors, were also in attendance. Everything in the chapel had its place, and a strict hierarchy was followed: the curtained canopy of state for the monarch, seats for the prelates, pews for the ambassadors and nobles. Even the required decorations, the distances in relation to the altar and the monarch, and the ornaments of divine worship were prescribed. Likewise, attendees perfectly understood their privileges and how they should act at any given moment, which transformed the ceremonies held there into a kind of politico-religious theatrical performance.

For services at the palace chapel, the King had a group of chaplains, officials, and ministers who were responsible for all matters pertaining to religious ceremonies. This group of servants formed a section of the royal household known as the 'royal chapel', and, in addition to praying the Divine Office, they were tasked with looking after the spiritual health of the court. At the head of this group was the first chaplain and almoner, who, as a titular archbishop, bore the honorific of Patriarch of the Indies. Under him were other chaplains who performed different functions, such as tending to the curtain behind which the monarch would sit during ceremonies (the *sumilleres de cortina*), distributing

1 Gabriel Maura Gamazo, *Carlos II y su Corte, Tomo I: 1661-1669* (Madrid, 1911), 454-59.

and organizing chaplains' duties (the receiver-general), and providing stage direction during services (the master of ceremonies). There was also an ensemble of singers and musicians who, under the direction of the chapel master, were in charge of the music during services.

During the reign of Philip II, the Spanish royal chapel acquired considerable institutional stability. In 1561, the court was established in the Royal Alcázar, and the old rules that governed its operation were reorganized. Although there were the occasional singers and instrumentalists in other parts of the royal household, the royal chapel was musically dominant and attended to all the musical needs of the Spanish Habsburg court. The royal chapel musicians did not merely take part in court theatre; the best singers and instrumentalists played in the King's chamber. This situation changed only with the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty in 1701. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the royal chapel was gradually relieved of its position as the monarchy's primary institution for musical performance; the role passed to other court institutions before disappearing in 1931.

1 The Spanish Royal Chapel Choir

The word 'chapel' refers to both the area dedicated to worship and the group of people in charge of said area: the chaplains. In *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, written in 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias defines the term as 'a congregation of singers. The royal chapel, the king's singers'. However, he continues by saying, 'It is true that the royal chapel also comprises the other chaplains who wear surplices and are seated in the pews; the first chaplain is a dignitary, and the royal chaplains are skilled individuals.'² In 1729, we find another definition of 'royal chapel' in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*: 'The group of various ministers and servants in the royal palace who provide a service through the chapel, such as chaplains, sacristans, musicians, and children who have been instructed in

2 'congregación de cantores. La capilla real, los cantores del rey. ... Bien es verdad que la capilla real comprende también a los demás capellanes que asisten con sobrepellices en los bancos; y el capellán mayor es una dignidad grande, y los capellanes del rey personas qualificadas'; Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), 426-27. See also Juan José Carreras, 'The Court Chapel: A Musical Profile and Historiographical Context of an Institution', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 17-20.

music, and other individuals, all of whom are exempt from ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as they are judged separately'.³

The semantic evolution of the phrase 'royal chapel' from 'congregation of singers' to 'group of various ministers and servants' is telling when it comes to understanding how the institution changed, from the structure that predated Philip II (in which there were a number of chaplains who celebrated sung Mass and low Mass) to the subdivision of the pool of chaplains into *capellanes de altar* and *capellanes de honor*. The first group was led by the chapel master and the second by the receiver-general, although the most senior position in the royal chapel was always the Patriarch of the Indies.

The figure of *capellán de honor*, or chaplain *qui ad honores*, emerged at the beginning of Philip II's reign. These chaplains, unlike the *capellanes de altar*, were not part of the rota for performing sung Mass and were unpaid. By creating this position, the King intended to 'honour the many clergymen of noble blood, honorific status, or distinguished learning who, although never ordained as priests, are of an age to wear the surplice and may attend to his majesty in extravagant public ceremonies'.⁴ In other words, this was a measure of performance and prestige that reinforced the King's public image in his appearances at chapel and in his outings further afield, resulting in there being two types of chaplain: one active, the other honorary.

This course of action, initiated by Philip II, was further reinforced by Philip IV in 1623. He made a distinction between the chaplains in charge of sung Mass, known as the *capellanes de altar*, and the chaplains who celebrated low Mass with the King in his private oratories during the week, known as *capellanes de oratorio*. Furthermore, during the public ceremonies held in the Alcázar chapel and attended by the monarch, the *capellanes de altar* who were not celebrating Mass at the altar were seated in the choir with the other musicians, while the *capellanes de oratorio* would sit in the pews (*bancos*) for *capellanes de honor*. For this reason, as well as being called *capellanes de oratorio* and *capellanes de honor*, they were known as *capellanes de banco*. The main

3 'Se llama en el palacio del rey a la agrupación de varios ministros y sirvientes que tiene la capilla para su servicio: como son capellanes, sacristanes, músicos, y niños que son adoctrinados en la música, y otras personas, que todas están exentas de la jurisdicción ordinaria eclesiástica, por tener juez aparte'; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* [*Diccionario de Autoridades*] (Madrid, 1729), 144.

4 'honrar a muchos eclesiásticos de ilustre sangre, de puestos honoríficos, o de letras insignes, aunque no fueran ordenados sacerdotes, pero en edad de poder llevar sobrepelliz, con que pudiesen hacer asistencia a su majestad en los actos públicos y ostentosos'; Mateo Frasso, *Tratado de la Capilla Real de los Serenissimos Reyes Catholicos de España nuestros señores* (1685), MadRAH 9/708, fol. 71r.

cause of this reform, as recounted by a royal chapel receiver-general at the end of the seventeenth century, arose from musical issues:

In 1623, His Majesty King Philip IV, noting that many of the chaplains who celebrated sung Mass and other ceremonies, having not worked hard at singing or because they did not have a good voice, were singing out of tune and even prompting laughter during their worship He ordered that priests who had a good voice and who knew how to sing be sought to sing Mass, the gospel, and the epistles, and indeed they did find – and have continued to find right up to the present day – those who were best suited, whom he named *capellanes cantores* and *capellanes de altar*.⁵

Therefore, from the reign of Philip IV onwards, the chaplains remained divided into the two previously mentioned categories: one that encompassed the *capellanes de honor*, *de banco*, and *de oratorio*, and another that included the chaplains who celebrated Mass at the altar (*capellanes de altar*) and sang the Divine Office (*capellanes cantores*).⁶ The *capellanes de altar* and the *capellanes cantores* were clearly one and the same, part of a group that, alternating week by week, performed ceremonies at the altar (*capellanes de altar*, also known as *capellanes semaneros*) and gave musical performances, primarily in plainsong, from the choir (*capellanes cantores*).

The decentralization that this change produced within the royal chapel soon encouraged another word to be used to define the group of chaplains, singers, and instrumentalists led by the chapel master. Consequently, the term 'choir' (*coro*) was employed to refer to the musical staff of the royal chapel.⁷ The word 'choir', as was the case with the word 'chapel', had clear spatial

5 'En 1623 su majestad el rey Felipe IV, atendiendo a que muchos de los capellanes, que cantaban las misas y actos referidos, por no haberse aplicado a la profesión del canto, o por no tener buena voz, cantaban con desentono, y mas provocaban a risa, que movían a devoción Para cantar las misas, evangelios y epístolas mandó que se buscasen sacerdotes que tuviesen buena voz, y supiesen la profesión del canto, como en efecto se hallaron, y se han tenido sucesivamente hasta el tiempo en que estamos, los mas al propósito que pueda ser y a estos se les dio el nombre de capellanes cantores, y capellanes de altar'; MadRAH 9/708, fol. 71r.

6 For information on the *capellanes de honor* during the reigns of Charles II and Philip V, see Juan A. Sánchez Belén, 'The Palace Royal Chapel at the End of Seventeenth-Century Madrid', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 319–26.

7 Mateo Frasso, *Tratado de la Real Capilla de los Smos. Señores Reyes de España Nuestros Señores. Parte Primera* (1685), MadHM M-34, 128.

implications: the choir was also the elevated loft situated at the end of the Alcázar chapel where the organ was located and where the singers sat during ceremonies (see Figure 3.1). In fact, the dual meanings of the word are recognized in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*: a 'choir' is a 'crowd of people gathered to sing and rejoice, to praise and celebrate something' as well as the 'part of a church, a separate area in which the clergy or priests gather to sing the canonical hours and pray the Divine Office'.⁸

Both definitions of 'choir' can be equally used in reference to cathedrals and in reference to the court. The choir was the section of the Royal Alcázar chapel in which a predominantly clerical group of individuals sang the Divine Office; it was quite compact and had room for the chapel master and the *capellanes de altar*, the singers and instrumentalists, and even a small number of gentlemen who could not be seated in the chapel. However, in terms of the royal chapel, the choir also referred to the groups of servants who had musical duties, these being the *capellanes de altar* (those theoretically tasked with performing plain-song) and the singers (those tasked with performing polyphony), instrumentalists, and organist.

A brief review of the situations in other European royal chapels reveals clear similarities. During the reign of Louis XIV, the French royal chapel was divided into two sections: the *chapelle-musique*, which was the equivalent of the Spanish choir and consisted of a 'music group' (the abovementioned group of singers and instrumentalists) and 'chapel officials who celebrated solemn mass at the altar' (roughly equivalent to the group of *capellanes de altar* who also belonged to the choir); and the *chapelle-oratoire*, composed of eight chaplains and equivalent to the group of *capellanes de honor* in the Spanish court responsible for celebrating daily low Mass in the oratories of the royal household.⁹ The imperial chapel in Austria was similarly organized in the seventeenth century; in this instance, subordinate to the section headed by the preacher and the chaplains were the *Kantorei*, who were led by the chapel master and consisted of, among others, choirboys, the organist, and chaplains who were able

8 'multitud de gente que se junta para cantar y regocijarse, alabar y celebrar alguna cosa ... parte del templo y lugar separado y destinado donde asisten los clérigos, o los religiosos, para cantar las horas canónicas y celebrar los oficios divinos'; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario*, 157.

9 Catherine Massip, 'The Chapelle Royale in the Time of Louis XIV', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 48-49. See also Alexandre Maral, *La Chapelle royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV: Cérémonial, liturgie et musique* (Versailles, 2010).

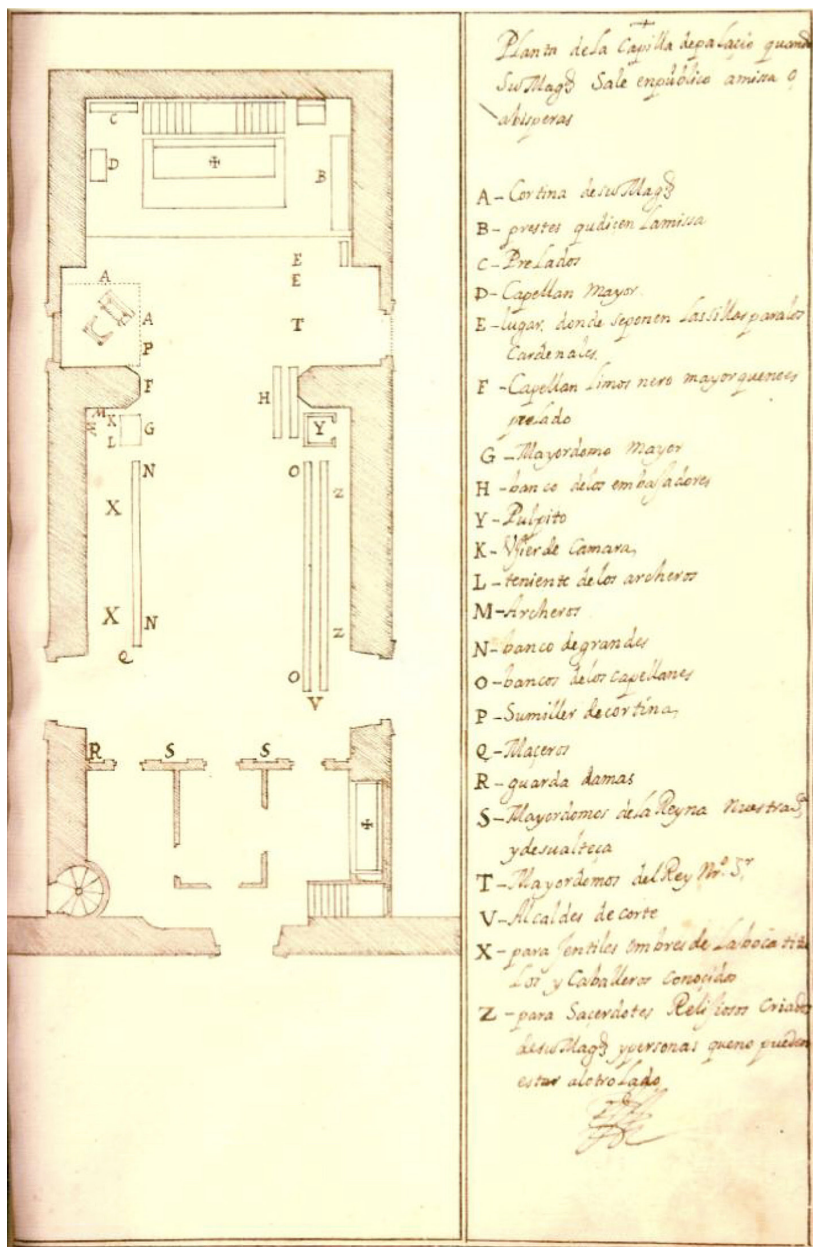


FIGURE 3.1 Plan of the chapel of the Royal Alcázar palace (the space occupied by the King under the loft for the musicians takes up the bottom quarter of the image), drawing on paper, c. 1650

MADRID, ARCHIVO GENERAL DEL PALACIO REAL. © PATRIMONIO NACIONAL, USED WITH PERMISSION

to sing (as was also the case in Spain).¹⁰ Lastly, the English chapel royal, which was overseen by the Dean of the chapel royal (equivalent to the Spanish Patriarch of the Indies), included a musical group (the royal choir) as part of its institutional structure, which provided the monarch with choral services whenever necessary.¹¹

2 Courtly Music as an Institution

Musical activities in the Spanish Habsburg court were not limited to the chapel; likewise, the royal chapel did not confine its performances to the religious realm. This is evident from a banquet that took place, in pure Burgundian style, in the town of Lerma in June 1605. More than 3,500 dishes were served, accompanied by all the musical instruments of the Spanish court. As the pages presented the food, the trumpeters, kettledrum players, and minstrels of the royal stables (*Caballeriza Real*) played; four choirs of voices and instruments, composed of royal chapel and chamber musicians, were spread out along both sides of the table; and two more choirs of violones and cornetti, respectively, joined in, which created, according to the chronicler, 'such soft music that it delighted and gave much pleasure'.¹²

From the reign of Philip II onward, the monarch had different musical servants at his disposal in the royal household, in addition to the singers and instrumentalists of the chapel. Among these were the aforementioned trumpeters and kettledrum players of the stables, who accompanied the King on his outings from the Alcázar; the singers and instrumentalists of the chamber, who played for the King in the palace gardens in the summer and in his quarters in the winter; and even a violone ensemble and a dance teacher who attended stately dances. In each location, there was a specific meaning behind the music. While in the chapel, the musicians helped to emphasize the King's pious image; when on outings, the sound of the trumpet highlighted his military and

10 Herbert Seifert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 40-41.

11 Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), 389.

12 'música tan suave que deleitaba y daba mucho gusto'; quoted in Luis Robledo Estaire, *Juan Blas de Castro (ca. 1561-1631): Vida y obra musical* (Zaragoza, 1989), 33.

political side; and in the gardens and at dances, one could see him at his most relaxed and festive.¹³

The musical interests of Philip III and Philip IV were the deciding factors that shaped the musical landscape of the Habsburg court in Madrid. In addition to being a skilled dancer, Philip III sang and played the vihuela de arco, an instrument equivalent to the viola da gamba, which he learned to play under the Venetian Mateo Troilo and of which he had many different versions for his personal use. He also owned other instruments, including virginals, clavichordians, lutes, and guitars.¹⁴

Philip IV inherited his father's passion; his musical talent was widely publicized by his servants and various contemporary musicians. It would appear that he sang and played the vihuela de arco, which he studied under Filippo Piccinini, and even composed musical works, together with his brothers Infante Charles (1607-32) and Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609/10-41), for his own enjoyment and for the ceremonies performed by his chapel, as recounted by Vincenzo Giustiniani in 1628.¹⁵ This was also noted by the royal chapel treble singer Lázaro Díaz del Valle, in a manuscript dated 1654: 'Philip IV ... is a methodical composer, such that the singers in his royal chapel sing masses for three or four choirs, psalms, motets, and villancicos that attest to his talent.'¹⁶ There is no doubt that Philip IV would have received proper musical training, having studied with chapel master Mateo Romero (c. 1575-1647), but the promotion of the King as a composer was part of his image-building, which is why he also cultivated an interest in painting, performing arts, and history.¹⁷

In contrast, Philip's son Charles II did not inherit the same passion for music and the arts. A man of short stature with a disproportionately long face and a limp, Charles II had always been a sickly person, which is why he tried to exert as little effort as possible. Perhaps because of this, in 1679, at the age of eighteen, he was still unable to read and write fluently, and there were

13 See Luis Robledo, 'Habsburg, (3) Music under the Spanish Habsburgs', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 10, 638-41.

14 For the musical interests of Philip III, see Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Felipe II y Felipe III como patronos musicales', in *Anuario Musical* 53 (1998), 95-110.

15 For the musical ambience in Philip IV's court, see Robledo Estaire, *Juan Blas de Castro*, 41-47.

16 'Felipe IV ... es científico compositor, tanto que los cantores de su Real Capilla cantan en ella misas de tres y cuatro coros, salmos, motetes y villancicos, en que ha dado muestra de su talento'; Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles (Legado Barbieri)*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid, 1986), 416.

17 R. A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665* (Cambridge, 1988), 307-17.

considerable gaps in his artistic and intellectual education as sovereign.¹⁸ As a result, the harpsichord lessons he received in his chamber from organist Juan del Vado (after 1625-1691) should be regarded as a mere formality: something that all princes had to learn, much like dancing, fencing, or horse riding.¹⁹

The scant interest shown by Charles II in his musicians' craft is obvious when one compares him and his father as patrons of music. Whereas Philip IV provided the musicians who diligently served him with numerous benefits and was always trying to increase their numbers and their quality, Charles II merely kept those his father had given him and had only as many musicians as were strictly necessary for his image. Consequently, any new music introduced during his reign was due to the efforts of other members of his family, such as his half-brother Juan José of Austria (1629-79) or his second wife Maria Anna of Pfalz-Neuburg (1667-1740). Therefore, while Philip IV supplied his musicians with an income and rewarded them by naming them Chaplain of the Reyes Nuevos in Toledo or Secretary of the Order of the Golden Fleece, or by awarding them the insignia of the Order of Santiago, Charles II's musicians struggled to survive, to such an extent that a master of the royal chapel died in 1684 virtually in poverty.²⁰

Different anecdotes also demonstrate Charles II's fear of secular music, which he directly associated with sin. For instance, a manuscript from the end of his reign, preserved in Vienna, narrates an incident that took place on the banks of the Manzanares. Allegedly, Charles II took an interest in some beautiful ladies in a carriage, who returned his interest by singing love songs to him. This deeply bothered the monarch, who demanded to leave in order to get away from the 'Devil's sirens' (*sirenas del diablo*) and 'not offend God' (*no ofender a Dios*).²¹

Charles II's lack of interest in and fear of music had institutional consequences for the administrative organization of music in the royal household. While Philip III had introduced several chamber musicians and a violone ensemble from Milan to his stables on a permanent basis, the situation changed dramatically during the reign of Charles II, who did not have any chamber musicians until the end of the 1680s. At the same time, the aforementioned

18 J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1959), 881-82. See also Henry Kamen, *La España de Carlos II* (Barcelona, 1987), 540-41.

19 For Charles II's education, see Gabriel Maura Gamazo, *Carlos II y su Corte, Tomo II: 1669-1679* (Madrid, 1915), 69-70. See also Luis Robledo, *Los emblemas musicales de Juan del Vado* (Madrid, 2009), 16-20.

20 Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'Servir para merecer', in *Scherzo 142* (2000), 140-42.

21 Hel Gavallero [sic], *Obras de virtud del Catholico Rey de España Carlos Segundo*, VienNB 5790, fols. 4v-5r.

violone ensemble had some time before become part of the royal chapel, which also meant that the king did not have his own *dancería*.²²

As a result, the theoretical administrative division of courtly music between the chapel, the chamber, and the stables gave way to a gradual unification during Charles II's reign. Both the violone players and the minstrels of the royal stables had been incorporated into the chapel during Philip IV's reign, which meant that the chapel was not just the main musical department of the royal household but was practically the only one. Even the musicians of the queens' *dancerías*, who belonged to their respective royal houses, were musicians of the royal chapel or hoped to become such.²³

These alterations within the musical administration of the Spanish Habsburg court allow us to track the changes made to courtly music as an institution with the arrival of the Bourbons in 1701.²⁴ From this year onwards, the chapel began to lose prominence as the foremost in royal performance, being replaced by other courtly institutions that were created or developed in the eighteenth century and beyond, such as the court opera in the time of Philip V, led by Farinelli, and the royal chamber orchestra in the time of Charles IV.²⁵ As a result, and in keeping with this approach, from the eighteenth century onwards, we can see the progressive decline of the royal chapel as an institution representing the King's musicians, becoming redundant at the end of the nineteenth century, and eventually disappearing in 1931, following the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic.²⁶

22 Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Vihuelas de arco y violones en la corte de Felipe III', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional 'España en la Música de Occidente'*, ed. Emilio Casares and José López-Calo (Madrid, 1987), 71-73.

23 María Sanhuesa Fonseca, 'Carlos II y las "Dancerías de la Reyna": Violones y danza en las postrimerías de la Casa de Austria', in *Revista de Musicología* 20 (1997), 261-74.

24 Carreras, 'The Court Chapel', 19-20. On the theme of 'courtly music', see also Erich Reimer, *Die Hofmusik in Deutschland 1500-1800: Wandlungen einer Institution* (Wilhelmshaven, 1991), 53.

25 For court opera in Spain, see Juan José Carreras, 'L'Opera di corte a Madrid', in *Il Teatro dei due mondi: L'opera italiana nei paesi di lingua ibérica*, ed. Anna Laura Bellina (Padua, 2000), 11-35. For information on Charles IV's chamber orchestra, see Teresa Cascudo, 'La formación de la orquesta de la Real Cámara en la corte madrileña de Carlos IV', in *Artígrama* 8 (1996-1997), 79-98, and Judith Ortega, 'La música en la Corte de Carlos III y Carlos IV (1759-1808): De la Real Capilla a la Real Cámara' (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2010).

26 Luis Robledo, 'Capilla Real', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid, 1999-2002), vol. 3, 125-26.

3 Singers and Musicians in the Royal Household

Since the reign of Philip II, there had been musical servants in three of the six departments of the royal household: the royal chapel, the chamber, and the stables. In each of these, music was part of a scripted programme to extol the different attributes of the monarch's body politic. The royal chapel sanctified him, the chamber strengthened him, and the stables sang his praises when he travelled outside the palace. The programmes in which music was used to portray the monarch varied considerably from one department to another, together forming the musical landscape that accompanied the King's ceremonial transformation.²⁷

In the documents of comptroller Juan de Sigoney, drafted in 1580, we find the administrative model for music in the royal household. Table 3.1 summarizes the information included, from the title of each position to the number of staff and their specifications. As can be seen, the largest department in terms of number and positions for musicians was clearly the chapel, followed by the stables. The chamber did not, in principle, have any defined musical posts; however, during Philip II's reign, the leading musicians of the chapel and musicians from the Queen's household (about whom not much information is available) would carry out the music services for the palace chamber.²⁸ The specifications for each position reference the duties and the number of posts.

To demonstrate how these positions changed, Table 3.2 shows the positions for musicians and the number of servants in Charles II's royal household between 1669 and 1670. In this instance, there were no longer any string players in the stables, having been absorbed by the chapel, and the number of trumpeters and kettledrum players had been cut in half. There were now two musicians based in the chamber, while the chapel continued to monopolize most of musicians. Nevertheless, the total number of musicians had hardly grown since 1580; in fact, the number of singers had been reduced in order to house more instrumentalists.

A large proportion of the changes to the distribution of musicians in the royal household were carried out in 1639. In this year, the violone players and the minstrels, who had belonged to the stables since the time of Emperor Charles V, were sent to the royal chapel. The reason for this was that the Blessed Sacrament had been borne to the Alcázar chapel that year, and the corresponding

27 Robledo Estaire, 'Felipe II y Felipe III como patronos musicales', 96-98.

28 Luis Robledo Estaire, 'La música en la Casa de Rey', in *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 187-90.

Forty Hours' Devotion, which had to be celebrated thenceforth over three days beginning on the first Thursday of each month, required that there be a permanent group of instrumentalists attached to the chapel.²⁹

With regard to the royal chamber, it was not until the beginning of Philip III's reign in 1599 that permanent musicians were put in place. At times, said musicians were also prominent members of the royal chapel; however, at other times they were exclusive to the chamber, as was the case with Juan Blas de Castro (c. 1561-1631).³⁰ This situation continued throughout Philip IV's reign and explains why, in 1670, there were still only two musicians attached to the royal chamber. Nevertheless, it appears that neither of the two musicians, who would most likely have been celebrated harpist and composer Juan Hidalgo (1614-85) and veteran master of the royal chapel Carlos Patiño (1600-75), actually performed as chamber musicians. In 1686, a request addressed to Charles II and signed by eight of his royal chapel musicians suggests that the King still had not appointed any musicians to his chamber. The document also includes an interesting account relating to musical performances in the royal chamber. It clarifies the aforementioned tradition of 'honouring and favouring the musicians of the royal chapel who served him best, and were most pleasing to him, with the title and renown of chamber musician', as well as the number of musicians required to serve the King.³¹ The eight signatories of the document demonstrate that there was a traditional set-up for singing vocal music: five singers (two adult male sopranos, a contralto, a tenor, and a bass) and three instrumentalists providing the accompaniment (a violone player, an archlute player, and a harpist). It also describes the role they played: 'To entertain their majesties in their Royal Chamber as well as in the gardens and forests, and for that reason they would always join them on journeys'.³²

In addition to the musical requirements of the chamber, the musicians attached to the royal chapel also took part in courtly theatre. By reading through various accounts of feasts, it is possible to document the presence of some of the King's musicians in court performances as far back as the reign of Philip II, although this was particularly the case during the second half of the seventeenth century.³³ Indeed, the main composers of the royal chapel, such as

29 MadAGP RC 79, file 4, document 9.

30 Robledo Estaire, *Juan Blas de Castro*, 31-33.

31 'honrar y favorecer a los músicos de su Real Capilla que mejor le servían, y que más le agradaban, con el título y renombre de músicos de cámara' (MadAGP A 649).

32 'Divertir a sus majestades así en su Real Camara como en los jardines y bosques a cuyo efecto iban siempre a las jornadas' (MadAGP A 649).

33 Analytical studies of accounts of various feasts have shown how the presence of royal chapel musicians in courtly performances was already customary during Philip II's reign; see Juan José Carreras, 'La música en las entradas reales', in *Aspectos de la cultura musical*

TABLE 3.1 Singers and instrumentalists in the Spanish royal chapel, according to Juan de Sigoney's documents (1580)

	Posts for musicians	No.	Specifications regarding the role
Stables	page-boy instrument players and dancers	2	
	trumpeters and kettle-drum players	4	'At high-profile feasts and banquets and when entering towns'
	vihuela players	4	'When travelling with His Majesty, their instruments shall be brought at His Majesty's expense'
Chamber	—	—	—
Chapel	chapel master	1	'Responsible for the chapel choirboys ... he must teach them the music or ceremonies of the Chapel'
	chaplains in charge of Mass	12	'Chaplains for sung Mass and low Mass ... all Masses shall be celebrated to His Majesty's health'
	singers	40	'No fixed number: as many as pleases His Majesty There are usually 40'
	choirboys	16	'No fixed number ... after they have grown and their voices have broken, His Majesty shall permit them to study for three years and if afterwards they should have the voice to serve in the Chapel, they shall be preferred over others There are usually 16'
	organist	1	—
	tuner	1	'He must ensure the organs are well tuned at all times'

Source: *Etiquetas de Palazio ...*, MadN 8740, fols. 143v-165r.

TABLE 3.2 Posts for musicians within the institutional structure of the Spanish royal household between 1669 and 1670

	Posts for musicians	No.
Stables	trumpeters and kettledrum players	2
Chamber	chamber musicians	2
Chapel	chapel master	1
	assistant chapel master	1
	capellanes de altar	12
	singers	24
	musicians (= instrumentalists)	19
	choirboys	12
	keyboard players	4

Sources: MadAGP H 113; MadAGP A 1116, MadAGP A 5638.

Hidalgo, Juan Francisco de Navas (c. 1650-1719), Sebastián Durón (1660-1716), and Antonio Literes (1673-1747), also performed in comedies and courtly zarzuelas.³⁴

4 Musical Organization of the Royal Chapel

In his *Tratado de la Capilla Real*, which he completed in 1685, receiver-general Mateo Frasso explains how the group of musicians of the royal chapel were equivalent to the chapel that Charles v brought over from Flanders in 1517.³⁵ This makes sense when one considers that no subsequent regulations affected

en la Corte de Felipe II, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 273-87, and Louise K. Stein, 'The Musicians of the Spanish Royal Chapel and Court Entertainments, 1590-1648', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 173-94. For theatrical performances involving music at the Spanish court during the second half of the seventeenth century, see Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1993), 348-51. See also Chapter 8 of this volume.

34 See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 298-331.

35 [Mateo Frasso], *Tratado de las ceremonias, o culto que se da a Dios en la Real Capilla de los Reyes Catholicos*, LonBLE 1822-1823, fol. 86r.

the duties or commitments of the chapel master or any other musical positions in the royal chapel. Emperor Charles V's chapel was governed by the *Statuta et ordinationes*, Burgundian bylaws that were likely drafted around 1518 and followed on from the previous regulations written by Philip the Fair and Charles the Bold.³⁶ The subsequent use of these regulations during Philip II's reign is not only confirmed through reference thereto in later bylaws,³⁷ but also by Frasso, who considered them to be an organizational starting point that 'had been adjusted to the situation of the times' (*se ha ido ajustando a la circunstancia de los tiempos*) with regard to the types of servants that made up the royal chapel: the chapel master, the *capellanes del altar*, the singers and instrumentalists, and the choirboys.³⁸

4.1 *The Chapel Master*

The chapel master was the person in charge of the royal chapel choir. The position was granted upon consultation with the Patriarch of the Indies and was usually held by the most eminent person in the profession.³⁹ The chapel master held the rank of *capellán de altar*, and among his duties were roles assigned by the *Statuta* that were rarely performed during the seventeenth century, such as caring for the choirboys. His actual tasks included attending music examinations, composing the villancicos each year for Christmas and Epiphany, and directing the chapel, both during their rehearsals and when participating in Mass. Each new musician had to pass an exam, which was attended by the chapel master and other members of the chapel according to their seniority or specialty.⁴⁰ The chapel master's compositional work had been documented since the sixteenth century in the registers of the various royal chapel scribes.⁴¹ In addition, it was normal for the Christmas and Epiphany villancicos to be rehearsed in the Patriarch's house, under the direction of the chapel master, several days before they were to be performed in the Alcázar chapel.⁴²

The position was stable throughout the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. It was always occupied by prestigious musicians recruited in Flanders who lived out their days at the head of the royal chapel: Nicolas Payen (c. 1512-59, served 1556-59), Pierre de Manchicourt (c. 1510-64, served 1559-64), Jean de

36 Robledo Estaire, 'La música en la Casa de Rey', 113. See also Chapter 2 of this volume.

37 For the surviving sources of the *Statuta et ordinationes*, see *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 302-3.

38 MadRAH 9/708, fol. 115r.

39 MadHM M-34, 129.

40 MadAGP RC 79, file 3.

41 For the composition of villancicos at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, see Jaime Moll, 'Los villancicos cantados en la Capilla Real a fines del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII', in *Anuario Musical* 25 (1970), 81-96.

42 MadAGP RC 79, file 3.

Bonmarché (c. 1520/25-1570, served 1565-70), Geert van Turnhout (c. 1520-80, served 1571-80), George de la Hèle (1547-86, served 1581-86), and Philippe Rogier (c. 1561-96, served 1588-96). Philip IV's reign saw the first retirement of a chapel master (Mateo Romero held the position from 1598 to 1633, even though he did not die until 1647), as well as the first non-Flemish chapel master: Carlos Patiño, from Cuenca, took on the role in 1634. The position became less stable during Charles II's reign, when it was either vacant or carried out by other royal chapel musicians.⁴³ Three musicians held the position of chapel master during his reign, although compromises had to be made in the interim periods. For instance, in 1665, chapel master Patiño's ailments forced him to pass on the role to assistant chapel master Francisco Escalada.⁴⁴ In 1680, Cristóbal Galán (c. 1625-1684) assumed the role but died four years later, which meant that the chapel master's duties were performed by Juan Gómez de Navas (c. 1630-95) as the most senior singer until 1691, when Diego Verdugo arrived as chapel master.⁴⁵

4.2 *The Chaplains*

As discussed above, from Philip IV's reign onwards, the chaplains involved in the music of the royal chapel were known as *capellanes de altar* (or *capellanes semaneros*) and *capellanes cantores*. The first group was responsible for celebrating Mass in accordance with the weekly rota and was seated in the chancel, while the *capellanes cantores* sang plainsong and were seated in the choir, together with the other singers and instrumentalists of the royal chapel. Nevertheless, there was no real difference between these groups; in the weeks when they were not celebrating Mass as *semaneros*, the chaplains performed as *capellanes cantores*.⁴⁶

The chaplains' duties are listed in the *Statuta et ordinationes*.⁴⁷ The statute governing their appointment was amended by Philip II in 1562,⁴⁸ though the regulations that best cover their musical agenda can be found in the aforementioned statutes decreed by Philip IV in 1623. These expressly state that

43 Robledo, 'Capilla Real'.

44 Danièle Becker, *Las obras humanas de Carlos Patiño* (Cuenca, 1987), 35. See also Lothar Siemens 'Patiño, Carlos', in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid, 1999-2002), vol. 8, 514-15 and Begoña Lolo, 'Escalada, Francisco' in *Diccionario de la Música Española*, vol. 4, 701.

45 Robledo, 'Capilla Real'.

46 MadHM M-34, 77-112, 131-33.

47 See *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 333-34.

48 Robledo, 'La música en la Casa del Rey', 110. For a full transcription of this statute, see *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, 318-22.

chaplains must be thoroughly trained in celebrating Mass and singing the Divine Office, must be fluent in Latin with regard to emphasis and pronunciation, and must be well versed in the ceremonies of the royal chapel. The regulations also add that chaplains must lead an exemplary life: 'Neither may there be any questionable women in their service, nor may they journey by night disguised or dressed as laity, or indecently, nor may they be involved in secular music, or any other illicit or dishonourable acts or conversations, nor may they keep any board games in their dwelling.'⁴⁹

Although not recorded in the constitutional documents of 1623, from Philip IV's reign onwards it was insisted that all new chaplains had to be musically proficient.⁵⁰ The reason for this was that the chaplains would be involved in the polyphonic performances of the royal chapel. The chaplains' involvement in singing polyphony had been specifically documented since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it began to be considered an advantage for a singer to know polyphony and help the other singers.⁵¹

4.3 *The Singers and Instrumentalists*

The bulk of the musicians who performed polyphony under the direction of the chapel master (most of whom were not clergy) were either singers ('those who praise God with their voice') or instrumentalists ('those who with their instruments harmonize with the choir').⁵² Their main role is detailed in the Emperor's *Statuta*: 'Likewise, let sung Mass (in polyphony) be celebrated each day by the singers of said chapel.'⁵³ This clause appears in each and every one of the Burgundian constitutions, and it was also the reason why a Dijon royal chapel took on singers who specialized in singing polyphony around 1432, when Philip the Good introduced the ongoing celebration of seven votive masses as part of a weekly cycle 'a haulte voix, a chant et a deschant, fors quand

49 'No tener mujer sospechosa en su servicio, ni andar por la noche disfrazados o vestidos de seglares, ni indecentes, ni en músicas, ni en otros actos o conversaciones ilícitas ni deshonestas, ni que tengan en sus casas tableros de ningún juego'; MadAGP RC 72, file 1.

50 MadHM M-34, 79-80.

51 Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Questions of Performance Practice in Philip III's Early Chapel', in *Early Music* 22 (1994), 200.

52 'los que con la voz alaban al señor'; 'los que con varios instrumentos hacen con las voces armonía de aires' (MadHM M-34, 133).

53 'Ítem, que cada día del mundo se cante una misa cantada (en polifonía) por los cantores de la dicha capilla'; Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Documentos sobre música española y epistolario* (*Legado Barbieri*), ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid, 1988), 38. See also MadHM M-34, 133.

le service sera de Requiem'.⁵⁴ This devotional tradition of singing daily polyphonic masses originated in Burgundy and continued until the end of Charles II's reign, another facet of the Habsburgs' dynastic heritage.⁵⁵

4.4 *The Choirboys*

The tradition of having a choir school attached to the institutional structure of the royal chapel arrived at the Spanish court with Philip the Fair at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, it was neither organized nor established until the reign of Philip II.⁵⁷ The *Statuta et ordinationes* describe the chapel master's duties regarding the boys' education, care, and musical roles. The founding of the choir school in 1581 established a structure headed by the chapel master as rector, followed by a *capellán de honor* as the teacher of grammar and the assistant chapel master as the music teacher.⁵⁸ The objection of certain chapel masters, such as Mateo Romero, to running the school meant that this responsibility was passed to the assistant chapel master and eventually fell to a *capellán de honor* in 1653.⁵⁹

The choir school's institutional evolution restricted its function to serving as a talent pool of voices and instruments for the royal chapel, although initially its purpose was to ensure the continued presence of high-pitched voices in music services performed by the royal chapel.⁶⁰ In the constitutional documents of 1672, particular emphasis was placed on the vocal training of the choirboys. In order to convert them into 'young gentlemen skilled at singing with ornament and artistry', they learned 'verses, antiphony, the Office of the dead, Christmas and Epiphany Matins, [and] all that is necessary for chapel

54 Alejandro E. Planchart, 'Guillaume Dufay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy', in *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 152. See also William F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremony in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', in *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 116.

55 [Mateo Frasso], [*Tratado de las ceremonias, o culto que se da a Dios en la Real Capilla de los Reyes Catholicos*], MadAGP RC 223, file 3, fol. 22v.

56 MadHM M-34, 135.

57 For the choir school, see Paul Becquart, *Musiciens néerlandais à la cour de Madrid: Philippe Rogier et son école (1560-1647)* (Brussels, 1967); Danièle Becker, 'La vie quotidienne au collège des jeunes chanteurs de la Chapelle royale à Madrid au XVII^e siècle', in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 21 (1985), 219-54; Robledo, 'La música en la Casa del Rey', 138-43; and Nicolás Morales, 'La Real Capilla y el real Colegio de niños cantores en el siglo XVIII' (Ph.D. diss., University of Toulouse-Le-Mirail, 1996).

58 The original copy of the constitutional documents is kept in the Papeles Barbieri in MadN 14069/221-232. For a transcription, see Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos*, 417-18.

59 See Becker, 'La vie quotidienne'.

60 Morales, 'La Real Capilla y el real Colegio de niños cantores', 85.

services and divine worship'.⁶¹ They were regularly involved in worship at the Alcázar chapel, singing both plainsong and polyphony. The best choirboys would usually be chosen to intone the nocturns at Matins, the antiphons at vigils, or the prayers in certain Masses or Vespers services, particularly during Lent.⁶² In terms of polyphonic singing, they would usually perform the soprano parts in *stile antico* masses and in certain villancicos.⁶³

5 The Polychoral and *Concertato* Styles from Philip II to Charles II

In 1665, Philip IV dedicated a section of his will to asking his son Charles to ensure that the Divine Office continued to be prayed in the palace chapel 'with the same care as hitherto ... or more, if indeed that is possible' (*con el mismo cuidado que hasta aquí ..., y más, si más puede ser*). He reminded him, as his own father had reminded him, that it was important that all the ministers and officials of the royal chapel continue to be 'musical, playing instruments and singing' (*así de musica como de instrumentos y voces*), as well as for vacancies to be filled and incomes maintained.⁶⁴ This concern for retaining and expanding the group of chapel musicians was directly linked to the polychoral style. Composing for several choirs required a high level of compositional skill, which ties in with the aforementioned evidence relating to Philip IV's reputation as a composer.⁶⁵ Within the Habsburg dynasty, however, polychoral music also played a decisive role in the portrayal of power and devotion, both publicly and at a more private level. Spanish monarchs firmly believed that they had a special relationship with God; thus, they received benefits in exchange for

61 'diestros y cantores galanes en glosas y arte'; 'versos, antífonas, lecciones de difuntos y de los maitines de Navidad y Reyes todo lo necesario al servicio de la capilla y culto divino' (Barbieri, *Documentos sobre música española*, 50).

62 Robledo, 'La música en la Casa de Rey', 140-41.

63 In the prologue to his *Libro de Misas a Facistol*, Juan del Vado included a report of the choirboys singing mass from the choirbook at the lectern. See Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Los cánones enigmáticos de Juan del Vado (¿Madrid? ca. 1625-Madrid, 1691): Noticias sobre su vida', in *Revista de Musicología* 3 (1980), 130. In relation to the choirboys' participation in the Christmas villancicos, several text booklets of villancicos have been preserved that contain the indication 'Para los niños del Colegio'. See, for example, a text booklet from 1695 in Isabel Ruiz de Elvira (ed.), *Catálogo de villancicos en la Biblioteca Nacional: siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1992), 101.

64 *Testamento de Felipe IV: Edición Facsímil*, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Madrid, 1982), 15.

65 See Juan José Carreras, 'La polichoralidad como identidad del "Barroco musical español"', in *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World*, eds. Juan José Carreras and Iain Fenlon (Kassel, 2013), 87-122.

their service.⁶⁶ This theurgical ability, as explained by Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg in *Curiosa y oculta filosofía*, had the ultimate representation in the Eucharist.⁶⁷

The beginnings of the polychoral style in Spain have traditionally been associated with the times of Philip II and, more specifically, with the construction of several organs in the choir and crossing of the Basilica in the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, a symbolic place of great importance for the Habsburg monarchy, following its completion in 1584. Nevertheless, there is documentary proof of compositions for eight voices linked to the Royal Alcázar chapel since at least 1568, although it is highly likely that these are imitative compositions, rather than works for two or more choirs. One of the clearest signs indicating when polychoral techniques were first in use, insofar as several choirs were involved, was the doubling of the number of bassoon players attached to the royal chapel in 1584, since dulcians would normally reinforce the lower-pitched voices in each choir.⁶⁸ Additionally, the first event for which a polychoral motet was written was the wedding of Infanta Catherine, second daughter of Philip II, to the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I, which took place in March 1585 at the Cathedral of Zaragoza.⁶⁹

With the appointment of Philippe Rogier as chapel master in 1588, polychoral music in Philip II's court was given a crucial boost. In 1590, he wrote two villancicos for twelve voices and a motet for eleven voices with 'three parts in tablature for the organ', which likely would have accompanied three different choirs. The following year, he wrote villancicos for eight, ten, and twelve voices, together with a Magnificat for twelve voices requiring two choirs of singers, one choir of minstrels, and 'four parts for the organ'.⁷⁰ Motets for thirteen and sixteen voices were also known to have existed in the lost music library of John IV of Portugal, to whose father Rogier had provided counsel in 1590.⁷¹

66 John H. Elliot, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven, 1989), 166-67.

67 Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'Il "lleno de música" e la "grandezza de Vuestra Majestad": Potere, cerimonia e policoralità nella Cappella Reale spagnola nel XVII secolo', in *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World*, eds. Juan José Carreras and Iain Fenlon (Kassel, 2013), 171-72; Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Mundo simbólico: Poética, política y teúrgia en el Barroco hispano* (Madrid, 2012), 144-45.

68 Alfonso de Vicente, 'Los comienzos de la música policoral en el área de la Corona de Castilla: Algunas hipótesis y muchas preguntas', in *Polychoralities: Music, Identity and Power in Italy, Spain and the New World*, eds. Juan José Carreras and Iain Fenlon (Kassel, 2013), 133-35.

69 See *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 375. The motet unfortunately does not survive.

70 *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, 400-1.

71 Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro, *Livraria de Música de el-Rei D. João IV: Estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon, 1967), vol. 1, 372-73.

Rogier represented the transition from the elaborate Franco-Flemish imitative style to the Venetian polychoral style. This tendency towards the Venetian model was developed further by his successors and radiated from the Madrid court to the cathedrals on the outskirts, shaping the modern musical landscape of the Spanish Baroque. The style was characterized by an arrangement of voices divided between two or more separate choirs, with varying complements of voices and instruments. The musical texture became increasingly homophonic with antiphonal parts alternating between the choirs and a simple, syllabic vocal style, consistent with Counter-Reformation precepts. The vocals were rhythmically tied to word stress, which aided comprehension without compromising on contrapuntal flourishes, non-harmonic tones, or changes in dynamics, tempo, and pitch, thereby helping to enhance the textual imagery. This preference for the Venetian style can be inferred not only from Rogier's compositions, but also through documents that demonstrate that he had access to compositions by Andrea Gabrieli (c. 1532/33–85) and that one of the Venetian's compositions was even performed by Philip II's royal chapel. For example, following Rogier's untimely death in 1596 at age 35, several books of motets and madrigals by the Italian composer were found among his musical papers.⁷² Similarly, Gabrieli's motet *Benedictus Dominus Deus in Sabaoth* for eight voices, written to commemorate the victory at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, was performed in 1594 and must have been sung at the Madrid court on 7 October during the festival of St. Mark, Pope and Confessor, at which Juan José of Austria's role in a naval victory against the Turks was celebrated.⁷³

In Gabrieli's motet, we find some of the aforementioned characteristics that were developed by Rogier and his successors. These can be seen in Rogier's responsory *Videntes stellam* for twelve voices (see Example 3.1): 'gavisi sunt gaudio magno' alternates between the three homophonic four-voice choirs in order to express the Magi's joy upon seeing the star (Example 3.1a); a reference to the Virgin Mary ('cum Maria matre ejus') involves a shift from the eighth tone (D major) to the first tone (D minor) (Example 3.1b); and, later on, the use of rests implies the rhetorical separation of the three gifts brought by the Magi: 'aurum, thus, et myrrham' (Example 3.1c). By adopting these characteristics, the masters of the royal chapel made Rogier's style the official style of religious music in Spain from Philip II's reign onwards.

72 Paul Becquart, 'Quatre documents espagnols inédits relatifs à Philippe Rogier', in *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 14 (1960), 131.

73 For Gabrieli's motet and the musical commemorations of the victory at Lepanto in Venice, see Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory, and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 2007). For the music of Gabrieli at the court of Philip II, see Robledo, 'La música en la Casa del Rey', 161.

This type of composition was played in the Royal Alcázar chapel as part of politico-religious ceremonies, such as the above-mentioned festival of St. Mark, during which battle music inspired by *La Guerre / La Bataille de Marignan* by Clément Janequin (c. 1485–after 1558) was commonly used. An example of this type of work was the *Missa pro victoria* for nine voices by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), a parody mass that incorporated Janequin's famous chanson and which the composer from Ávila included in his *Missae, magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia* (Madrid, 1600) [RISM V1435], dedicated to the young Philip III. This mass is stylistically different from his usual contrapuntal refinement in the Roman polychoral style; the composer appears to have deliberately altered his style to that which was prevalent in the music of Philip II's royal chapel.⁷⁴ In spite of this, it is likely that the mass never came to be performed in the Royal Alcázar chapel. Victoria's name does not appear in any of the music scribes' documentation, even though he had been resident at the court since 1587 as chaplain to Dowager Empress Maria, sister of Philip II and widow of Emperor Maximilian II, in the Convent of Las Descalzas Reales. For the first mention of Victoria in the royal chapel documents, one has to wait until 1612, a year after his death.

The royal chapel's decision to distance itself from Victoria's music, which coincided with the limited circulation of his musical works throughout the rest of the Kingdom during the seventeenth century, was connected with the two rival political factions – one connected to the Pope and one to the nobility – at Philip II's court.⁷⁵ Victoria's patron Maria had been linked to the *ebolista* or *papista* faction, which fell into disgrace in 1578 following the arrest of Antonio Pérez and the Princess of Eboli in favour of the *albista* or *castellanista* party, which united various nobles and grandees. In spite of the convivial relationship between Empress Maria and her nephew and grandson Philip III, and in spite of the growing rapprochement with the Pope during his reign, which enabled the revival of the *papista* faction, when the Madrid court moved to Valladolid from 1601 to 1606, Victoria ended up being alienated from the royal chapel. For this reason, when his name finally appeared in documentation in

74 For the political interpretation of Victoria's *Missa pro victoria*, see Alfonso de Vicente, 'Pro victoria: El poder del sonido', in *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical en la España de Felipe III*, ed. Alfonso de Vicente and Pilar Tomás (Madrid, 2012), 9–32.

75 For the reception of Victoria in the ecclesiastical institutions of the seventeenth century, see Juan Ruiz Jiménez, 'Recepción y pervivencia de la obra de Victoria', in *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical*, 301–51. For courtly factions at the end of Philip II's reign, see José Martínez Millán, 'La emperatriz María y las pugnas cortesanas en tiempos de Felipe II', in *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, vol. III, *La monarquía y los reinos (I)*, ed. Ernest Belenguier Cebrià (Madrid, 1999), 143–60.

EXAMPLE 3.1 Philippe Rogier, *Videntes stellam a 12*, bb. 16-21, 42-47, and 86-90 (cont.)

b

Coro I

Coro II

Coro III

et et pro - pro - et pro -

6 5 $\flat 3$

situated together in the same gallery, similar to the *pulpitum magnum cantorum* at St. Mark's Basilica, even though several choirs would be singing.⁷⁷ The Royal Alcázar chapel was a very small room that was less than twenty metres long by eight metres wide. The musicians, together with the organ, would be located in the gallery at the end of the chapel, above the chancel where the King would usually be seated (see Figure 3.1 above). Even though a small-scale chapel extolled the image of a pious and humble king, there were also obvious acoustic consequences, as documented by Camilo Borghese, nuncio to Pope Clement VIII and the future Pope Paul IV, in 1594: 'The music abounds with exquisite voices, but it is too resonant for the quality of the room. The King is

77 David Bryant, 'The "Cori Spezzati" of St. Marks's: Myth and Reality', in *Early Music History* 1 (1981), 165-86.

EXAMPLE 3.1 Philippe Rogier, *Videntes stellam* a 12, bb. 16-21, 42-47, and 86-90 (cont.)

C

86

Coro I

au - rum, thus, et myr -

au - rum, thus, et myr - rham

Coro II

ra,

ra,

Coro III

au - rum, thus, et myr - rham.

au - rum, thus, et myr - rham.

seated in the chancel behind a wooden rood screen at the end of the chapel, under the gallery of musicians, where he cannot be seen.⁷⁸

The layout was similar in other larger churches, such as, for instance, during the royal obsequies of Philip II in 1598 in the Church of San Jerónimo el Real. Regardless, even though the singers of each choir were seated very closely together, they were distinguishable from one another. This was also the case with the Venetian *cori spezzati*, where the choirs composed of soloists (*cori di voce*) were differentiated from the choirs composed of *ripieno* singers (*cori di*

78 'La musica è copiosa di voci esquisite, ma alla qualità della stanza è troppo strepitosa. Il Re sta dentro in una bussola di tavole a piedidella cappella, sotto la musica, senza esser veduto.' Alfred Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI e et au XVII e siècle: Documents historiques et littéraires publiés et annotés* (Heilbronn, 1878), 189. For the significance of the size of the Royal Alcázar chapel in relation to the King's image, see Becquart, *Musiciens néerlandais à la cour de Madrid*, 29.

cappella), to which instrumental parts for woodwind and strings were added.⁷⁹ This contrast, produced by using different combinations of voices and instruments within the same composition, is the basis of the *stile concertato*.⁸⁰ One of the first explanations of the *concertato* style in Spanish music theory of the time can be found in Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y el maestro* from 1613, in which he differentiates between a choir of soloists ('the first choir sings with the organ in simple four-part harmony'), a choir of voices and instruments ('different instruments were played, each instrument accompanying a voice'), and a third choir in which parts were multiplied ('quite the rabble, with three, four, or more singers per part') with an instrumental backing ('accompanied by full-bodied, powerful instruments').⁸¹

Following Rogier's death, his protégés and other composers ensured that the polychoral and *concertato* styles evolved in line with the image of the Spanish Habsburg monarchs. Foremost among them was Romero, who was appointed master of the royal chapel in 1598 and who composed several pieces that required more voices and choirs than Rogier's compositions, including a mass for nineteen voices in 1601 and a villancico for twenty-three voices in 1604.⁸² With regard to the changes introduced by Romero (who was also known as Maestro Capitán), of particular note are the contrasts between choirs formed of a soloist and accompaniment and the typical choirs formed of four vocal and instrumental parts multiplied several times over. This innovation was continued by his successor as head of the royal chapel in the middle of the seventeenth century, Carlos Patiño, becoming one of his most distinctive characteristics. In fact, in his portrait, painted around 1670, Patiño is holding the beginning of the melody for solo soprano that opens his eight-voice motet *Maria, Mater Dei* (see Figure 3.2). Upon his death in 1675, a manuscript copy of this motet was bequeathed to the Monastery of El Escorial, following an order from Philip IV that a selection of his best compositions be included in the bequest

79 Denis Arnold and Anthony F. Carver, 'Cori spezzati', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 6, 467-69.

80 Anthony F. Carver, 'Concertato', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 6, 235-36.

81 'el primer coro se canta en el órgano con cuatro voces sencillas'; 'tañe con un concierto de diversos instrumentos, acompañando a cada instrumento su voz'; 'mucha chusma; poniendo tres, cuatro y más cantantes por parte'; 'acompañándolos con algunos instrumentos llenos y de cuerpo'. Pietro Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro: Tratado de música teórica y práctica* (Naples, 1613), 676.

82 Barbieri, *Biografías y documentos*, 414. See also Sampaio Ribeiro, *Livraria de música de El-Rei D. João IV*.

'so that there they may be preserved and so that the originals may never be removed'.⁸³

The characteristic and official form of the Hispanic *stile concertato* remained practically unchanged until the end of the seventeenth century; this stylistic conservatism stands in stark relief to the musical predilections at the imperial Habsburg court in Vienna, where the newest Italianate styles were continuously cultivated. The style was apparent, for instance, during the translation ceremony of the Blessed Sacrament to the Monastery of El Escorial, which took place in October 1690. In his account of the ceremony, Francisco de los Santos, a Hieronymite monk who also served as chapel master, makes several specific comments in relation to the music:

The King ordered that the whole of his royal chapel come from Madrid to celebrate the event, ... forty singers with a great number of musical instruments. ... In the evening, we gathered to celebrate Vespers. Their Majesties were seated high in the choir loft. We celebrated with solemnity and incomparable music: seven choirs with a rare variety of instruments. The much-awaited day arrived, ... and the time came to celebrate high Mass In the main nave, on the order of the King, were four choirs of singers from his royal chapel, and above them, in the choir gallery, were another four: two at the railing and two by the organs, with a range of instruments. Including the congregation, who had now entered and been seated, this brought the total to nine When the celebrant sang the 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', it appeared as if the whole town had entered and was rejoicing in that church: The harmonies of the echoes, voices, and instruments resounded in the vaults, continuing their praises of God in a mysterious epilogue. A verse in the main nave, now in the choir gallery, now in the organ loft; some accompanied by noble harps, others by pleasing violins; in one area the resonant archlute was heard, in another the emboldened clarinos, to which a choir of different instruments replied; and then they did come together to sing 'Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam'.⁸⁴

83 'para que allí se guarden y no se puedan sacar jamás originalmente' (Becker, *Las obras humanas de Carlos Patiño*, 81).

84 'Mandó el rey viniese para celebrar la fiesta toda su Capilla Real, ... cuarenta cantores con mucho número de instrumentos músicos ... Por la tarde se juntó a este paso el celebrar las vísperas de la traslación. A ellas asistieron sus majestades en un balcón del coro, a lo alto. Celebráronse con solemnidad y música incomparable, a siete coros, con rara diversidad de instrumentos. ... Venido el día deseado ... y llegado el tiempo de celebrar la misa mayor, ... pusiéronse en la nave principal, de orden del rey, cuatro coros de cantores de su

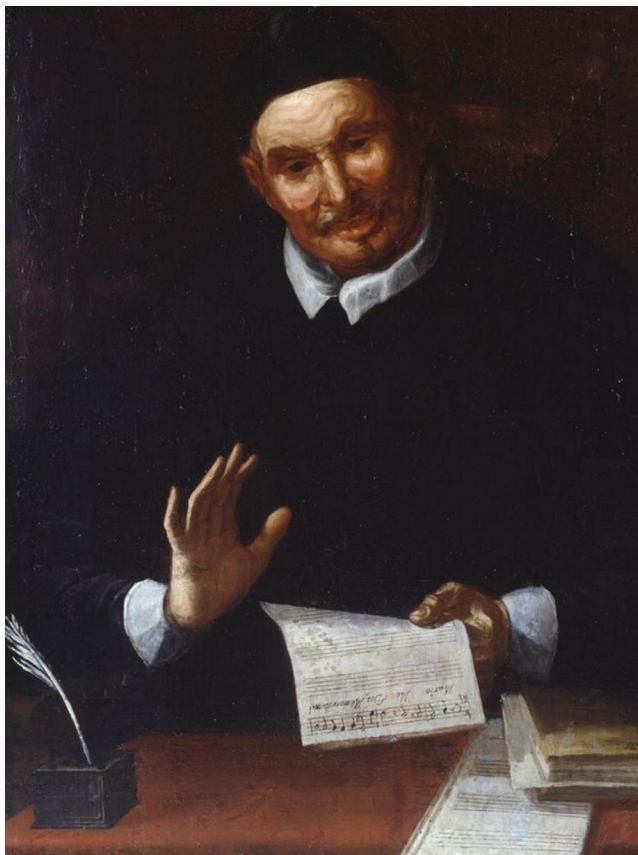


FIGURE 3.2
Carlos Patiño, painted
by his son Pedro Félix
Patiño

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Around the time of this ceremony, there were forty active musicians in the royal chapel, half of whom were singers. Among the instrumentalists were two harpists, two violinists, an archlute player, and a trumpet player, although it is

Real Capilla; y arriba en el coro de los monjes, otros cuatro; dos a la baranda, y dos a los órganos, con variedad de instrumentos; y contando también el de la comunidad gravísima, que ya había entrado a ocupar sus sillas, venían a ser nueve ... Al cantar el celebrante en la misa la Gloria in excelsis Deo, pareció que toda ella se había entrado y se gozaba en aquel templo, según resonaron en su capacidad y en sus bóvedas, las armonías de los ecos, de las voces y de los instrumentos, prosiguiendo aquel misterioso epílogo de las alabanzas de Dios. Ya un verso en la nave principal, ya otro en baranda del coro, ya en los órganos; unos acompañados de las arpas nobles, otros de los violines gustosos; en una parte se oía el archilaúd sonoro, en otra alentados clarines: a que respondía el coro de otros instrumentos diferentes; y cuando se juntaban todos, como fue el cantar: *Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam*'; Benido Mediavilla and Gregorio de Andrés (eds.), *Documentos para la historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1962), vol. 6, 132-35.

highly likely that there were four or six violinists and more than one trumpet player.⁸⁵ The description illustrates the continued use of both the polychoral style, in this case by placing the choirs in different areas of the church, and the *concertato* style, there being obbligato violin and trumpet parts and a striking archlute accompaniment.

The division of the Gloria or Credo into 'verses' – in other words, into shorter sections – was typical of the Venetian and Bolognese *messe concertate* in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ In Spain, this could be seen in compositions by the royal chapel organist Sebastián Durón, such as his *Misa a cuatro coros con violines y clarín a la moda francesa* (which, despite the title, does not employ any French styles).⁸⁷ Written around 1700, this work includes verses in the Gloria and Credo that have been transformed into ariettas for soloists, combining elaborate vocal shifts with the idiomatic handling of obbligato instruments, as can be seen in the 'Domine Deus' (Example 3.2).⁸⁸ These developments were introduced to the royal chapel at the end of the seventeenth century as part of a programme to overhaul the public image of Charles II, an easily manipulated monarch who was incapable of government. A report by a treble singer attests to this, following the adoption, in psalms and in the Gloria and Credo, of 'purely theatrical styles, such as ariettas, recitatives, and cantilenas, combined with violins and clarinos, which affect the comprehension and sanctity of the texts being sung'.⁸⁹

One of the most defining visual accounts of the whole seventeenth century, however, is the painting *La Sagrada Forma* by Claudio Coello, finished in 1690 (Figure 3.3), which captures a snapshot of the aforementioned ceremony at the Monastery of El Escorial described by Francisco de los Santos.⁹⁰ Aside from the fact that this painting represents Charles II's *pietas eucharistica* (that is, the

85 Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'Música, poder y devoción: La Capilla Real de Carlos II (1665-1700)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Zaragoza, 2003), 127.

86 John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750* (New York, 2005), 104-8, 414-16.

87 On the meaning of 'a la moda francesa', see Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'Polifonia a cappella e concertata in Spagna nell'età di Alessandro Scarlatti', in *Polifonie e cappelle musicali nell'età di Alessandro Scarlatti*, ed. Gaetano Pitarresi (Reggio Calabria, 2019), 168-70.

88 Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'Ad maiorem Dei gloriam (aut regis): La música en latín y el órgano', in *La música en el siglo XVII: Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Álvaro Torrente (Madrid, 2016), 156-57.

89 'estilos puramente teatrales de arietas, recitados y cantilenas junto al uso de sonos de violines y clarines que afectaban a la comprensión y santidad de los textos cantados'; see Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, 'Dos memoriales sobre la música de los templos', in *Revista de Musicología* 15 (1992), 328-38.

90 Edward J. Sullivan, 'Politics and Propaganda in the *Sagrada Forma* by Claudio Coello', in *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 2 (1985), 252.

EXAMPLE 3.2 Sebastián Durón, Gloria from *Misa a cuatro coros con violines y clarín a la moda francesa*, bb. 35-42

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system contains three staves: Violins I and II (top), Tenor (middle), and Accompaniment (bottom). The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). Measure numbers 35, 37, and 40 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The Tenor staff includes lyrics: 'Do - mi - ne' at measure 39 and 'De - - - us rex ce - les - - - - tis' at measure 41. The Violins I and II staff features a complex, rhythmic melody with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The Accompaniment staff provides a harmonic foundation with a mix of eighth and quarter notes.

King in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament together with the resonant echoes of the Habsburg dynasty), it also shows the King in less austere clothing that is more in line with French tastes, such as a cravat in place of the severe golilla collar.⁹¹ This was a portent of what was to come a little while later, with the

⁹¹ Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariano, 'La piedad de Carlos 11', in *Carlos 11: El rey y su entorno cortesano*, ed. Luis Ribot García (Madrid, 2009), 147-49; José Luis Sancho and José Luis Souto, 'El arte regio y la imagen del soberano', in *Carlos 11*, 172-77.



FIGURE 3.3
 Claudio Coello, *La sagrada forma*, oil on canvas, 1685-90 (sacristy of the Basilica of the Real Monasterio of San Lorenzo de El Escorial)
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arrival of the Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish court, but it was also the end of an era, an end that nearly coincided with the fire and destruction of the Royal Alcázar in 1734.

Translated by Kelly Harrison

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The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (I): From Emperor Ferdinand I to Emperor Matthias

Jonas Pfohl

The practice of music at the Habsburg imperial courts of the sixteenth century (and beyond) is the subject of a long line of scholarship that started with Ludwig Ritter von Köchel's study of the imperial court music chapel in Vienna, first published in 1869.¹ Although the title of Köchel's study might imply the continuity of a singular institution, lasting through generations of musicians, a summary account of the musical practice at the courts of four successive ruling personalities cannot rely on continuing traditions or steady developments, but must consider simultaneously existing structures as well as abrupt changes. A linearity concerning the practice of music – especially the chapel's organization, the involved personnel, the repertoire, and the contexts of performance – can be discerned only in a very general sense or in very specific details.

Köchel's study served, at least to a certain degree, as a model for many successive studies, passing some fundamental misconceptions on to subsequent generations of scholars. Since these misconceptions play an important role in the context of the present subject, it seems useful to outline some of the most significant weaknesses that have by now become apparent.² First, Köchel's study is based on a very limited selection of sources. For the period until 1714, his study focuses entirely on the court account books (*Hofzahlamtsbücher*) from the Obersthofmeisterarchiv of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.³ Since these account books survive largely complete only from 1543

1 Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869; reprint, Whitefish, MO, 2010).

2 Othmar Wessely first addressed these points of criticism in 'Arnold von Bruck – Leben und Umwelt: Mit Beiträgen zur Musikgeschichte des Hofes Ferdinands I. von 1527 bis 1545' (Habilitationsschrift, University of Vienna, 1959). See also Markus Grassl, "... ain cappellen aufzurichten fürgenommen": Zu den habsburgischen Hofkapellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 53, no. 2 (1998), 9–16.

3 A concentration on sources in Viennese archives is noticeable in musicological research throughout the twentieth century. In particular, archival materials in Prague have come into focus only within the last few years. For recent publications, see the website of the research

onwards, Köchel arrived at the conclusion that for the years before that, 'only fragments existed'.⁴ Succeeding generations of musicologists largely repeated this assessment, and it was not until 1958 that Othmar Wessely undertook a detailed study of the early history of Ferdinand's court music.⁵ Köchel's restriction to a limited range of sources went hand in hand with an inevitable focus on limited (if important) areas of musical practice, since his sources document only certain administrative aspects, namely the institution of the court chapel (*Hofkapelle*) and the trumpeters who reported to the office of the imperial stables (*Marstallamt*), and, specifically, personnel and payment lists. However, these sources say very little about the range of duties that each individual had to fulfil. Moreover, they do not include information about such other important areas as instrumental music and non-public chamber music. For these forms of musical practice, one needs to draw on other kinds of sources, such as visual representations, letters, diaries, and similar types of documents.⁶ Also dependent on such peripheral sources is research on the interaction between court and local musicians in Vienna, Innsbruck, and Prague,⁷ as well as on

centre Musica Rudolphina Research Group: <<http://www.bibemus.org/musicarudolphina>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

- 4 Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*, 6. This assessment was followed, for instance, by Albert Smijers, whose additional source material covered only the period after 1543: 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle in Wien von 1543-1619', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1919), 139-86; 7 (1920), 102-42; 8 (1921), 176-206; 9 (1922), 43-81.
- 5 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck'. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did Bruno Hirzel present two ordinances for Ferdinand I's court chapel dated 1 January 1527: Bruno Hirzel, 'Dienstinstruktion und Personalstatus der Hofkapelle Ferdinand's I. von 1527', in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10 (1908-1909), 154-56.
- 6 This is apparent, for example, in the following publications: Robert Lindell, 'Filippo, Stefano and Martha: New Findings on Chamber Music at the Imperial Court in the Second Half of the 16th Century', in *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale: Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia. Bologna 1987*, ed. Angelo Pompilio (Turin, 1990), vol. 3, 869-75; Robert Lindell, 'New Findings on Music at the Court of Maximilian II', in *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer und Alfred Kohler (Vienna etc., 1992), 231-45; Markus Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik am kaiserlichen Hof von 1527 bis 1612: Fakten – Hypothesen – Fragen', in *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle III: Gibt es einen Stil der Hofmusikkapelle?*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Elisabeth Theresa Hilscher, and Hartmut Krones (Vienna etc., 2011), 109-48.
- 7 Markus Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.: Addenda und Corrigenda zur Kapelle', in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen* 5 (2012), 28. For the situation in Prague, see Petr Daněš, 'Rudolfian Prague as a Musical Centre in Its Time', in *Die Tonkunst* 6 (2012), 312-19 and Erika Supria Honisch, 'Sacred Music in Prague, 1580-1612' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011).

the cooperation of multiple ensembles at state visits, weddings, and imperial diets.⁸

Contrary to what Köchel's term 'court musical chapel' (*Hof-Musikkapelle*) implies, court chapels were musical institutions only to a secondary degree. Primarily they were sacred institutions fulfilling liturgical functions, which is reflected in the fact that they were headed by a clerical post (the almoner or court preacher), and usually not by the chapel master.⁹ As I shall show in the following account of the court music of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, it was these sacred offices that formed the starting point of the development of a musical chapel. Long before there were specifically musical positions in a ruler's household, there were first and foremost clerics in his court entourage.

This points to a further aspect that Wessely succinctly analyzed for the first time: Principally, a court chapel is bound not to the office of emperor, but to the personality of each individual ruler.¹⁰ Already at an early age, each of the rulers of the 'first Austrian line' had a small court music establishment at hand, which grew parallel to his new, added functions and offices and eventually became the imperial court chapel at the moment of his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Consequently, several court music establishments existed simultaneously,¹¹ and they were formally dissolved when a ruler died. The dissolution of the chapel of Emperor Maximilian I, first described by Adolf Koczirz and frequently mentioned in music historiography, therefore needs to be viewed less as a singular event and more as a common practice.¹² The trans-

8 On the interaction of local and imperial musicians at the imperial diets at Augsburg, see Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 79 (Munich, 2018), 64-71.

9 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 62-63. Erich Reimer suggests that already in the sixteenth century the term 'chapel' was used only for the ensemble of singers in some cases; Erich Reimer, *Die Hofmusik in Deutschland 1500-1800: Wandlungen einer Institution* (Wilhelmshaven, 1991), 34-35. He cites a letter written by members of the chapel and addressed to Ferdinand in 1530 (Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 71, 74, 88, 279) and a letter of Ferdinand to Arnold von Bruck, in which the Emperor guarantees a lifelong annual pension for his 'governance of our chapel' (Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 25).

10 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 63-64.

11 Beside these simultaneously existing chapels of young noblemen, the wives of emperors also had their own household including clerics and musicians. After she married Ferdinand I, Anna of Bohemia employed five trombonists, some pipers, a drummer, a lute player, two violinists, and two trumpeters (Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 258-74). Maximilian II's wife Maria of Spain brought along her personal chaplain Matteo Flecha, who was also active as a composer; see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* (Tutzing, 1980), 55-57.

12 Adolf Koczirz, 'Die Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle nach dem Tode Kaiser Maximilians I.', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1930-31), 531-40.

fer of individual (or several) court musicians into a new household was not impossible and was in fact practiced rather frequently. This meant in turn that individual persons were not active in just one singular musical establishment, but they also made an impact on the musical practice of several courts. For instance, several musicians who were previously in the service of Ferdinand I were after his death employed by his three sons in their respective chapels. However, only a few of them moved to the court of his successor, Emperor Maximilian II, while a larger number found employment in the court music establishments of the Archdukes Ferdinand II of Tyrol and Charles II of Inner Austria. These musicians form an important link between the chapters of this book.¹³

A short survey of the most significant stages in the biographies of the four rulers discussed in this chapter will finally show that a geographical limitation to Vienna, as practiced by Köchel in the title of his study, is not helpful in the context of the sixteenth century, since the city had not yet acquired the significance as the seat of imperial power that it would have in the following century.¹⁴ Ferdinand, born in Madrid in 1503 and educated in the Netherlands under the supervision of his aunt Margaret of Austria beginning in 1518, became ruler of the Austrian hereditary lands in 1522.¹⁵ While at first residing mostly in Innsbruck, from the 1530s onwards he began to spend increasingly more time in the Vienna Hofburg, which he expanded to serve as his main residence.¹⁶ His oldest son and successor Maximilian spent the major part of his youth in these two cities, before he was sent to the household of his uncle Charles V for his further education; in 1548 he moved to Spain with his household.¹⁷ After marrying his cousin Maria of Spain, a daughter of Charles V, he moved back to Vienna and took over the governmental duties in the Archduchy of Austria. He kept Vienna as the main seat of his government during his reigns as King of the

13 How exchange between contemporaneous chapels of the different Habsburg households functioned has until today been studied only in rudiments. See Gundela Bobeth, 'Kapellstrukturen bei Habsburger Herrschern des 16. Jahrhunderts: Fragen und Perspektiven', in *Institutionalisierung als Prozess – Organisationsformen musikalischer Eliten im Europa des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Beiträge des internationalen Arbeitsgesprächs im Istituto Svizzero di Roma in Verbindung mit dem Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom*, 9. – 11. Dezember 2005, ed. Birgit Lodes and Laurenz Lütteken (Laaber, 2009), 180–81.

14 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 64.

15 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1982), 14–19.

16 Renate Holzschuh-Hofer, 'Die Alte Burg (Schweizerhof) 1521–1620', in *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705: Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, ed. Herbert Karner (Vienna, 2014), 80–129.

17 Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven etc., 2001), 7, 13–18.

Romans and King of Bohemia (from 1562), as King of Hungary (from 1563), and after the death of his father in 1564, as Holy Roman Emperor. His oldest son and successor as emperor, Rudolph II, moved his household to the Hradčany Castle in Prague around 1580.¹⁸ Rudolph's younger brother Matthias, who had been unable to assert himself as administrator (*Statthalter*) of the Netherlands against William of Orange between 1577 and 1581, resided mostly in Linz in the following years, and he sought to gain several bishoprics and the Kingdom of Poland from there. After the death of his brother Ernst in 1593 he assumed his role as administrator of the Austrian hereditary lands.¹⁹ After taking over more and more administrative duties from his brother Rudolph II, he was finally elected King of Bohemia in 1611 and, after Rudolph's death in 1612, Holy Roman Emperor. In the following years, he spent most of his time in the Vienna Hofburg. From the start of Matthias's reign, Prague thus for the most part ceased to be a main seat of government, while Innsbruck had not played a role as imperial city for nearly one hundred years.²⁰ It was now again the Hofburg in Vienna that was turned by Matthias and particularly by his successors into the imperial residence as it is still visible today.²¹

This short overview of important life events and government seats demonstrates how restless the life of the Habsburg rulers was at times. It seems hardly surprising that this restlessness had an impact on the sources and their survival today.²² As an example, only a few musical sources from the original holdings of the court chapels survive, in contrast with other courts north of the Alps (for instance, the Bavarian Court at Munich). According to Robert Lindell, it was particularly the movement of the court to Prague under Rudolph II that led to this situation. Lindell argues that Matthias took only little interest in the music collections of his predecessors, due to changes in musical tastes, and therefore he did not move this material back to Vienna. Lindell supposes that

18 Volker Press, 'Rudolf II.', in *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit 1519-1918*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Munich, 1990), 100-1.

19 Volker Press, 'Matthias', in *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit 1519-1918*, ed. Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Munich, 1990), 112-15.

20 Holzschuh-Hofer, 'Die Alte Burg', 138-40.

21 Herbert Karner, 'Die Alte Burg (Schweizerhof) 1620-1705', in *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521-1705: Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, ed. Herbert Karner (Vienna, 2014), 144-75.

22 Still in the early twenty-first century Jaroslava Hausenblasová could uncover numerous new sources for her edition of the records of Rudolph II's court: Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Rudolfs II.: Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnisse 1576-1612* (Prague, 2002). The *Hofzahlamtsbücher* of this time are evaluated from a music-historical perspective in Michaela Žáčková Rossi, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576-1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers* (Prague, 2018).

a large portion of printed and manuscript music was destroyed when the Swedes plundered Prague at the end of the Thirty Years' War.²³ The significance of this loss is illustrated by the fact that there are no surviving choirbooks from Ferdinand I's reign that could document the use of music in the liturgical practice of his court.²⁴ The few witnesses to the use of liturgical music date from Maximilian II's last years and the reign of Rudolph II, and these represent only a fragmentary portion of the original repertoire performed at the imperial court. For the preceding years, any attempt to reconstruct what kind of music was composed and performed at the imperial court must rely solely on peripheral manuscript sources and music prints, a medium that was continuously growing during the sixteenth century.

1 Ferdinand I: The Formation of a Chapel

Wessely was the first (and, to date, the last) scholar to undertake a detailed investigation of Ferdinand I's court chapel, which he did in the larger context of his study of composer Arnold von Bruck (1500?-54). Wessely's research is responsible for the long-enduring assumption that Ferdinand did not have his own court chapel when he was still Archduke, and that he was pressed for time when he finally assembled it, following his election as King of Bohemia and Hungary on 17 December 1526.²⁵ Although Wessely does provide some evidence for the existence of a chapel before this date,²⁶ Markus Grassl has definitely debunked the claim that Archduke Ferdinand did not have a chapel, using newly discovered sources.²⁷ For this purpose Grassl links to the findings of historian Gerhard Rill, who reconstructed the structure of the Archduke's

23 Robert Lindell, 'Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1994), 254-55.

24 Only three choirbooks are known to have been available for the use of Ferdinand's court: ViennB Mus. 15495, ViennB Mus. 15496, and ViennB Mus. 15497. Copied between 1508 and 1516 in the workshop of Petrus Alamire, these three manuscripts contain exclusively older repertoire and no masses that could have been created explicitly by or for Ferdinand's court. On these choirbooks, see Herbert Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535* (Ghent-Amsterdam, 1999), 153-58. For ViennB Mus. 15495, see also Birgit Lodes, 'Des Kaisers Alamire: Zur Entstehung des Chorbuchs Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 15495', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Turnhout, 2009), 247-58.

25 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 74. Markus Grassl called this into question in 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 30-31.

26 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 108-13, 118-22.

27 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 31.

household using the account books of general treasurer (*Generalschatzmeister*) and court chancellor (*Hofkanzler*) Gabriel of Salamanca; Rill was able to name a portion of the court personnel for 1522-23, and he located a court ordinance (*Hofordnung*) dating from spring 1524 that contains the rubric 'capella et cantoria'.²⁸

Already during Ferdinand's reign as Archduke of the Austrian hereditary lands, a chapel of six members existed, as documented in Salamanca's account books. These members, however, fulfilled primarily sacred functions: The documents name an almoner, three chaplains, and their auxiliary personnel.²⁹ The court ordinance of 1524 already lists a greater number of positions that largely correspond to the structure outlined by Wessely on the grounds of the court ordinance of 1527. Unlike the later ordinance, the names of the personnel are not listed in the earlier document.³⁰ It is therefore not quite clear if the 1524 ordinance reflects the actual status of the court chapel, or if it needs to be understood as a provision for the future formation of such an institution. We can safely assume, however, that Ferdinand did not have to build his chapel from scratch, since key structures already existed before 1527, at least on paper.

Although the chapel ordinances of 1524 and 1527 might appear similar in general terms, they differ in significant details. Apart from the number of choirboys, these differences include the names for the higher-ranking sacred offices, which in the older document represent a curious mixture of Burgundian and Austrian traditions. In the earlier of the two personnel lists, the highest position is 'capelle [sic] magister'. His duties most likely combined the functions of almoner and court preacher, as was the case of Jean de Revelles, who functioned as both almoner and confessor as early as 1522. The term used for this office is doubtlessly derived from 'capellen meister', represented previously by Georg Slatkonja (1456-1522), the leader of Maximilian I's chapel.³¹ On the other hand, the two aforementioned functions correspond exactly to those that were taken on by the two highest ranking clerics in the Burgundian chapels of Philip the Fair and Charles V. Particularly the office mentioned in the second place, the 'proto-sive primus capellanus', seems to go back to the Burgundian tradition, in which a 'premier chapelain' functioned as director of the 'grande chapelle' and as such was responsible for the sung liturgies.³²

28 Gerhard Rill, *Fürst und Hof in Österreich: Von den habsburgischen Teilungsverträgen bis zur Schlacht von Mohács (1521/22 bis 1526)*, vol. 2: *Gabriel von Salamanca, Zentralverwaltung und Finanzen* (Vienna etc., 2003), 46-103.

29 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 29.

30 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 32.

31 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 33.

32 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 32-33.

Two additional aspects illustrate the concurrence of these two traditions. The term 'cantoria', used in the heading of the 1524 list, can be traced back to the German term 'Kantorei', used at Maximilian I's court to signify an ensemble that performed polyphonic music. Moreover, the 1524 document emphasizes that the treble part was sung by the chapel boys, according to German custom ('ut moris est germanici discantum cantabuntur'), a formulation that emphasizes a difference from Spanish practice, in which the voices of adult males were used for the upper parts.³³

The 1527 chapel ordinance shows, however, a clear trend towards emulating the structures characteristic of Maximilian I's court. The chapel was now administered by an 'obriester caplan', which means that the title of 'Kapellmeister' now became available for a new position primarily concerned with the education of the choirboys (a position that in 1524 still needed to be filled by one of the singers).³⁴ The creation of this new post with its new individual profile was a significant innovation, which became formative for the Habsburg court chapels of the whole sixteenth century: Although the 1527 chapel ordinance explicitly demanded that clerics had to 'have good voices and be able to sing' (*guet stimm haben und singen konden*), and although there were a few clerics among the singers, this ordinance already reflects a significant separation between professional singers and clerics, which became more and more pronounced during the sixteenth century. The at first predominantly sacred institution of the chapel evolved into a *Kantorei*, led by the *Kapellmeister* and devoted exclusively to musical functions.

The 1527 chapel ordinance therefore created the general organizational structures that remained intact until Emperor Matthias's death and the resulting dissolution of his chapel. The posts that had to be filled with clerics were those of the court preacher, the almoner, and the chaplains (which were employed in varying numbers). These posts were assisted by servant personnel (*Kapellen- or Oratoridiener*). The court chapel master (*Hofkapellmeister*) stood at the top of the musical personnel. At his side was at least one organist (together with his assistants), a copyist, and (of course) adult singers of all voice types, as well as choirboys.

Only a few other positions were added in the course of the sixteenth century or were unoccupied for a longer period of time. For instance, the position of court preacher (*Hofprediger*) was not continuously filled, and consequently the hierarchy among the higher-ranked clerics varied.³⁵ In regard to the key

33 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 33.

34 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 34.

35 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 35.

musical posts, the later changes were mainly limited to the temporary creation of two additional positions. After 1530, the education of the choirboys was made the specific responsibility of a preceptor,³⁶ and temporarily the *Hofkapellmeister* was aided by a vice-chapel master.³⁷ Only after 1570 was the court chapel augmented by a group of singers and instrumentalists who were mainly responsible for the performance of chamber music.³⁸

The field of duties assigned to these individual positions seems, however, to have been less defined and more fluctuating, experiencing significant changes during the sixteenth century.³⁹ If, as outlined above, a preceptor was employed from 1530 onwards for the instruction of the boys, what range of duties did the *Kapellmeister* then fulfil? His new responsibility for a wider range of duties can be concluded from a notification from 1544, in which Ferdinand I granted his long-term *Kapellmeister* Arnold von Bruck a lifelong annual pension after his retirement for his 'governance of our chapel' (*regierung unnnserer capeln*). This 'governance' specifically pertained to the maintenance of musical quality, which was achieved through the selection of qualified singers. Accordingly, it is documented in the court records that von Bruck, his successor Pieter Maessins (c. 1505-62), and later court chapel masters frequently travelled back to their homeland to recruit new singers,⁴⁰ which contributed to the fact that the imperial court chapels were dominated by musicians from the Netherlands. There is especially rich documentation for the wide range of Maessins's responsibilities. For instance, in 1555 Maessins submitted a proposal for a boarding school, in which the choirboys were supposed to live and learn – a plan that probably did not come to fruition.⁴¹ Moreover, he was one of the main people responsible for the appointment of a new organist at the main parish church in Innsbruck and for the disposition of the new organ in St. Vitus Cathedral, Prague.⁴²

36 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 217-18.

37 Bobeth, 'Kapellstrukturen', 189.

38 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 215-25.

39 Over the course of Jacob Regnart's employment as vice-chapel master at the court of Ferdinand II of Tyrol in Innsbruck there was much correspondence about the vice-chapel master's payment and field of duties. Apparently at this time there was still no consensus over what his actual function was. See Bobeth, 'Kapellstrukturen', 190.

40 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 37-38.

41 Othmar Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte von Pieter Maessins', in *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit: Festgabe für Ferdinand Weinhandl*, ed. Robert Mühlner and Johann Fischl (Berlin, 1967), 447-48.

42 Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954), 52, 60.

Even though chapel masters were responsible for the overall musical quality of the court chapel, the composition of new music did not yet belong to their field of duties. According to an instruction for the chapel master ('Capellmeisters Instruction') that Albert Smijers dates to around 1615, members of the court music should receive individual payments for their compositions.⁴³ Such payments in the form of gifts (*Gnadengelder*) was common practice throughout the sixteenth century. It was a frequent practice to commission new repertoire from other musicians, either members of the court music or musicians from outside the court chapel.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, all chapel masters employed at imperial courts during the sixteenth century were also active as composers. That this practice eventually became part of their official duties is documented by the appointment of a new *Kapellmeister* at Maximilian II's court in 1567-68. In the surviving exchange of letters between the Emperor and Prospero d'Arco, his envoy in Rome, regarding the successor of Jacobus Vaet (c. 1529-67), the former emphasized that the candidate should be experienced in the 'art of composing' (*arte componendi*).⁴⁵ Not only did the desired candidate, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/26-94), more than meet this requirement, but so did the person who was actually appointed, Philippe de Monte (1521-1603). It is significant that after Monte's death about four decades later, no new *Hofkapellmeister* was appointed (probably because the organization of the chapel had already for some time been entrusted to the vice-chapel master); instead, the new position of court composer was created. Since 1604, this position was filled by Carl Luython (1557/58-1620), who had previously been employed as organist.⁴⁶ It seems possible that this new position was established to bridge the gap caused by Monte's death.

Ferdinand I attempted to continue the traditions established by his grandfather Maximilian I, not only in his expansion of the court chapel, but also in his appointment of its leading personnel. For instance, the above-mentioned 1527 court personnel list names Heinrich Finck (1444/45-1527) as first *Kapellmeister* in Ferdinand's service. After serving in court chapels in Poland and Württemberg, Finck had later at least somehow been associated with Maximilian I's court.⁴⁷ In 1527, he had been retired for a couple of years and was living in the

43 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 157-58.

44 Bobeth, 'Kapellstrukturen', 191.

45 Robert Lindell, 'Die Neubesetzung der Hofkapellmeisterstelle am Kaiserhof in den Jahren 1567-1568: Palestrina oder de Monte?', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 36 (1985), 37.

46 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 149.

47 Finck's exact position and duties at Maximilian's court are obscure. Nicole Schwindt has proposed that he might have been paid only for the time he sojourned at the court and has pointed out that his retirement in the *Schottenstift* implies an imperial protection; see

Schottenstift in Vienna. It therefore does not seem probable that his appointment as court chapel master actually meant that he took on this office, especially since only a few months after his appointment on 8 June 1527, Finck died in the *Schottenstift*, at a time when Ferdinand I was sojourning in Jindřichův Hradec in Bohemia with his whole court retinue (including his court chapel).⁴⁸

Since the transmission of Finck's compositions began only very late – a substantial part of his works survives posthumously in prints and manuscripts – a chronological ordering of his oeuvre hardly seems possible. Despite this uncertainty, it seems less than likely that a major portion of his works was composed during the last months of his life during his service to Ferdinand I. All the same, part of Finck's surviving repertoire does show significant connections to the works of his successor in the office of chapel master. No fewer than twenty-eight secular and four sacred Lieder by Finck survive,⁴⁹ found largely in an anthology collected and edited by Hans Ott in 1536.⁵⁰ Although only the court chapel master's name is explicitly mentioned in the title, the print also contains pieces by other composers with connections to Habsburg households. This inclusion of works by other composers is by no means an exception among similar sixteenth-century publications,⁵¹ and it is even less surprising when the further context of this volume is taken into account: Royston Gustavson has proposed that this anthology was the middle volume of a trilogy, framed by two volumes of songs by various composers.⁵² The most significant portion of the repertoire published by Ott consists of works by Ludwig Senfl (1489/91–1543), Finck, Finck's successor von Bruck, and the trombonist and vice-chapel master Stephan Mahu (1480/90–1541). As a result, Ott's publication gives a broad overview of the diversity of the German-language Lied around 1500.

Nicole Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder: Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500* (Kassel, 2018), 256–57.

48 A retroactive termination in the year 1530, after Heinrich Finck's chapel books were surrendered, suggests, however, that he had in fact started his service (Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 146).

49 Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, *Henricus Finck: Musicus excellentissimus (1445–1527)* (Cologne, 1982), 213–16.

50 Hans Ott (ed.), *Schöne auszerlesne Lieder, des hoch berühmten Heinrici Finckens sampt andern neuen Liedern von den fürnemsten diser Kunst gesetzt ...* (Nuremberg, 1536) [RISM 1536⁹].

51 Michele Calella, *Musikalische Autorschaft: Der Komponist zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Kassel etc., 2014), 107.

52 Royston Gustavson, 'Hans Ott, Hieronymus Formschneider, and the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537–1538)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 1998), 10–15.

When von Bruck retired from court office at the end of 1545 – he had succeeded Finck in 1527⁵³ – the German-language Lied was about to lose its importance at the Habsburg courts. Nevertheless, this long-serving court chapel master represents an important point of departure for traditions that remained influential in Austrian Habsburg courts well into the seventeenth century. As his surname suggests, he was born in the Flemish town of Bruges and thus came, like all royal and imperial court chapel masters until the end of Matthias's reign, from the Burgundian Netherlands.⁵⁴ Only little is known about his life until he joined Ferdinand I's court in 1527. Circumstantial evidence suggests, however, that he had become a choirboy in Charles V's court chapel already in 1506, and that he received his early musical education there.⁵⁵ Like many musicians in Habsburg service after him, he was employed by more than one ruler, making a career at the courts of different Habsburg sovereigns. And last but not least, von Bruck made the first contributions to a genre that would in subsequent years dominate the Habsburg repertoire. In addition to a few functional liturgical compositions (five hymns, two Magnificats, a Te Deum, and a *Dies irae*), at least eleven Latin motets can be ascribed to him.⁵⁶

Almost all the few surviving compositions by von Bruck's successor Pieter Maessins, who began serving as vice-chapel master in March 1534, belong to the genre of the motet.⁵⁷ No fewer than eleven sacred compositions with Latin texts were published in different anthologies between 1541 and 1568. The comparatively early beginning of the transmission of his works in print suggests that Maessins was already composing motets before his appointment at Ferdinand I's court, during his tenure as *Kapellmeister* at Kortrijk and possibly even earlier.⁵⁸ Such an early date can be proposed for *Quicquid apositum*, printed already in 1541 in Lyon by Jacques Moderne,⁵⁹ and also for *O praeclarum nomen*, printed by Tielman Susato in his *Liber tertius ecclesiasticarum cantionum*

53 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 276.

54 Othmar Wessely, 'Zur Frage nach der Herkunft Arnolds von Bruck', in *Anzeiger der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 92 (1955), 24–37.

55 Wessely, 'Arnold von Bruck', 46–47.

56 Othmar Wessely and Walter Kreyszig, 'Bruck, Arnold von', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 4, 457–58.

57 Maessins's compositions are edited in Pieter Maessins, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Othmar Wessely and Martin Eybl, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 149 (Graz, 1995).

58 Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte', 439–40.

59 Jacques Moderne (ed.), *Le Parangon des chansons ...* (Lyon, 1541) [RISM 1541⁷].

(Antwerp, 1553) [RISM 1553¹⁰], an anthology containing mainly local repertoire.⁶⁰

After Maessins's sudden death during a coach accident on 10 December 1562,⁶¹ Jean de Guyout (Castileti), who had previously occupied leading musical positions in Liège, took over the office of *Kapellmeister* for a few years.⁶² During his tenure, Ferdinand I's chapel reached its largest number of personnel. According to a court personnel list dating from 1564, the chapel comprised three court preachers, one almoner, one chief chaplain, twelve chaplains, two chaplain servants, the *Kapellmeister*, two preceptors, two organists, and no fewer than thirty-nine singers. If one considers the names contained in various other sources, there were also no fewer than twenty-four choirboys serving Ferdinand's court at that time.⁶³

As a consequence of the growing number of offices bestowed upon Ferdinand and the corresponding rise in importance of his chapel (but also possibly due to the improved possibilities for publication), other members of the court chapel became active as composers beginning in the 1550s. One musician in particular needs to be named here: Johannes de Cleve (1528/29-82), who not only had his works published in the above-mentioned anthologies, but who is also the first musician in the service of a ruler of this 'first Austrian line' by whom an individual print survives.⁶⁴ The repertoire of this print, however, more or less agrees with the works contained in various contemporary anthologies: two sets of Latin motets are followed in each case by a parody mass. It seems likely that these masses were performed at Ferdinand's court in a liturgical setting, since the few surviving music manuscripts dating from the reigns of his successors Maximilian II and Rudolph II contain a large number of parody masses. After the death of his first employer Ferdinand I and the following dissolution of the chapel, Cleve became *Kapellmeister* at the Graz court of Charles II of Inner Austria in 1564.⁶⁵

60 On this print, see Stanley Boorman, 'The Music Publisher's View of his Public's Abilities and Taste: Venice and Antwerp', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1997), 410.

61 Horst Leuchtmann, 'Der Tod des kaiserlichen Kapellmeisters Pieter Maessins (Petrus Massenus von Massenberg)', in *Acta musicologica* 41 (1969), 239-40.

62 José Quitin and Henri Vanhulst, 'Guyot (de Châtelet), Jean', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 10, 608.

63 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 29-30.

64 Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones sacrae, quae vulgo moteta vocantur ...* (Augsburg, 1559) [RISM C3203]. For details on background, dedication, and repertoire of this print, see Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen*, 308-24.

65 Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich* (Mainz, 1967), 66-69.

As mentioned above, career moves to the courts of the Archdukes of Inner Austria or Tyrol were not uncommon,⁶⁶ while only a few of Ferdinand's musicians continued in the service of his successor Maximilian II. This fluctuation of musicians into other chapels marks an important change within the present chapter – at least if one focuses on the personnel alone. However, there were also some continuities after 1564.

2 The Court Chapel of Maximilian II

Following the typical procedure discussed above, Maximilian II maintained his own household prior to ascending to the imperial throne, which became the imperial household after Ferdinand I's death in 1564. The core of Maximilian's court chapel began life in 1529, when Ferdinand I wrote a memorandum concerning the 'households of our four dear children' (*stat unnsrer vier lieben kinder*).⁶⁷ This text defines the duty of a chaplain 'to teach the boys and keep them in good order' (*die knaben zu leren und in gueter zucht halten*), yet, as in the first court household list of 1524, no court employee is specifically named. It is again therefore unclear if the memorandum describes an existing state of affairs, or if it rather reflects the intention of creating such a position. Even though only the sacred positions were filled during the first years of this chapel, the first planning to create positions for personnel with exclusively musical duties can be observed before 1564. For instance, in a court personnel list of 1550 – Maximilian was currently on his way back to Vienna from Spain – the individual musical posts are listed, and in a list of 1554 (see Table 4.1) these are associated with particular names. Only two posts were not filled at that time, those intended for tenor singers, who were supposed to receive a salary of ten Gulden, just like the other singers.⁶⁸

Already in 1554, and thus shortly after Maximilian had taken over the administration of the Austrian hereditary lands (and a decade before he succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor), the Archduke's chapel had reached a significant size. The recruited personnel came mostly from previously existing Habsburg households. For instance, the almoner Mathias Fortunatus was employed as chaplain at Ferdinand's court between 1539 and 1551, but he had

66 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 24; Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 66-67.

67 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 339.

68 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 350-55. The *concordero* (or *accordero*) listed in Table 4.1 was responsible for the operability and tuning of the organ. He also had to take care of a *calcant*, a boy who operated the organ bellows (Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 165).

TABLE 4.1 Personnel of the Court Chapel of Maximilian II in 1554

Position	Name(s)
Almoner	Mathias Fortunatus
Chaplains	Claudius Perrot, Georgius Torosius, Franciscus de Arbore, Petrus Regis, Antonius Galli
Chapel Servants	Johann von Namur, Christoph Falkensteiner
Kapellmeister	Jacobus Vaet
Bassists	Petrus Brye, Nikolaus Faucquier, Joannes Vinagre, Johannes Huissens
Tenorists	Carolus Eberhart, Michael Woltzogen, no name (2)
Altists	Anthonius Daett, Petrus Hailland, Martinus Reux, Johannes de Pouckhe
Copyist	Georg Prenner
Organist	Wilhelm Formellis
Concordero	Johannes Baptista von der Mülen

Source: Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 350-55.

accompanied Maximilian on his tour to Spain and might have officially entered his service already in 1551.⁶⁹ Other members of the chapel apparently came from Charles v's household. A beneficiary list from Charles's court, dating from 1550, documents, next to a married tenor Jacques Vat, a Pierre Hilant and a Nicole Faulqueur, who do not appear in later lists of Charles's entourage. Milton Steinhard supposes that Vaet might have entered Maximilian's service already in November 1551 during Charles's travels to Austria.⁷⁰ Steinhard's hypothesis can be extended to the two other musicians, assuming they are identical with the singers Petrus Hailland and Nikolaus Faucquier, both of whom were employed at Maximilian's court.

In addition to *Kapellmeister* Vaet, the personnel list of 1554 (Table 4.1) names some other musicians who were active as composers. These did not occupy only the exclusively musical positions, since at least one of the listed chaplains,

69 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 42.

70 Milton Steinhardt, 'The "Notes de Pinchart" and the Flemish Chapel of Charles v', in *Renaissance-Muziek, 1400-1600: Donum natalicum René Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. Jozef Robijns (Louvain, 1969), 289.

Antonius Galli (d. 1565), is known for his compositional expertise. Apart from three settings of the mass ordinary, an *Asperges me*, and three chansons, his compositions are mostly motets.⁷¹ There are also surviving motets by Hailland, Wilhelm Formellis, and Georg Prenner. In this context, other musicians need to be mentioned who entered the chapel at a later time, namely Jacob Regnart (1540/45-99), Franciscus Mergot (de Novo Portu), Jacob de Brouck, Simon de Roy, Antoine de la Court, Henry de la Court, and finally the later court chapel master Philippe de Monte.⁷²

The majority of these motets were published in anthologies, which as mentioned above, were also important for the transmission of Maessins's compositions. Especially noteworthy are two five-volume collections that appeared in Nuremberg and Venice. No fewer than forty-nine compositions by some of the above-mentioned musicians were included by Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber in their *Thesaurus musicus ...* (Nuremberg, 1564) [RISM 1564¹⁻⁵]. The anthologies that were most crucial for the transmission of works by Habsburg musicians, however, were the five volumes of the *Novus thesaurus musicus* (Venice, 1568) [RISM 1568²⁻⁶], published by Antonio Gardano and dedicated to Emperor Maximilian and his two younger brothers (see Figure 4.1).⁷³ Around 100 compositions by the above-mentioned musicians form the nucleus of this anthology, which was assembled and financed by Petrus Joannellus (Pietro Giovanelli), a textile merchant from Bergamo. The addition 'atque catholici' to the collection's title from the second volume onwards, and the ordering of the compositions as *Sanctorale* beginning in the third volume, point to the fact that this luxury print needs to be understood as an important musical document of the emerging Counter-Reformation.⁷⁴

71 Milton Steinhardt, 'Galli, Antonius', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 9, 447-48.

72 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 57-58, 115, 132, 140-41, 158-59. On Regnart's motet output, see Walter Pass, 'Jacob Regnart und seine lateinischen Motetten' (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1967). An overview of Philippe de Monte's motet output is in Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521-1603)* (Göttingen, 2009).

73 The title page of the first volume gives the title as 'Novi thesauri musici', and that of vols. 2-4 as 'Novi atque catholici thesauri musici' (the fifth volume bears a completely different title). I use the title from the first volume, changed from genitive to nominative case.

74 Walter Pass, 'Jacob Vaets und Georg Prenners Vertonungen des Salve Regina in Joannellus' Sammelwerk von 1568', in *De ratione in musica: Festschrift Erich Schenk zum 5. Mai 1972*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Rudolf Flotzinger, and Othmar Wessely (Kassel, 1975), 29-49, esp. at 30. A comprehensive review of the circumstances of the creation of this print is in David E. Crawford, 'Immigrants to the Habsburg Courts and Their Motets composed in the 1560s', in *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596) and His Time: Migration of Musicians to and from the Low Countries (c. 1400-1600). Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen, 26-27 August 1996*, ed. Eugene Schreurs and Bruno Bouckaert, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 3

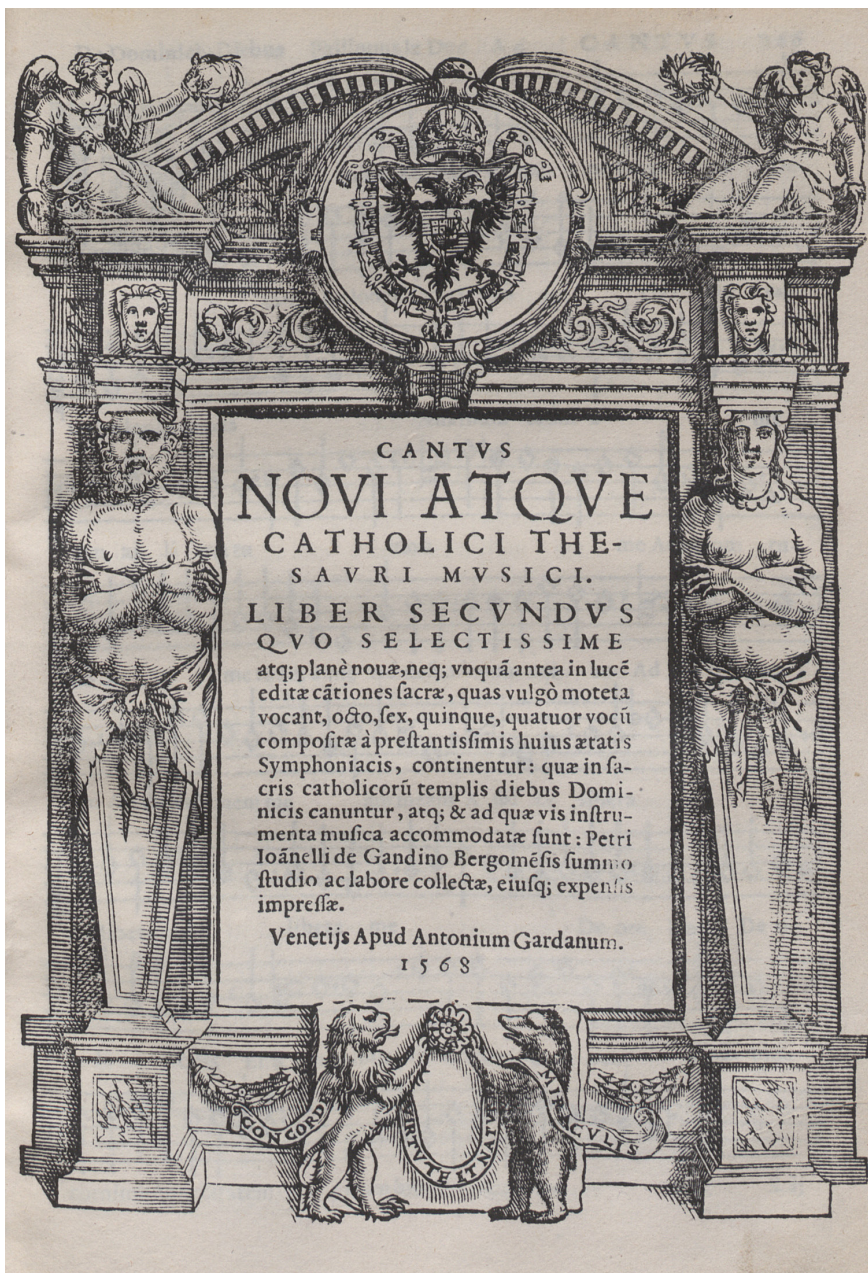


FIGURE 4.1 Title page of the cantus partbook of Petrus Joannellus (ed.), *Novus atque catholicus thesaurus musicus, liber secundus* (Venice, 1568) [RISM 1568³] MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, 4° MUS.PR. 46, URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00071862-7, USED WITH PERMISSION

It remains an open question, however, how the repertoire contained in the anthologies is representative of the cultivation of the motet at the imperial court. The future Emperor developed sympathies for the teachings of Philipp Melanchthon already in his early youth, and he surrendered to Catholicism only after significant pressure from his family, the Vatican, and the Bavarian court, while turning his own religious practice more and more into a private affair.⁷⁵ It is possibly because of this discrepancy between Maximilian's publicly displayed loyalty to the Vatican and his personal beliefs that Monte, court chapel master since 1568, composed many musical settings of selected psalm verses, which would not cause any offence to either confessional position.⁷⁶

Even if the pieces contained in the *Novus thesaurus musicus* are, in regard to their texts, only to a limited degree representative of the cultivation of motets at Maximilian's court, they nevertheless document the remarkable variety of compositional techniques employed there. In most cases, the motets display an imitative five- or six-voice texture that is not bound to the model of a pre-existent melodic line. There are nevertheless several motets in which one of the inner voices is distinguished from the outer voices as a *cantus firmus* with an individual text. In these cases, the central statement of the motet text, such as a request for help or peace,⁷⁷ is mostly emphasized as a motto, repeated as

(Leuven etc., 1999), 135-45. A few particularities in the formatting and dedication practice are presented in Mary S. Lewis, 'The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions', in *Notes* 46 (1990), 907-12. See also Chapter 11 of this volume.

75 On Maximilian II's personal religious beliefs, see Jochen Birkenmeier, *Via regia: Religiöse Haltung und Konfessionspolitik Kaiser Maximilians II. (1527-1576)* (Berlin, 2008). An impressive musical document of this change is a printed broadsheet of Jacobus Vaet's motet *Qui operatus est Petrus* (Vienna, 1560) [RISM V25], whose text and preceding canon instructions allude to a conflict between the apostles Peter and Paul documented in the Bible; see Robert Lindell, 'Music and the Religious Crisis of Maximilian II: From Vaet's *Qui operatus est Petro* to Lasso's *Pacis amans*', in *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, and Annelies Wouters, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 1 (Leuven etc., 1995), 129-38.

76 After Maximilian's death and during the reign of his successor Rudolph II, the share of Psalm motets decreased while the number of settings of liturgical texts grew (Silies, *Die Motetten*, 273). For a summary of the confessional peculiarities of motets composed at Maximilian II's court, see Jonas Pfohl, 'Motetten am Hof Maximilians II. (1527-1576)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 2017), 482-95.

77 A request for help appears in Prenner's *Me Deus et Terrae patulique creator Olympi*, in which one voice repeats the German words 'Ach Herr Gott hilf!'. A modern edition is in *The Motets of Georg Prenner*, ed. H. Lowen Marshall, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 99 (Neuhausen, 1996), 7-13. A request for peace can be seen in Galli's *Ecce quam bonum*, in which two voices repeat the words 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jocundum habitare fratres in unum' canonically. A score can be found in Pfohl, 'Motetten am Hof Maximilians

an ostinato, or used canonically in a second voice. Not least, there are also some homophonic settings in which the parts are divided into two groups responding to each other, as in polychoral compositions.⁷⁸ Besides a *Te Deum* by Vaet published in the *Novus thesaurus musicus*, no surviving works by musicians serving at Maximilian II's court are based on a real polychoral texture,⁷⁹ but this is not evidence that polychoral music was not performed at the imperial court. At least one non-court composer considered the performance of a polychoral motet during Mass possible: In a letter of 1574 Stefano Rossetti not only suggests a performance during the elevation of an enclosed motet for eight voices in two separate choirs, but he also proposes where the two choirs could be positioned and which instruments could be part of the choirs (three trombones and one cornetto).⁸⁰ Even if we have no further information about performances of polychoral music at Maximilian II's court, a mixed vocal-instrumental performance of polyphonic compositions seems to follow a long-standing tradition at the Austrian imperial courts.

3 Instrumental Music at the Imperial Habsburg Courts

As documented in contemporary reports of the imperial diet at Trier in 1512 (during Maximilian I's reign), the singers not only cooperated with the organist, but also with cornettists, trombonists, and trumpeters during celebrations of Mass and performances of the *Salve Regina*.⁸¹ Moreover, Hans Burgkmair's famous representation of the Triumphal Entry (*Triumphzug*) of Emperor

II.', 688-92. Another example of a repetitive, canonic leading device in one of the spiritual motets of the fourth volume is Georg Prenner's *Credo quod redemptor meus vivit*, an edition of which is in *The Motets of Georg Prenner*, 70-77.

78 Unfortunately, a large part of the repertoire published by Joannellus is still not available in modern edition. All aspects discussed here can at least be seen in Albert Dunning's edition of the political motets of the fifth volume: *Novi Thesauri Musici a Pietro Giovanelli collecti. Volumen v*, ed. Albert Dunning, *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae* 64, 2 vols. (s.l., 1974). Examples of the mutually interchanging homophonic choir parts can be seen in Henricus de la Court's *Caesaris ad bustum* (pp. 160-65) and Wilhelm Formelis's *Arma manusque Dei* (pp. 181-92).

79 Philippe de Monte composed his polychoral works presumably after Maximilian II's death (Silies, *Die Motetten*, 360).

80 Robert Lindell, 'Stefano Rosetti at the Imperial Court', in *Musicologica Humana: Studies in Honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, ed. Siegfried Gmeinwieser, David Hiley, and Ursula Kirkendale (Florence, 1994), 178.

81 Report of the diet by Peter Maier von Regensburg, reproduced in Otto zur Nedden, 'Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15 (1932-33), 31.

Maximilian I shows the singers of the imperial *Hofkapelle* and instrumentalists performing together (see Figure 2.2).⁸² Despite this cooperation, the group of court instrumentalists belonged, with the exception of the organists, to a different organizational unit of the court. For instance, the trumpeters and timpanists are listed in the account books not as part of the *Hofkapelle*, but under the rubric of the great stables (*Stallpartei*). The court personnel lists and account books tell us very little about their actual duties and daily routine. For example, they do not contain any information on the occasions during which instrumentalists were employed or which instruments were specifically used. Most of the instrumentalists are listed under the rubric of the trumpeters, completely disregarding which instruments they actually played.⁸³

A corps of trumpeters serving Ferdinand I is already listed in Salamanca's account books for the years 1522-23, written several years before musicians were appointed for the posts in Ferdinand's court chapel. Apart from some Italian musicians, Grassl names two German-speaking musicians active at Ferdinand's court, Jurig Mahler and the famous trumpet, trombone, and cornetto virtuoso Augustein Schubinger.⁸⁴ Since both of them also worked at Maximilian I's court, there was some continuity between the personnel of Ferdinand's corps of trumpeters and that of his grandfather, similar to what has been established for Ferdinand's court chapel. The number of eight or nine instrumentalists found in Salamanca's account books for 1522 and 1523 corresponds to the number that appears in the Latin-language court household list of 1524 and in the lists of 1527 and 1530. We can be quite certain, however, that this number does not represent the actual size of the wind ensemble active at Ferdinand's court. Around 1522, there were already four trombone players (Stephan Mahu, Hieronymus Blasel, Valentin von Straßburg, and Rudolphe Nicolas) and a cornettist (Thomas de Berizzia) in the household of his wife Anna of Bohemia and Hungary. The combined group of all these players employed by Ferdinand and his wife reaches a size close to that which was customary at Ferdinand's court after Anna's death in 1547.

The sizes and types of instruments played by Anna's musicians seem ideal for the performance of five-part polyphony. Moreover, the fact that Mahu later became vice-chapel master suggests that this group did indeed have the

82 Rolf Damann, 'Die Musik im *Triumphzug* Kaiser Maximilians I.', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 36 (1974), 254.

83 Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik', 118.

84 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 31-32. The Italian musicians are Antonio da Mantova, Battista da Milano, Giovanni Francesco da Siena, Giovanni Pietro da Brescia, Pietro Francesco da Milano, and Christofel Predor.

ability to perform complex repertoire.⁸⁵ A surviving mass setting by Giuseppe Dusinello,⁸⁶ who in 1567 began serving at Maximilian II's court as trumpeter, demonstrates that a musician skilled in the composition of polyphonic music could also be found among the trumpeters (many of whom were not musically literate and were just trained in fanfares and other conventional figures).⁸⁷ Already in the sixteenth century the strict separation between the musicians in the court chapel and the trumpeters and timpanists of the *Stallpartei* seems to have been maintained mostly just for formal reasons. The fact that an ordinance from 1551 places the cornettists under the direction of the *Hofkapellmeister* indicates that this connection was much stronger in daily organizational practice than is suggested by the sixteenth-century court lists.⁸⁸

The court instrumentalists' field of duties was not limited to cooperating with the *Hofkapelle*, since there is also evidence that they were responsible for performing genuine instrumental ensemble music. For instance, the Breslau town musician (*Stadtpfeifer*) Paul Hess delivered some 'Geschray Pheiffen' to Ferdinand's court in 1549.⁸⁹ These instruments may have been some kind of windcap shawms,⁹⁰ which because of their ambitus, were very well suited for the performance of the Italian and German dances that Hess and his brother Bartholomeus had collected, printed in 1555, and dedicated to the two sons of Ferdinand I, Maximilian and Ferdinand.⁹¹

Like at other courts in the sixteenth century, dance and dance music were an important amusement for members of the imperial families. Professional dancers (*Springer*) are documented at the court of Maximilian II in 1566 for the first time.⁹² Moreover, dancing was part of the education of young nobles all over Europe in the sixteenth century. At least since 1529 Ferdinand I's children were taught to dance, in 1531 he employed a dancing master for his children's practice and amusement, and in 1549 he paid an 'Abraham Jud

85 Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik', 120.

86 The only extant source for this mass setting is the choirbook ViennB Mus. 15948.

87 It was similar at Rudolph's court a few years later, when Philip Schöndorff was responsible for a few compositions, Gregorio Turini published three individual prints, and Alessandro Orologio not only published seven prints with polyphonic music but returned to the court in 1603-13 as vice-chapel master (Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik', 125).

88 Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik', 123.

89 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1921), 189.

90 See 'Schreyerpfeifen' in Barra Boydell, *The Crumhorn and other Renaissance Windcap Instruments: A Contribution to Renaissance Organology* (Buren, 1982), 325-41.

91 Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1998), vol. 1, 162-67.

92 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 231, 364.

Harpfenschläger' for having taught the boys Italian dances.⁹³ Some years later, Emperor Maximilian II also employed dancing masters for teaching his sons. In 1566 Francesco Bonaldi, previously employed by Ferdinand I,⁹⁴ stayed with Maximilian II at the imperial diet at Augsburg.⁹⁵ From November 1570 until May 1572, the archducal household of his sons Matthias, Maximilian, and Albrecht included the dancing master Daniel Levi.⁹⁶ Evangelista Papatzon filled the position at the court of Maximilian II's older sons Rudolph and Ernst since 1571.⁹⁷

Documented dance events usually took place on occasions like weddings, tournaments, state visits, or imperial diets, where many nobles met. The later mayor of Stralsund, Bartholomäus Sastrow (1520-1603), discusses in his autobiography dance events at the imperial diet at Augsburg in 1547-48. He not only describes Ferdinand as an avid dancer but also reports on Italian and Spanish dancers at the event.⁹⁸ This shows that the royal musicians could play Italian and Spanish repertoire as well as German dances. There is also a report of Maximilian II's dances on the occasion of a state visit at Dresden in 1575. Monarch Joachim Ernst of Anhalt described in a letter to Count Georg Ernst of Henneberg how the Emperor did an Italian and a German dance.⁹⁹

Of course, not all music played at state visits and similar occasions was dance music. Since the middle of the sixteenth century the term *Tafelmusik* was used for vocal and instrumental music performed as background at dinners and banquets. Such a performance is illustrated in a visual representation (dated 1561) of a banquet in 1560 at Maximilian II's court (see Figure 4.2). It shows in the lower right corner an ensemble consisting of three shawms, two trombones, and one cornetto, performing from partbooks. Two viola da gamba players are also pictured, but the posture of their bodies suggests they are not involved in the performance.¹⁰⁰

While the number of wind players remained relatively constant at Ferdinand I's court, it increased markedly in his successor's court chapel during the 1560s and 1570s. Two trumpeters, Bernardo and Giovanni Maria da Brescia, are already listed in Maximilian II's *Hofstaatsverzeichnis* of 1544, assembled on the

93 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, vol. 1, 163.

94 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 232.

95 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 232, 361.

96 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 249, 398.

97 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 243, 399-400.

98 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, vol. 1, 163-64.

99 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, vol. 1, 165.

100 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, vol. 1, 6.



FIGURE 4.2 Banquet at Maximilian II's court in 1560 (with a detail of the lower right corner), etching by Monogrammist FA in Hans von Francolin, *Thurnier Buech Warhaftiger Ritterlicher Thate[n]*, so in dem Monat Junii des vergangenen LX Jars in und ausserhalb der Statt Wienn ... gehalten worden ... (Vienna, 1561) MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, ESLG/2 HERALD.16, BETWEEN FOL. H AND FOL. H2, URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00029446-1, USED WITH PERMISSION

occasion of an imminent military campaign against France. Both trumpeters had evidently been borrowed from the court personnel of his father.¹⁰¹ The court personnel lists from the 1560s all document the standard number of fourteen trumpeters and one timpanist. However, this number was occasionally exceeded, as demonstrated by a list from 1569, which contains twenty-one trumpeters and one timpanist.¹⁰²

4 The Rise of Chamber Music at the Imperial Courts

The growing number of instrumentalists may be explained by their increasing employment for the performance of chamber music. The lists of trumpeters possibly even included musicians who were exclusively employed on such occasions. For instance, Giovanni Domenico Cappas, first listed among the group of trumpeters, is listed in the court account books after 1572 mostly as ‘musician and cornetto player’ (*musicus and zingkhenbläser*), not anymore as ‘trumpeter’ or ‘trumpeter and musician’ (*trompeter und musicus*).¹⁰³ Moreover, Maurus de Sinibaldy – most likely identical with Maurus Sinnibaldi, who had been employed as ‘musician or violinist’ (*musicus oder Geiger*) in 1565 – was listed in a later court personnel list of 1574 not as trumpeter but as ‘musicus’, directly below the chamber musician (*Camer Musicus*) Luython.¹⁰⁴ This early practice of subsuming instrumentalists under different organizational units, as given in the *Hofstaatsverzeichnisse*, can be viewed as significant evidence of the formation of a new chamber music group. This practice represents an attempt to record this new formation in a formula that was increasingly out of date.¹⁰⁵

In the above-mentioned list of 1574, chamber musicians were, for the first time at any Austrian imperial court, given their own rubric. Next to Luython and Sinnibaldi is listed a further musician, Johann Anndräs Capellis, whose function, however, remains unclear. The rubric for the first time lists a *Kammer-Bassist*, Aluigi Felice, a bass singer specifically for the purpose of chamber music. Professional singing in a private context is, however, already

¹⁰¹ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 198.

¹⁰² Two of these trumpeters were added to the list by a different scribal hand; they most likely succeeded two musicians who had left court service. Thus, probably only nineteen players served at Maximilian II’s court at the same time (Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 373–74).

¹⁰³ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 198.

¹⁰⁴ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 219, 377.

¹⁰⁵ Grassl, ‘Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik’, 123.

documented for 1564, when Maximilian granted a *Gnadengeld* to six singers who had been performing in his father's chamber ('in derselben camer') during his long illness.¹⁰⁶ It still remains unclear if and to what degree musicians from the court chapel were employed for non-public performances in the Emperor's private chambers before 1574.

Thanks to several of Lindell's studies, we have gained insight into the performances of chamber musicians before they were officially mentioned in the court personnel lists. Travelling musicians apparently contributed repeatedly to the entertainment of the imperial family. These musicians only spent a limited time at court and therefore at most received *Gnadengelder* for their services. For instance, the presence of the Italian organist and composer Stefano Rossetti, whom Monte had likely met during his time in Italy, is well documented for 1570 and 1571. As the *Hofkapellmeister* mentions in his letter to Cardinal Flavio Orsini in November 1570, Rossetti performed some *cosette ariose*, pieces that were, as Lindell suggests, solo songs with instrumental accompaniment.¹⁰⁷ That such performances by visiting musicians were a common practice is suggested by the fact that Maximilian II specifically asked Rossetti for intabulations of his instrumental works.¹⁰⁸ Also in 1570, Monte brought with him from his journey to the Netherlands a 'young woman from Mechelen in the Low Countries, who could perform on the virginal excellently well, and could also sing and perform [on other instruments]'.¹⁰⁹ We can assume that this woman accompanied her own singing instrumentally. Lindell identifies her as the Marta who is praised for exactly these qualities in three compositions from Monte's 1575 collection of chansons.¹¹⁰

During the sixteenth century the lute was used not only for accompanying vocal music, but also very frequently as a solo instrument, played by both amateurs and professionals. One of the most well-known professional lute players of this time was Valentin Bakfark, who gained fame across Europe not only as a performer, but also as a composer of lute music.¹¹¹ Between 1566 and 1569 he was briefly employed at Maximilian II's court. Because of his numerous travels, he probably fell rather quickly out of the Emperor's favour and was actually

106 Quoted from Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 88.

107 Lindell, 'Stefano Rosetti', 159–62.

108 Lindell, 'Stefano Rosetti', 179.

109 'jungfraw von Mecheln außm Niederlandt, die treflich wol auf dem virginal schlagen und sonst auch wohl singen und musicieren khan'; Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle' (1920), 105; Robert Lindell, "'Marta gentile che'l cor m'ha mort': Eine unbekannte Kammermusikerin am Hof Maximilians II', in *Musicologica austriaca* 7 (1987), 59.

110 Lindell, 'Marta gentile', 65.

111 Peter Király, 'Bakfark, Valentin', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 2, 504–6.

present at court only slightly longer than two years. Although the position of lutenist is generally listed in the *Hofstaatsverzeichnisse* for the following years, it mostly remained vacant.¹¹²

Keyboard instruments took a prominent place at the imperial courts over the course of the sixteenth century, since these instruments could both be played polyphonically and be used for accompaniment. Such instruments were also played by members of the imperial family; the records of payments to organists at the Innsbruck city church show that Ferdinand I's spouse Anna and their daughters got lessons on keyboard instruments.¹¹³ Maximilian's daughter Anna also received instruction on musical instruments by court organist Formellis, as documented by a *Gnadengeld* in 1575.¹¹⁴ As we saw with the group of court trumpeters, the number of organists continually grew over the course of the sixteenth century. While during the first twenty-five years of his court chapel Ferdinand employed only one organist who also served as organist at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague and was supported by a colleague only from 1551 onwards, Formellis was aided by a vice-organist already in 1566. From 1570 onwards a third organist (Paulus von Winde), and between 1573 and 1575 even a fourth organist (Hans Perger), was employed in the imperial chapel.¹¹⁵ The acquisition of two Italian clavichords in 1571 and 1576 can be viewed as an indication that organists were increasingly used as instrumentalists outside their role in the church liturgy.¹¹⁶ This development is indicated by the new job designation of chamber musician (*Camer musicus*) for Luython,¹¹⁷ who was apparently responsible for performing on keyboard instruments.

5 Choirbooks from the Court Chapels of Maximilian II and Rudolph II

Already some years before the first chamber musicians were recorded in the official court books, Maximilian II's chapel grew proportionally to the increasing importance of his political offices. In 1560 there were no fewer than six

¹¹² The next lutenist whose name is documented in the records, Lorenz Henning, was employed between 1593 and 1594. Not until after Matthias's coronation was a lutenist, the well-known Pietro Paolo Melli, again in imperial service (Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik', 135).

¹¹³ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 51-55.

¹¹⁴ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 181.

¹¹⁵ Grassl, 'Instrumentalisten und Instrumentalmusik'; 137, Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 27.

¹¹⁶ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 312.

¹¹⁷ Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 225.

basses, six tenors, and eight altos, in addition to the court preacher Sebastian Pfauser, the almoner, and three chaplains. Along with the *Kapellmeister*, organist, *concordero*, and copyist, a new position of choir preceptor was created for the education of the choirboys, which had already temporarily existed at Ferdinand's court.¹¹⁸ At the imperial diet at Augsburg in 1566 (only two years after Maximilian's coronation), the choir in the imperial chapel comprised eleven basses, eleven tenors, thirteen altos, and four discantists, while the number of the other positions remained unchanged.¹¹⁹ The later records of 1567, 1569, and 1574 mention quite similar numbers.¹²⁰

The changes in the personnel of the court chapel following Maximilian II's sudden death during the imperial diet in Regensburg on 12 October 1576 were much less drastic than the changes after the death of his father Ferdinand. Already in 1561, Archdukes Rudolph and Ernst had their own households at their disposal,¹²¹ but Rudolph's chapel comprised only sacred positions until 1576. As far as the musical positions were concerned, Rudolph almost completely took over his deceased father's personnel.¹²² This continuity of the musical personnel, bridging the period before and after the change in government, makes it very difficult to associate the few surviving manuscript sources with either one or the other household.¹²³ In his study of mass compositions at Rudolph II's court, Camelo P. Comberiati names seven choirbooks that originated at the courts of both Emperors, or at least in their immediate surroundings.¹²⁴ To this body of manuscripts can be added two further choirbooks that also originated from one of the two imperial chapels but do not contain any masses.¹²⁵

118 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 359-61.

119 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 361-64.

120 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 364-83.

121 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 393-94.

122 It is significant that the first document verifying the personnel of Rudolph's imperial chapel was written during Maximilian's lifetime and made to represent current conditions simply by means of corrections (Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 383-92).

123 This is apparent, for example, in the different datings provided by Camelo P. Comberiati and Lilian P. Pruett for the choirbooks copied by Leonhard Franz: Camelo P. Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II*, Musicology Series 4 (New York, 1987), 186, 190, 196, and Lilian P. Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts in Brussels, Berlin and Vienna: Physical Evidence as a Tool for Historic Reconstruction', in *Revue belge de muscologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 50 (1996), 73-92.

124 ViennB Mus. 15946, ViennB Mus. 15948, ViennB Mus. 15950, ViennB Mus. 15951, ViennB Mus. 16194, BrusC 27086, and BrusC 27089.

125 ViennB Mus. 16693 and ViennB Mus. 19425.

What is possibly the earliest of these choirbooks, ViennB Mus. 15950, was most likely copied during Maximilian II's reign by a variety of anonymous scribes. Comberiati argues that a significant part of another early choirbook, ViennB Mus. 15948 (also most likely from Maximilian's court), was written by the copyist Oswald Wallner.¹²⁶ The remaining choirbooks can be ascribed by means of handwriting analysis to individuals who are known by name and are associated with both Emperors' households. The copyist Leonhard Franz was responsible for four books (ViennB Mus. 15951, ViennB 16194, ViennB Mus. 16693, BrusC 27089),¹²⁷ two books can be ascribed to the chaplain Andreas Reinschall (BrusC 27086, ViennB Mus. 15946),¹²⁸ and a last one (ViennB Mus. 19425) was, according to a note on the upper cover, copied by Andreas Gistler in 1601.

Despite the long period during which the choirbooks were written, the repertoire contained in them is rather homogenous. The works were most likely intended for liturgical use, since most of them are settings of the mass ordinary, only occasionally by composers who were not in Habsburg service. For instance, ViennB Mus. 15950 contains compositions by Vaet and Galli, as well as by Clemens non Papa, Thomas Crequillon, Pierre de Manchicourt, and Clément Janequin. Two masses by Orlando di Lasso were included in the choirbook ViennB Mus. 15948, which may also have been compiled during Maximilian's reign.¹²⁹ The most significant portion of the repertoire in these choirbooks, almost exclusively parody masses, are by the chapel masters Vaet and Monte, and by their colleagues Galli, Regnart, Dusingello, Giorgio Flori, and Luython, as well as by Philippe le Duc and Simone Gatto, who were in the service of Charles II of Inner Austria.

¹²⁶ Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music*, 163.

¹²⁷ Comberiati suggests that Franz was the copyist simply because he was employed at Rudolph's court during the corresponding time, from 1 September 1586 to 15 July 1599 (*Late Renaissance Music*, 109). This suggestion was borne out by Pruett's handwriting comparison with an extract of notation in the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which is signed by Franz. On account of the age of the papers, however, Pruett suggests that Franz copied the choirbooks long before his position as copyist, still during Maximilian II's lifetime (Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts', 95).

¹²⁸ Andreas Reinschall is one of the singers who were at Ferdinand I's sick bed in 1564. One cannot therefore leave out the possibility that he was also active at the imperial court in the following year. In the copyist's note on the choirbook BrusC 27086, however, he describes himself as 'subcantor and copyist at St. Stephen's Cathedral' (*Subcantor et Notista ad D. Stephanum*). From 1585 he can again be verified as a chaplain at the imperial court (Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music*, 149).

¹²⁹ It is possible that Lasso himself brought these works when he visited the Habsburg court in 1571 and 1573 (Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music*, 196).

Apart from the mass compositions (and the models for the parody masses, which were occasionally included in the choirbooks), the many alternatim settings of two liturgical antiphons that frequently appear in the Habsburg choirbooks are worthy of mention. Polyphonic settings of *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam* can be found mostly at the beginning of the compilations, and they are either without composer attribution or are attributed to a musician of the imperial chapel. The choirbook ViennB Mus. 16693, not discussed by Comberiati, represents a unique collection of seven settings of the antiphons for the baptismal memory, only augmented by Clemens non Papa's *Kyrie paschale*. It thus seems likely that the section before the Kyrie was performed polyphonically during High Mass at Rudolph's and Maximilian's courts.

Only the choirbook dated 1601 – most likely the youngest of the surviving books – contains polyphonic settings of liturgical texts from the Office. These settings include some Vespers psalms, a Magnificat cycle, as well as several Marian antiphons.¹³⁰ None of these liturgical works appears in any of the older surviving choirbooks from Habsburg courts. Nevertheless, peripheral manuscript sources suggest that such liturgical compositions had already been composed by court musicians at least thirty-five years earlier. Choirbooks originating in the collections of the Jesuit College at Graz (GrazU 2064) and the monasteries of Seckau (GrazU 67) and Neresheim (RegT 5) include several hymn settings of Vaet.¹³¹ Magnificat settings by the same composer survive in a choirbook used at St. Michaelis in Munich (MunBS 82) and in partbooks used at the Gymnasium Poeticum at Regensburg (RegB 908-929). However, these peripheral sources only give an idea of what was composed by Maximilian's court musicians, not what was actually performed at his court.¹³²

¹³⁰ Joseph Mantuani (ed.), *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 10 (Vienna, 1899), 390-91.

¹³¹ Barbara Eichner, 'Messen, Madrigale, Unika: Mehrstimmige Musik aus Kloster Neresheim in der Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek', in *Musikalische Schätze in Regensburger Bibliotheken*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 13 (Regensburg, 2019), 114-16.

¹³² Furthermore, there are some alternatim Psalms as well as incomplete cycles of Introit and Gradual settings by Jacob Regnart. Since the sources of these works, choirbooks originating in the monasteries St. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg (AugsS 25) and Irsee (RegB C90 and AugsS 95), were written around 1600, there is no evidence whether the works were composed during Regnart's time at the court of Maximilian II, Rudolph II, or Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol.

6 Philipp de Monte as Newly Appointed Court Chapel Master and the Court Chapel of Rudolph II

On 8 January 1567, Emperor Maximilian recorded in his diary the death of his *Hofkapellmeister* of many years, Jacobus Vaet.¹³³ This post was to remain unfilled for over a year, and it was provisionally organized by tenor Alard du Gaucquier as administrator of the office of the chapel master (*Kapellmeister-amtsverwalter*). Afterwards, Gaucquier continued to serve as vice-chapel master and probably took over organizational duties from the new court chapel master.¹³⁴ As already mentioned, the candidate for this new position was expected to have expertise as a composer, while his administrative role is not mentioned anywhere.¹³⁵ After negotiations with Gabriele Martinego and Palestrina, Philippe de Monte, a Flemish musician from Mechelen, was appointed the following year.¹³⁶ Until then, Monte had demonstrated his abilities in the *ars componendi* mostly through madrigals. From the time before his appointment, four books of madrigals survive, while his surviving sacred music is limited to one motet, published in 1564.¹³⁷ The fact that after his appointment Monte published four motet collections within a short period, two of which he dedicated to his new employer, can be seen as evidence for the importance of this particular genre at Maximilian II's court, especially if one draws a comparison to Rudolph II's court. During Maximilian's reign, four books of motets appeared in the period of eight years, while for Rudolph's twenty-seven-year reign only six motet books are documented, none of which was dedicated to the new patron.¹³⁸

Similarly, Regnart dedicated his first collection of motets of 1575 to Maximilian, in whose service he had been for many years.¹³⁹ Regnart had probably since 1557 been a choirboy under Vaet, for whom he composed a *deploration*, following a long-standing Franco-Flemish tradition.¹⁴⁰ Since 1560 Regnart had served as tenor, at which time many of his motets were published in different

133 Milton Steinhardt, 'Addenda to the Biography of Jacobus Vaet', in *The Commonwealth of Music*, ed. Gustave Reese (New York etc., 1965), 231.

134 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 76.

135 Lindell, 'Die Neubesetzung', 39.

136 He took on his new post after long delays when his trip from Italy to Vienna was delayed (Lindell, 'Die Neubesetzung', 50-51).

137 Silies, *Die Motetten*, 505.

138 Nele Gabriëls, 'Dedicating Music: The Case of Philippus de Monte's Motet Prints', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 2 (2011), 186.

139 Jacob Regnart, *Sacrae aliquot cantiones ...* (Munich, 1575) [RISM R731].

140 *Defunctum charites Vaetem maerore requirunt* was published in RISM 1568⁶. A provisional list of such laments is in Honey Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in

anthologies, and he then spent time in Italy between 1568 and 1570. After returning to Maximilian II's court he acted as music teacher for the choirboys, and he was later reappointed as a member of Rudolph's court chapel, eventually succeeding Gaucquier as vice-chapel master. Starting in 1582 he served Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol as vice-chapel master and chapel master, returning to his old position in Prague in 1596.¹⁴¹

Regnart and Monte were the most productive composers at Maximilian II's court during the Emperor's last years, with motets and secular music forming a major part of their output. While the German-language Lied had been favoured by musicians at Ferdinand I's court, Italianate genres such as canzonettas, madrigals, and villanellas were now at the centre of attention. After his return from Italy, Regnart edited a volume of canzonettas with Italian texts in 1574 and dedicated them to Archduke Rudolph. Moreover, he published three volumes of *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder, nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welschen Villanellen* (1574, 1577, 1579).¹⁴² These three-voice settings of German texts stylistically follow Italian models. Finally, he published German songs in four and five parts in 1580 and 1591.¹⁴³

Apart from his few chansons with French texts,¹⁴⁴ Monte almost exclusively set secular Italian texts. No fewer than thirty-four madrigal books, published between 1554 and 1603, are documented, an impressive output that puts Monte among the most productive madrigal composers in music history.¹⁴⁵ Considering this long period, it is not surprising that the style of these compositions

Fifteenth-Century France', in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XI^e Colloque international d'études humanistes*. Tours, 3-8 février, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris, 1998), 399-402.

141 The essential biographical data for Regnart was gathered by Walter Pass for his dissertation, 'Regnart und seine lateinischen Motetten'. He published a summary of the information from the dissertation in Walter Pass, *Thematischer Katalog sämtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts (ca. 1540-1599)*, *Tabulae Musicae Austriae* 5 (Vienna, 1969), 15-19.

142 Jacob Regnart, *Il primo libro delle canzone italiane a cinque voci ...* (Vienna, 1574) [RISM R738]; Jacob Regnart, *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen ...* (Nuremberg, 1574) [RISM R742]; Jacob Regnart, *Der ander Theyl. Kurtzweilliger teutscher Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen ...* (Nuremberg, 1577) [RISM R746]; Jacob Regnart, *Der dritte Theil Schöner Kurtzweiliger Teutscher Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen ...* (Nuremberg, 1579) [RISM R749].

143 Jacob Regnart, *Neue Kurtzweilige Teutsche Lieder mit fünff stimmen ...* (Nuremberg, 1580) [RISM R751]; Jacob Regnart, *Kurtzweilige neue Teutsche Lieder mit vier Stimmen ...* (Munich, 1591) [RISM R760].

144 These appear in an individual print, Philippe de Monte, *Sonetz de Pierre de Ronsard ...* (Louvain, 1575) [RISM M3362], as well as twenty-two single compositions in various anthologies; see Brian Mann and Robert Lindell, 'Monte, Philippe', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 17, 16-21.

145 Mann and Lindell, 'Monte, Philippe', 18.

changed over the years. The early madrigals, published before Monte entered the imperial chapel, are characterised by the use of linear chromaticism and a balance between homophonic and contrapuntal sections. During Monte's first years in Maximilian's chapel his compositions took on an increasingly contrapuntal style. Only the madrigals of the 1580s feature a primarily homophonic setting, which resembles the contemporaneous Italian *canzonetta*.¹⁴⁶ Through his madrigal collections, Monte apparently attempted to win the favour of his new employer Rudolph II, since the first four prints that appeared during the Emperor's reign are dedicated to him and his brother Ernst.¹⁴⁷ It also appears that Monte had good reasons to secure (or rather, win back) his employer's favour. Not only had his petition for retirement in 1578 been rejected,¹⁴⁸ but he had also voiced his concern about the changing musical taste at the imperial court in his letters, which eventually led him to withdraw himself from the court.¹⁴⁹ In 1587 he dedicated a very luxurious printed choirbook to his employer,¹⁵⁰ but that was his last dedication to Rudolph II. Lindell assumes that he finally ceased to take part in court life when his health condition – he suffered from gout – intensified, which he mentions in a letter to his friend, the botanist Charles l'Ecluse (Clusius) in 1590. If Monte ever even exercised the responsibility for the organization of the chapel, it seems likely that the vice-chapel masters now took care of the daily routine of the court chapel.¹⁵¹

The growing interest in Italian music – particularly the madrigal – is also reflected in the staffing of the post of vice-chapel master in the following years. After Gaucquier retired from Rudolph's court to serve as *Kapellmeister* for the future Emperor Matthias (then administrator in the Netherlands),¹⁵² Regnart

¹⁴⁶ Mann and Lindell, 'Monte, Philippe', 18–20.

¹⁴⁷ Brian Mann, 'The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 264–66, 306–12. The prints dedicated to Rudolph are Philippe de Monte, *Il settimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1578) [RISM M3366]; Philippe de Monte, *L'ottavo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1580) [RISM M3370]; and Philippe de Monte, *Il decimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1581) [RISM M3373]. The print dedicated to Ernst is Philippe de Monte, *Il nono libro de madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1580) [RISM M3372]. An overview of the prints dedicated to Rudolph is in Lindell, 'Music and Patronage', 270–71.

¹⁴⁸ Lindell, 'Music and Patronage', 263.

¹⁴⁹ Mann, 'The Secular Madrigals', 310–15.

¹⁵⁰ Philippe de Monte, *Liber primus missarum* (Antwerp, 1587) [RISM M3320].

¹⁵¹ Robert Lindell, 'Die Kaiserliche Hofmusikkapelle in Prag zur Zeit Rudolfs II.', in *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle 11: Krisenzeiten der Hofmusikkapellen*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Fritz-Hilscher, Hartmut Krones, and Theophil Antonicek (Vienna, 2006), 24.

¹⁵² Milton Steinhardt, 'Du Gaucquier, Alard', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 7, 667. Gaucquier also dedicated to Matthias his mass print of 1581: Alard du Gaucquier, *Quator missae, ...*

took over his post.¹⁵³ When Regnart left to enter the service of Ferdinand II of Tyrol, the post of vice-chapel master was for the first time filled with an Italian, Camillo Zanotti (c. 1545-91).¹⁵⁴ Shortly after his appointment in 1586, Zanotti began to publish extensively, with a concentration on compositions in the Italian language. Beside a collection of mass settings, within a period of only four years four collections of madrigals appeared in print.¹⁵⁵ After his death in 1591, the vice-chapel master post remained vacant and was only temporarily filled after Regnart returned to Prague. Regnart was apparently living there again towards the end of 1596, although regular payments are documented only from the beginning of 1598.¹⁵⁶ After Regnart's death in 1599, a successor as vice-chapel master was appointed only in 1603, from the existing ranks of the chapel. Again, it was an Italian, Alessandro Orologio (c. 1550-1633?), who in 1578 had moved from Udine to Prague to serve the court as trumpeter and chamber musician. Before his appointment he had travelled throughout Europe and had visited the Saxon court in Dresden and other residences.¹⁵⁷ During his tenure as vice-chapel master, he was active as a composer of madrigals and canzonettas.¹⁵⁸

While the motet was the central musical genre at the courts of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, it played only a minor role at Rudolph's court (at least as far as published music is concerned). Even though Monte, Regnart, and the Chaplain Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32-91) still published motets,¹⁵⁹ the genre lost the

quinque, sex, et octo vocom ... (Antwerp, 1581) [RISM G577], edited in Alard du Gaucquier, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Milton Steinhardt, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 123 (Graz, 1971). The repertoire of this print resembles the contents of a choirbook from Rudolph's court holdings; in addition to four parody masses it contains an alternatim setting of *Asperges me*.

153 Pass, *Thematischer Katalog*, 17.

154 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 147.

155 Walter Pass and Giulia Vannoni, 'Zanotti, Camillo', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 27, 746-47.

156 Pass, *Thematischer Katalog*, 20. It remains unclear if Regnart was still active as a composer at this point, since all surviving prints either appeared before this time or were published posthumously by his widow.

157 Michaela Žáčková Rossi, 'Da Udine a Vienna e Praga: La crescente fortuna dei musicisti friulani alla corte imperiale di Rodolfo II', in *Alessandro Orologio (1551-1633): Musicista friulano e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Pordenone Udine, S. Giorgio della Richinvelda, 15-17 ottobre 2004*, ed. Franco Colussi (Udine, 2008), 266.

158 Keith Polk, 'Orologio, Alessandro', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 18, 748.

159 Jacobus de Kerle served at the imperial court from September 1582 until his death on 7 January 1591. Only one of his surviving sixteen individual prints was published at this time – Jacob de Kerle, *Selectiorum aliquot modulorum ...* (Prague, 1585) [RISM K455] – and contains three motets and six functional liturgical compositions; see Christian Thomas

importance it had seemingly enjoyed in the 1560s. Admittedly, there are still some singular motets that might have originated at Rudolph's court surviving in peripheral sources,¹⁶⁰ but those seem to be uncharacteristic of the period. That the setting of Latin texts had not yet completely fallen into oblivion, however, is illustrated by a musical Festschrift dedicated to the long-term almoner Jacob Chimarrheus on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, most likely in 1602. This collection potentially represents a comprehensive overview of the compositional activity of musicians employed in a Habsburg household at the turn of the century.¹⁶¹ The editor, the trumpeter Philipp Schöndorff, assembled works not only by Monte, Regnart, and five singers from the court chapel (Antoine de la Court, Bonaventura Le Febure, Georg Furtter, Franz Sales, and Matias de Sayve), but also by the two chaplains Vincenz Neriti and Baptist Galeno, the two chamber organists Liberalis Zanchi and Luython, the chamber musician Carolus Artesi, the trumpeter Lucas Zigotta, and the later vice-chapel master Orologio.¹⁶²

After 1600, only two musicians employed at the imperial court composed motets, namely the two chamber musicians Zanchi and Luython. Their contributions are only partially related to the works composed by their predecessors at imperial Habsburg courts. While the polyphonic tradition of the sixteenth century can still be recognized in Luython's six-part *Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionium* (Prague, 1603) [RISM L3115] and his motet cycle *Popularis anni Iubilus* (Prague, 1587) [RISM L3116],¹⁶³ decidedly polychoral textures, widely

Leitmeir, *Jacob de Kerle (1531/32-1591): Komponieren im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhout, 2009), 100-1 and 863.

160 Examples include motets by the organist Formellis, which survive exclusively in Silesian manuscript sources: *Cantate Domino*, *Domine a lingua dolorosa*, *In Domine oblectare*, and *Jesus autem plenu spiritu*; see Christian Bettels, 'Formellis, Wilhelmus', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel etc., 2001), Personenteil 6, 1470-71.

161 Philipp Schöndorff (ed.), *Odae suavissimae in gratiam et honorem admodum reverendi ac illustris Domini D. Jacobi Chimarraei ...* (s.l., s.d.) [RISM C. 1610¹⁸].

162 Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller was the first to engage with this Festschrift: 'Die musikalische Festschrift für den Direktor der Prager Hofkapelle Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1602', in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress: Bonn 1970* (Kassel, 1971), 250-52. Niemöller's later, unpublished research findings were included in Silies, *Die Motetten*, 235-39.

163 Camelo Peter Comberiati, 'Luython, Carl', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 15, 393-95. For details on the *Popularis anni Iubilus* motet cycle, see Erika Supria Honisch, 'Drowning Winter, Burning Bones, Singing Songs: Representations of Popular Devotion in a Central European Motet Cycle', in *Journal of Musicology* 34 (2017), 559-609.

common in Italy, dominate Zanchi's compositions, written for up to sixteen voices.¹⁶⁴

It is hardly surprising that these motets were written by chamber musicians during the last years of the Rudolfine court. While many documents show Rudolph's interest in the activities of painters, astronomers, and alchemists, there is no evidence of a comparable interest in his musicians.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the opposite seems to have been the case: Rudolph only sporadically took an active role in the reappointment of leading positions. As mentioned above, he did not favourably respond to Monte's petition for retirement, even though the musician had increasingly been withdrawing himself from the court. When Monte died in 1603, the post of chapel master was not filled at all. It therefore seems possible to suggest that Rudolph was, at least in comparison to Maximilian II's keen efforts to find a new chapel master in 1567, somewhat uninterested in the traditional institution of the court chapel. In this respect it is quite telling that the post of the vice-chapel master was filled with a musician from the same institution, which means that the last outside hire for a leading position had been Zanotti in 1591.

Compared to this low involvement in hiring personnel for the official court music, Rudolph cared very much about his chamber musicians. Luython, engaged as chamber musician by Maximilian II in 1576, was not only taken over into Rudolph II's household, but in 1582 he was also appointed third court organist retroactively for 1 January 1577.¹⁶⁶ Luython's *Fuga suavissima*, published as late as 1617,¹⁶⁷ represents an important document of the practice of keyboard music at Rudolph II's Prague court. When Luython gained his new position as court composer after Monte's death in 1603, the office of chamber organist, unlike the post of the chapel master, did not remain vacant. Jacob

164 Hellmut Federhofer, 'Zanchi, Liberale', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 27, 739.

165 Honisch, 'Sacred Music in Prague', 5. Recent studies discuss the influence of alchemy and astronomy on music at Rudolph's court: Ivana Rentsch, 'Sphärenklänge am Hof Rudolfs II. Musik zwischen Alchemie und Astronomie: Michael Maier und Johannes Kepler', in *Die Tonkunst* (2012), 320-29, and Nicholas Johnson, 'Musica Caelestia: Hermetic Philosophy, Astronomy, and Music at the Court of Rudolf II' (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 2012).

166 Comberiat, 'Luython, Carl', 394. After Rudolph II's death, Luython, like many other musicians, was not employed again in any of the Habsburg households, and he had to sell a 'Clavicymbalum universal ser perfectum' with an ambitus of four octaves and seventy-seven keys to Archduke Charles, Bishop of Breslau, apparently because of his acute financial problems.

167 It appeared in Johann Woltzen (ed.), *Nova musices organicae tabulatura ...* (Basel, 1617) [RISM 1617²⁴].

Hassler filled this position in the imperial household in Prague from 1 July 1602, and after the death of his long-term employer, he apparently remained for a short time in the service of Matthias.¹⁶⁸

Beside these two famous keyboard musicians, string instruments played an increasingly important role in the practice of chamber music at the imperial households towards the end of the sixteenth century. Already in 1565, two string players, Alberto Ardesi and the above-mentioned Mauro Sinnibaldi, were employed at Maximilian II's court.¹⁶⁹ By 1580 the number of four string players was reached and remained relatively constant in the following years,¹⁷⁰ since an 'Instruction Regarding Court Personnel and Offices' (*Instruktion über Hofstaat und Ämter*) mentions this number as the standard.¹⁷¹ Apparently this string ensemble was also used for the instrumental performance of madrigals, as Lindell concludes from the dedication of Monte's fifteenth book of five-part madrigals (1592), which mentions that the dedicatee of the collection, Camillo Caetano, greatly enjoyed the execution of these works by a viol consort. As Lindell suggests, it seems probable that Monte refers to a performance in the chamber of Rudolph II.¹⁷²

7 Music at the Court of Emperor Matthias

The court chapel reached a new peak after Matthias became Emperor in 1612. His personal chapel had already previously existed for some years; his first *Hofkapellmeister*, Alard du Gaucquier (c. 1534-c. 1582), was succeeded in 1583 by Lambert de Sayve (1548/49-1614),¹⁷³ who had been in Habsburg service for a long time, beginning as a choirboy in Ferdinand I's chapel. Sayve then taught the choirboys in Melk Abbey,¹⁷⁴ and he performed a similar function at the Graz court of Charles II of Inner Austria.¹⁷⁵ When he finally rose to the position of imperial *Kapellmeister*, he was aided by his nephew Erasmo de Sayve (who

168 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 149.

169 Apparently, the creation of these positions corresponded with the acquisition of new string instruments: The lute maker Bartholomäus Merck received ten Gulden on 29 March 1571 for the sale of a violin to the imperial court (Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 312).

170 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 225.

171 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 159.

172 Lindell, 'Filippo, Stefano and Martha', 871.

173 Smijers, 'Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle' (1919), 151.

174 Pass, *Musik und Musiker*, 269.

175 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 131-32.

had been serving in Matthias's chapel since 1588) as new vice-chapel master.¹⁷⁶ These two musicians would be the last court chapel masters from the Netherlands, since Lambert de Sayve's successor, Christoph Straus (c. 1575/80-1631), was presumably the first *Kapellmeister* since Heinrich Finck born in another area. Straus had already been working as chamber organist for Matthias since 1601, and he took over Sayve's position as administrator of the office in 1616, before being fully appointed court chapel master in 1617.¹⁷⁷

While Straus's surviving compositions are exclusively sacred works (despite his tenure as chamber musician), the output of his predecessor Sayve contains secular music. Besides a volume of canzonettas, Sayve published a volume of German Lieder, which are similar in texture to Italian canzonettas and were evidently modelled on Regnart's songs.¹⁷⁸ The focus of Sayve's compositional creativity was, however, the motet, a genre that, as mentioned above, had played only a minor role at Rudolph's court.¹⁷⁹ Sayve's 120 surviving motets are stylistically very different from those by Vaet, Regnart, or Monte, written only a few years before. Their compositional texture is dominated less by the linearity of their individual vocal parts and imitation, but rather by clear text declamation in a homophonic texture, often laid out in a polychoral fashion. Motets of this type are mainly found in his *Sacrae symphoniae* of 1612.¹⁸⁰ As the dedication of this collection tells us, these works were composed between 1583 and 1612, thus in the years when Sayve served at Matthias's court.

The playing of plucked and bowed string instruments was also common at Matthias's court. A very special performance is documented on carnival Sunday, 5 February 1617, when the Emperor and his whole household had taken temporary residence in Prague. On this occasion, a musical drama was performed for the first time at the imperial court, in the presence of Archduke Ferdinand (who was about to be crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary) and Archduke Maximilian the *Deutschmeister*. The nature of this performance can be reconstructed by the means of a printed festival description that also

¹⁷⁶ José Quitin, 'Sayve, Erasmo de', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 22, 361.

¹⁷⁷ A. Lindsey Kirwan and Peter Downey, 'Straus, Christoph', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 24, 473-74.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Marlow and José Quitin, 'Sayve, Lambert de', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 22, 360-61.

¹⁷⁹ Georg Rebscher, 'Lambert de Sayve als Motettenkomponist' (Ph.D. diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1959), 26.

¹⁸⁰ Lambert de Sayve, *Sacrae symphoniae, quas vulgo motetas appellant, tam de totius anni festis solennibus, quam de tempore*, 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 15. & 16. *tam vocibus quam instrumentis accomodatae* ... (Klosterbruck, 1612) [RISM S126].

contains a libretto of the work.¹⁸¹ It was a ballet with vocal introductions and interludes, which were sung by solo actors and choir and were accompanied by a harpsichord, a chitarrone, and a 'viola'. If the term 'viola' is understood here in a general sense as an unspecified string instrument, then this ensemble was most likely identical with the combination of continuo instruments that became standard in the seventeenth century, namely a keyboard, a plucked string instrument, and a violone.¹⁸² Although these instruments had already gained importance in accompanimental roles in chamber music at the courts of Maximilian II and Rudolph II, the description of the performance at Matthias's court represents the first document of a radically new musical style that was to play a major role in Habsburg court music after 1619.

8 Conclusion

Even though the 1617 performance at Matthias's court heralded the beginning of a new musical era, other aspects – particularly institutional structures – had remained virtually unchanged since Ferdinand I's coronation as King of Bohemia in 1527. Ferdinand built his court chapel by modelling it on the structures of his grandfather Maximilian I's chapel. Ferdinand's chapel, in turn, became a model for the organization of the chapels of his successors Maximilian II, Rudolph II, and Matthias. While the deaths of Ferdinand I and Rudolph II brought about significant changes among the musical personnel (since their successors had already previously assembled their own court households), such a change did not take place after Rudolph II's coronation. This Emperor not only reappointed the previous *Hofkapellmeister* Philippe de Monte, but he also took over almost the entirety of his father's musical personnel.

The surviving compositions by musicians in imperial service, however, suggest that musical interests did indeed change during the reigns of Maximilian II and Rudolph II. While during the first years of Maximilian's reign the motet was the most important genre at court, secular compositions, particularly the Italian madrigal, became the focus after the appointment of Monte as court

¹⁸¹ The document was discussed for the first time in the musicological literature in Herbert Seifert, 'Das erste Musikdrama des Kaiserhofs', in *Österreichische Musik. Musik in Österreich. Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas, Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 34 (Tutzing, 1998), 99–111. The full libretto is printed in Herbert Seifert, 'Das erste Libretto des Kaiserhofs', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1998), 35–75. See also Chapter 7 of this volume for a discussion of the work.

¹⁸² Seifert, 'Das erste Musikdrama', 101.

chapel master in 1568. Parallel to this development, the practice of chamber music becomes increasingly tangible in the 1570s, when specialized chamber musicians are listed in court documents. This, however, does not imply that there was no performance of smaller-scale music prior to this time. Rather, the formal inclusion of instrumentalists in the sacred institution of the court chapel reflected a practice that had already existed for quite some time, namely the collaboration between instrumentalists of the *Stallpartei* and the singers who were part of the court chapel. The contrast between the musical practices at the courts of Rudolph II and Matthias might therefore not have been as significant in reality as the previous discussion suggests. When taking a closer look, even the step from the performance of a polyphonic madrigal in the style of monody to the above-mentioned performance of a musical drama does not seem quite so revolutionary. Quite possibly, this step represents the preliminary result of a long-term development that can be discerned in some key moments but was not recorded in the official court documents, the sources that have been the foundation of musicological scholarship for many decades.

Translated by Arne Spohr

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The Court Chapels of the Austrian Line (II): From Archduke Charles II to Emperor Leopold I

Lawrence Bennett, Steven Saunders, and Andrew H. Weaver

The historiography of music at the courts of the Austrian Habsburgs in the early modern era has understandably centred on the imperial music chapel. This focus on the Habsburg emperors dates from Ludwig Ritter von Köchel's seminal work from the nineteenth century,¹ and his approach, emphasizing the succession from one emperor to the next, has found numerous emulators.² The prevalence of this narrative stems in part from Köchel's influence, and in part from the pervasiveness of similar approaches in political history. One effect of this view has been that important Habsburg courts, for example, those at Innsbruck and Graz, have often been viewed as peripheral to the 'imperial story' and treated as branches of local history. Another effect of the emperor-to-emperor approach is that its spotlight on the male rulers has relegated female members of the House of Austria to secondary status; in practice, their agency as supporters and patrons of music sometimes outstripped that of their husbands.

A third drawback to viewing the history of the imperial chapel as a tale of successive emperors bears even more directly on this chapter. There were two breaks in the normal patrilineal succession in the early seventeenth century: in 1612, Matthias succeed his brother Rudolph II as emperor, and seven years later, Ferdinand II succeeded Matthias, his cousin. After 1619, in contrast, the imperial crown passed directly from father to son for nearly a century: from Ferdinand II (r. 1619–37) to Ferdinand III (r. 1637–57) to Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), with each emperor inheriting, in large measure, the music chapel – not to mention the musical predilections – of his father. In order to examine the institutional history of the imperial chapel in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it makes sense, somewhat paradoxically, to begin with a figure who

1 Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869; reprint, Whitefish, MO, 2010).

2 See, for example, Herbert Seifert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 565–73; and Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle und die k. u. k. geistliche Hofkapelle* (Vienna, 1905).

never reigned as Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II's father, Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria, since his chapel was effectively the progenitor of the seventeenth-century imperial chapel.

1 Charles II and Maria of Bavaria

We are indebted for much of our knowledge of music at the Graz court of Archduke Charles II to seminal articles and a ground-breaking book and edition by Hellmut Federhofer.³ When Emperor Ferdinand I died in 1564, his lands were divided among his three surviving sons. Charles II's bequest was Inner Austria, a domain that included Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, and surrounding territory. The Archduke's love for music was widely acknowledged: Andrea Gabrieli dedicated his *Primus liber missarum sex vocum* (Venice, 1572) [RISM G53] to him, and another contemporary claimed that Charles maintained a music chapel 'which for the quantity and quality of its musicians without doubt exceeds that of all other princes'.⁴ It is not surprising, then, that as Charles established his archducal residence at Graz, he also assembled an impressive musical establishment as part of his *Hofstaat*, in part by securing the services of some of his deceased father's musicians.⁵ Seven years later, he would marry the formidable Princess Maria of Bavaria, whose musical connections to various northern courts would exercise a profound effect on music at the Graz court.

The Graz chapel, as was typical for its time, was as much a religious as musical institution. Many of Charles's court chaplains also served as singers – the firm distinction between clerics and professional musicians within the chapel developed only later. In fact, a number of court chaplains were important composers, among them Pietro Antonio Bianco (who later served Ferdinand II as chapel master) and Andreas Zweiller. In addition to the singers and instrumentalists (whose specific instruments are not detailed in the personnel

3 Hellmut Federhofer, 'Graz Court Musicians and their Contributions to the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615)', in *Musica disciplina* 9 (1955), 167–244; Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz, 1967); and Hellmut Federhofer (ed.), *Niederländische und italienische Meister der Grazer Hofkapelle Karls II. (1564–1590)*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 90 (Vienna, 1954). See also the bibliography in Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 14–16, which lists no fewer than twenty-nine articles by Federhofer. Important earlier work on music at the Graz court is found in Alfred Einstein, 'Italienische Musik und italienische Musiker am Kaiserhof und an den erzherzoglichen Höfen in Innsbruck und Graz', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1934), 3–52.

4 Federhofer, *Niederländische und italienische Meister*, vii.

5 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 24–25.

lists), the membership of the chapel included boy sopranos, copyists, and a *Kalkant*, the operator of the organ bellows. Charles II's trumpeters were nominally attached to the court stables rather than to the chapel because of their role in providing fanfares and other military music, but in practice, the group included both 'nonmusical' and 'musical' trumpeters, with the latter body performing concerted music alongside the rest of the *Kapelle*.

Although most of the chapel musicians early in Charles's reign came from the Low Countries, the Archduke quickly departed radically from Habsburg family tradition, recasting the personnel of his chapel so that within a few years it was dominated by Italians.⁶ This Habsburg fondness for Italian musicians and Italianate music continued for over a century. The motivation for Charles's move was partly geographic (Graz is relatively close to Italy), partly confessional (Italian musicians' religious sympathies were less likely to be suspect than those of the *oltremontani*), and partly artistic. With the Italians came a revolution in musical style: The Graz court became one of the main outposts north of the Alps for the reception and cultivation of modern Italian music.

Composers trained in the North – perhaps the most prominent Graz musician in this category was Charles's first chapel master, Johannes de Cleve (1528/29–82) – tended to write in a style grounded in imitative counterpoint and wedded to compositional tools from the mid-Renaissance, including *cantus firmus*, *soggetto cavato*, and parody techniques.⁷ With the arrival of a significant number of musicians trained in Italy, the Graz court repertoire came to include up-to-date madrigals and canzonas, large-scale polychoral pieces, and later, few-voiced motets and monody. Another result of the influx of Italians was an increasing predilection for instrumental music and for music that combined voices and instruments.⁸

The Italianization of the Graz chapel began shortly after Cleve's short term as chapel master (1564–68). When it came time to select a successor, Charles chose Annibale Padovano (1527–75), who had served as organist at St. Mark's in Venice. Padovano became the first in a series of Venetian-born or Venetian-trained chapel masters who would lead the Graz court chapel for the next half century; they included not only Padovano (served 1570–75), but also Simone Gatto (1540/50–before 1595, served 1581–90), Pietro Antonio Bianco (c. 1540–1611, served 1595–1611), and Giovanni Priuli (c. 1575–1626, served 1614/15–19). The

6 See the lists of personnel in Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 251–77.

7 Albert Dunning, 'Cleve, Johannes de', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 6, 51–53.

8 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 29–32.

extensive bonds between Venice and the Austrian Habsburgs are explored in detail in Chapter 15 of this volume.

In August 1571 Charles II married Maria of Bavaria, the daughter of Duke Albrecht v. The Wittlesbach court at Munich, where Maria grew up, not only boasted a renowned musical establishment but was also home to Orlando di Lasso (1530/32-94), one of the towering figures of the late Renaissance. Maria maintained close personal ties to Lasso, serving as godmother to one of his daughters and staying in touch with his family throughout her life.⁹ She was instrumental in making Lasso's music central to the Graz repertoire, obtaining copies of Lasso's works for the court, and going so far as to send a list of the composer's works owned by the chapel to her brother in Munich, asking him to send copies of missing pieces. She also asked for copies of specific works from Munich, surely with the intention of having them performed at Graz. Many of these compositions from Munich found their way into the chapel's choirbooks. The Archduchess's particular fondness for litanies (series of liturgical invocations and responses that were particularly suited to settings with alternating performing forces) seems to have spawned a large repertoire of the genre at Graz.

The repertoire under Charles II and Maria was (to judge from surviving manuscripts, inventories, dedications, and archival records) extraordinarily varied. Secular works included madrigals, villanelle, and instrumental canzone, and sacred works included compositions in the *stile antico*, parody masses and Magnificats, polychoral works, and large-scale concerted music.¹⁰ This music was composed partly by a cadre of court composers (notably Cleve, Matthias Ferrabosco, Gatto, Padovano, Annibale Perini, and Francesco Rovigo) and was augmented by printed collections of sacred music and books of lighter Italian secular music by such composers as Luca Marenzio and Giovanni Ferretti.¹¹

9 The discussion of Maria's patronage is based primarily on Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2005), 69-81. For further details on the musical ties between Graz and Munich see Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, nebst Beiträgen zur Musikpflege dieser Zeit* (Munich, 1912).

10 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 45-47, and especially the inventories of choirbooks on pp. 280-95; Klemen Grabnar, 'From Graz to Ljubljana? Towards Discovery of the Origin of the Hren Choirbooks', in *De musica disserenda* 11 (2015), 211-27; and Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 119-37.

11 See especially the inventories in Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 280-95.

2 Ferdinand II and Eleonora Gonzaga (1)

The history of music under Ferdinand II falls naturally into two unequal phases: the first, longer period spans his years as Archduke of Inner Austria at Graz (1595-1619), the second, his reign as Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna (1619-36), a period that saw his marriage to his second wife Eleonora Gonzaga (1598-1655) in 1622.¹² Much of the first, Graz-based period can be seen as a continuation and culmination of trends begun under Charles II. These years witnessed an increasing reliance on Italian musicians, the intensive cultivation of large-scale polychoral music in the manner of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and their contemporaries, and a secular repertoire increasingly dominated by Italian forms, including the madrigal, villanella, and canzonetta. The second, imperial phase played out against the backdrop of both the Thirty Years' War and the development of new styles and genres of the early Baroque. These circumstances called for a somewhat different, and at times more public, repertoire. Ferdinand II's rule as emperor saw the firm establishment of court spectacles including operas and ballets, the use of music – often on an hitherto unparalleled scale – as an instrument of monarchical representation and political will, and the creation of a cycle of peripatetic public worship that saw the Emperor and his music chapel travel throughout Vienna and beyond to take part in religious observances in the local churches and monasteries.

2.1 Archduke Ferdinand in Graz

When Charles II died in 1590, Ferdinand was only twelve years old and had just begun studies at the Jesuit College at Ingolstadt (Bavaria).¹³ His father's chapel was disbanded (though a few musicians remained, attached to the court of Archduchess Maria), and regents ruled Inner Austria until Ferdinand came of age in 1595. At the beginning of his reign, Ferdinand was able to recall many former members of his father's musical establishment.¹⁴ Tellingly, it seems to have been his mother who ensured that Bianco, one of her favoured musicians, became the Graz chapel master.¹⁵ Bianco was quickly dispatched to Italy to

¹² A recent overview of Ferdinand's Graz Court, indebted to Federhofer's work, is Metoda Kokole, 'Archduke Ferdinand's Musical Parnassus in Graz', in *De musica disserenda* 13 (2017), 39-55.

¹³ The best modern biographical studies are Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578-1637* (Cambridge, 2014), and Thomas Brockmann, *Dynastie, Kaiseramt und Konfession: Politik und Ordnungsvorstellungen Ferdinands II. im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Paderborn, 2011). Johann Franzl, *Ferdinand II: Kaiser im Zwiespalt der Zeit* (Graz, 1978) remains useful, though it is now somewhat dated.

¹⁴ Federhofer, *Musikpflege un Musiker*, 38.

¹⁵ Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, 76.

recruit additional musicians for the reconstituted chapel.¹⁶ During his reign as archduke, Ferdinand not only completed the Italianization of the Graz chapel, but he also expanded the size of the ensemble, increasing it from twenty-one musicians in 1596 to more than fifty by 1619.

Ferdinand's interest in Italian culture, already evident in his youth, seems to have been strengthened by a tour of Italy in 1598.¹⁷ During this trip, he heard Vespers at St. Mark's and met a number of leading Italian musicians, including Giovanni Croce, Giovanni Gabrieli, Constanzo Porta, Asprilio Pacelli, and Ruggiero Giovannelli. He had a court scribe assemble musical reminders of the trip in a choirbook (ViennB Mus. 16703), whose final portion has been described as Ferdinand's Italian musical souvenirs.¹⁸ As for his father before him, the music of Venice held special appeal for Ferdinand. All of his chapel masters were Venetian (Bianco, Priuli, and after Ferdinand's coronation as emperor, Giovanni Valentini [1582/83-1649]), and the Venetian polychoral style continued to have a central place in the sacred repertoire long after it had faded from fashion in Italy.¹⁹ For example, Graz choirbooks preserve a huge repertoire of large-scale polychoral church works for three and four choirs by both court composers and composers active in Venice; most of these manuscripts were transferred from Graz to Vienna when Ferdinand became emperor, where the works remained part of the repertoire into the seventeenth century.²⁰ Similarly, late examples of the polychoral style were published by chapel master Giovanni Priuli in his two books of *Sacrorum concentuum* (Venice, 1618 and 1619) [RISM P5476, P5477].²¹

Both Ferdinand and his mother were leading patrons of music and were honoured with many musical dedications.²² Two encomiastic anthologies from Ferdinand's Graz years illustrate different aspects of their patronage. The first, the *Musica Austriaca* (Venice, 1605) [RISM S6456], was something of an 'in-house' project. The collection includes nineteen large-scale madrigals for

16 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 6.

17 Theophil Antonicek, 'Italienische Musikerlebnisse Ferdinands II. 1598', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 104 (1967), 92-111.

18 Antonicek, 'Italienische Musikerlebnisse', 96; contents of ViennB Mus. 16703 in Josef Mantuani (ed.), *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* (Vienna, 1864-99), vol. 9, 209-10.

19 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 7.

20 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 38-40.

21 Modern edition of the first book in Giovanni Priuli, *Sacrorum concentuum pars prima* (1618), ed. Albert Biales (Cologne, 1973).

22 For works dedicated to Ferdinand II see Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 46; Kokole, 'Archduke Ferdinand's Musical Parnassus', 51-52; and Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 4.

eight, twelve, and sixteen voices in multiple choirs by court organist Francesco Stivori (c. 1550-1605).²³ The cultivation of Italian madrigals on a large scale – in part, a projection of the grandeur of the court – became a feature of the Habsburg repertoire until the genre faded in popularity just before the middle of the seventeenth century. The *Musica Austriaca* is dedicated to Archduchess Maria, but the individual madrigals were written to honour not only her, but also each of her children. Not surprisingly, nearly half of the madrigals, eight of nineteen (including the most opulent piece in the collection, a setting of ‘Selve beate e care’ for sixteen voices), honour Archduke Ferdinand.

The second notable musical encomium from Ferdinand II’s Graz years was the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (Venice, 1615) [RISM 1615¹³], a collection of fifty-seven few-voiced motets assembled by court tenor Giovanni Battista Bonometti.²⁴ The anthology contains works for one to five voices with basso continuo accompaniment by thirty-two composers. In addition to motets by nine members of the court chapel, it includes works by an additional twenty-three composers, nearly all of them Italian.

The contrast between the up-to-date, Italianate style of the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* and the music of the *Musica Austriaca* of a decade earlier is striking. Stivori’s madrigals are cast in an imposing polychoral style that seems somewhat dated, particularly when we remember that Monteverdi’s Fifth Book of Madrigals (Venice, 1605) [RISM M3475] appeared in the same year. The few-voiced sacred works with continuo accompaniment of the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, in contrast, marked the Graz court as a centre for the early reception and cultivation of the *stile nuovo*, the Italian compositional innovations identified with the dawn of the Baroque. The elements of the ‘new style’ included monody (solo song), recitative-like declamation, basso continuo accompaniment, and *concertato* writing that juxtaposed ever-changing combinations of voices.²⁵ As a representation of the most current musical trends by some of Italy’s most renowned composers, the *Parnassus musicus*

23 Contents in Kokole, ‘Archduke Ferdinand’s Musical Parnassus’, 47.

24 Federhofer, ‘Graz Court Musicians’. Modern edition of the collection in *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus: Herausgegeben von Giovanni Battista Bonometti (1615)*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 159 (Graz, 2015). See also the volume of *De musica disserenda* 13, no. 1-2 (2017) devoted to the collection, and the discussion of individual works in Giovanni Priuli, *Vier Generalbaßmotetten aus dem Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)*, ed. Herman J. Busch, Musik alter Meister 23 (Graz, 1970); Federhofer, ‘Graz Court Musicians’, 208; Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 129-37; and Chapter 11 of this volume.

25 Metoda Kokole, ‘Venetian Influence on the Production of Early-Baroque Monodic Motets in the Inner-Austrian Provinces’, in *Musica e storia* 8 (2000), 477-507.

Ferdinandaeus proclaimed Ferdinand's court a musical Parnassus, an oasis where the finest music was produced and enjoyed.

Two other near contemporaneous collections from the court further confirm Graz's role as a centre for the dissemination of the new Baroque styles: Bartolomeo Mutis's *Musiche a una, doi e tre voci* (Venice, 1613) [RISM C1743], the first book of monodies by a composer working in the North, and Heinrich Pfendner's *Delli motetti ... libro primo* (Graz, 1614) [RISM P1749], a collection of few-voiced *concertato* motets that anticipates by a year those of the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*.

2.2 *Emperor Ferdinand II and Eleonora Gonzaga in Vienna*

After his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 1619, Ferdinand II transferred his court from Graz to Vienna, confirming the city's status as imperial residence and seat of government.²⁶ He dismissed nearly all the musicians of Emperor Matthias, his predecessor on the imperial throne, and over the course of more than a year, he moved the personnel of his music chapel to Vienna. The institution was now one of the largest music chapels in Europe; the number of musicians naturally fluctuated but typically ran between sixty and seventy-five.²⁷

There is a certain irony in the imposing size of Ferdinand II's *Hofmusikkapelle*: For more than a century, most scholars accepted Köchel's claim that Ferdinand was forced to dissolve his chapel because of the financial pressures of the Thirty Years' War.²⁸ Köchel's assumption was based on the lack of consistent entries for payments to musicians in the imperial court's pay records, the *Hofzahlamtsbücher*. However, musicians continued to be paid from sources other than the imperial treasury, including funds from the Emperor's hereditary lands in Inner Austria. Using a number of other sources, including wills, marriage and baptismal records, correspondence, lists of court musicians from sources other than the court, and a variety of archival documents, Steven Saunders was able to largely reconstruct the membership of Ferdinand's huge chapel.²⁹

26 The standard study of sacred music at Ferdinand II's imperial court is Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*. For a concise overview of music during his imperial reign see Seifert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel'.

27 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 22 and 225-32.

28 Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*, 9.

29 Herbert Seifert, 'Eine Krise der Hofkapelle unter den Kaisern Ferdinand II. und Ferdinand III?', in *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle II: Krisenzeiten der Hofmusikkapellen*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Fritz-Hilscher, Hartmut Krones, and Theophil Antonicek (Vienna, 2006), 99-112; Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 18-23, 225-32.

Biographical sketches of Ferdinand II as emperor inevitably focus on two aspects of his rule: his staunch championing of the Counter-Reformation and his role as head of the Catholic side in the first phase of the Thirty Years' War. While his father had been an effective (if sometimes reluctant) Counter-Reformer, Ferdinand was unwavering in his devotion to restoring Catholicism, first in his hereditary lands and later throughout the Empire. His tenacity in enforcing Catholic hegemony fuelled the conflict and later allowed it to expand from a regional dispute into a war that engulfed much of Europe. In this context, music became an instrument of politics.

This new political climate had a number of effects on music. During Ferdinand II's years as emperor, the chapel became increasingly diverse and specialized, particularly as it was called on to provide music not only for worship and private entertainment, but also for lavish spectacles, including ballet, opera, *intermedii* (opera-like interpolations within a spoken drama), and celebrations attendant on state events such as coronations, weddings, and birthdays. These changing demands were reflected in the structure of the chapel. Clerics no longer appear among the musicians in lists of the imperial *Hofstaat*. Instead, a small group of clerics separate from the music chapel were responsible for singing plainchant at private Masses for the Emperor.³⁰ Within the *Hofmusik-kapelle* itself, a distinction began to develop between chapel and chamber musicians (roughly sacred and secular music specialists). Moreover, female singers appear in court records by the 1620s, as do several Italian castrati, notably Torquato Giordano and Ottavio Caccherano Ossasco.

A pivotal moment for music at court came early in Ferdinand's imperial reign, with his second marriage, to the Mantuan princess Eleonora Gonzaga. The musical performances surrounding the wedding are of particular interest, because they presage later developments at court. A proxy wedding was held in Mantua on 21 November 1621, followed by weeks of lavish festivities that included Ercole Marigliani's drama *Le tre costanti*, with some of the music for the *intermedii* composed by Claudio Monteverdi. Eleonora then travelled to Innsbruck to meet her new husband, who had brought with him fifty-five musicians to provide music for the celebrations. The music must have been lavish, since the musicians of the imperial chapel were joined by twenty-three musicians of Archduke Leopold V of Tyrol, and by singers from the *Damenstift* in nearby Hall. The couple proceeded from Innsbruck to Vienna, where a large procession into St. Stephen's cathedral was accompanied a singing of the Te

³⁰ Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 35.

Deum with trumpets, drums, and artillery salvos, and a motet by chapel master Priuli.³¹

Eleonora's imprint on court culture was immediate, touching every corner of artistic life. As noted above, historical narratives tend to cast the Emperor and his favoured composers as agents of stylistic change, yet in Vienna, it was arguably Eleonora's experiences, tastes, and connections that most decisively shaped the repertoire. Growing up in Mantua, she had experienced first-hand some of the most ground-breaking music of the early Baroque, including Monteverdi's pioneering operas *L'Orfeo* (1607) and *L'Arianna* (1608). It is hardly surprising, then, that as part of the festivities surrounding her coronation as Queen of Hungary in July 1622, just a few months after her wedding, there was a performance in Sopron of 'una Commedia, che doveva rappresentarsi in musica'.³² This may have been the first opera performance at Ferdinand II's court, though it might also have been a smaller-scale secular work like the comic dialogue from Guarini's *Il pastor fido* that court organist Valentini published that same year in his *Musiche a due voce* (Venice, 1622) [RISM V95].³³ The impetus for the performance likely came from the Empress, since just a month later she organized 'una piccolo invenzione in Musica con un baletto che faranno le mie Dame' at her summer palace, the 'Favorita'.³⁴ The number of performances that came at the behest of the Empress is striking. To cite only one example, the title page to *La gara musicale*, an opera with libretto by Urbanio Giorgi performed for Ferdinand II's birthday in 1634, proclaims in large type that it was produced 'per commandamento ... dell'Imperatrice'.³⁵ Although there had been opera performances at Habsburg courts before the 1620s, the genre was firmly established at Vienna only after Ferdinand's marriage to Eleonora (see Chapter 7).

Direct Mantuan influence on many of the early Viennese opera performances is easy to detect. Three Mantuan vocal virtuosi, Francesco Rasi, Don Francesco Campagnolo, and Bernardino Pasquino Grassi, performed monody and

31 Herbert Seifert, *Der Sig-prangende Hochzeit-Gott: Hochzeitsfeste am Wiener Hof der Habsburger und ihre Allegorik 1622-1699* (Vienna, 1988), 9-12.

32 Otto G. Schindler, 'Von Mantua nach Ödenburg: Die ungarische Krönung Eleonoras I. Gonzaga (1622) und die erste Oper am Kaiserhof. Ein unbekannter Bericht aus der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek', in *Biblos* 46 (1997), 259-93.

33 On this possibility see Herbert Seifert, 'Gattungsbezeichnungen früher Musikdramen in Österreich', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 129-30.

34 Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tutzing, 1985), 25-27.

35 Title page reproduced in Andrea Sommer-Mathis, 'La gara musicale: Ein musikalischer Wettstreit am Hofe Kaiser Ferdinands II.', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 56 (2010), 66.

secular dramatic works at court in the second and third decades of the century.³⁶ These singers were surely responsible for introducing many of the latest trends in Italian vocal music, including monody, recitative, and new styles of ornamentation. Yet another Mantuan connection came via Giovanni Battista Andreini and his *commedia dell'arte* troupe, 'I Fedeli', who had spent considerable time in the early seventeenth century in the service of the Gonzagas. They took part in performances at the imperial court, most notably a reworking in 1629 of Andreini's *La Maddalena*, a *sacra rappresentazione* (staged sacred vocal work) that he had written for Mantua. Notably, he claimed that had prepared this version of the work with the hope that the Mantuan singer Lucia Rubini would sing the title role. Finally, Don Cesare Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla and a distant relative of Eleonora, provided the libretti for at least four operatic works performed at court.

Empress Eleonora also helped shape the personnel of the court chapel; several Mantuan musicians came to the Vienna court in the wake of her marriage to Ferdinand. The Empress was accompanied on her initial trip to Vienna by the violinist and composer Giovanni Battista Buonamente (d. 1642), who then remained in the service of the Emperor. Don Harrán has argued convincingly that via Buonamente's compositions, Eleonora introduced Italian dance music to Vienna, thereby shaping the form of the later Baroque dance suite.³⁷

Later, particularly in the wake of Duke Vincenzo II's death and the subsequent political upheaval in Mantua, a stream of Mantuan musicians fled north to accept positions in Vienna. They included the virtuoso singer Margherita Basile Cattaneo (for whom Monteverdi conceived the title role of *La finta pazza Licori*), the aforementioned tenor Campagnolo, Bernardino Grassi, and the Rubini family: brothers Giovanni Battista and Orazio along with the former's wife, Lucia.³⁸ The two women quickly became favourites at court. As we have seen, Lucia sang the title role in *La Maddalena*, and in January 1631 the two women gave a concert accompanied largely by the other Mantuan musicians, a performance from which other imperial musicians were excluded. After her husband's death, Eleonora also maintained her own music chapel.³⁹

36 Herbert Seifert, 'Nordwärts reisende Gesangsvirtuosen aus Italien und ihr stilistisches "Gepäck" im Seicento', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 159-65.

37 Don Harrán, 'From Mantua to Vienna: A New Look at the Early Seventeenth-Century Dance Suite', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129 (2004), 181-219.

38 The Rubinis may have made a visit to the imperial court around the time of Eleonora Gonzaga's marriage to Ferdinand II; see Harrán, 'From Mantua to Vienna', 189.

39 Herbert Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', in *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Angerer et al. (Tutzing, 1982), 527-54;

The Empress's impact on the Italian madrigal at court is equally clear. The madrigal at Habsburg courts has received less attention than either opera or sacred music,⁴⁰ yet the broad outlines of the genre's development are clear: Court composers wrote numerous works that can be seen as part of the musical mainstream, yet they also cultivated a type of large-scale 'imperial' madrigal with many vocal parts plus obbligato instruments, scorings not typical of the contemporaneous Italian madrigal. The madrigal collections published by Ferdinand II's two imperial *Kapellmeister*, Priuli and Valentini, neatly illustrate these trends. Priuli's secular music shows a clear division between works written while he was in Venice and those written for Ferdinand II. His first two books of madrigals (Venice, 1604 and 1607 [RISM P5480 and P5481]) are *a cappella* madrigals for the traditional five voices, and the third book (Venice, 1612 [RISM P5482]), though still for five voices, adds several compositions with continuo accompaniment, recalling the similar two-part structure of Monteverdi's Fifth Book of 1605. In contrast, the *Musiche concertate ... libro quarto* (Venice, 1622) [no RISM number], dedicated to Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, just after Ferdinand II's wedding to his sister, has accompanied madrigals for up to nine voices, including some with instrumental accompaniment.⁴¹ The *Delicie musicali* (Venice, 1625) [RISM P5483], dedicated to Empress Eleonora, carries these trends even further.⁴² Its contents range from simple canzonettas – some with instrumental ritornellos – to multi-sectioned works that resemble short pastoral scenes. Particularly characteristic are the large-scale madrigals (for up to nine voices) with obbligato instruments. Margaret Mabbett has identified such large scorings particularly with madrigals from Vienna and Mantua, further evidence of the musical interchange between the Gonzaga and Habsburg courts.⁴³

Valentini's secular collections exhibit similar characteristics, though his works are more varied and innovative than Priuli's.⁴⁴ His secular pieces use

reprinted in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernertorfer (Vienna, 2014), 633–64.

40 The fullest treatment remains Margaret Anne Mabbett, 'The Italian Madrigal, 1620–1655' (Ph.D. diss., King's College London, 1989), 218–50. See also Mabbett's 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi*', in *Monteverdi und die Folgen*, ed. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (Kassel, 1998), 291–310.

41 Only two partbooks survive; contents in Emil Vogel, et al., *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana ... nuova edizione* (Staderini, 1977), 1405–6.

42 Modern edition in Giovanni Priuli, *Delicie musicale*, ed. Albert Biales (Graz, 1977–79).

43 Mabbett, 'The Italian Madrigal', 238.

44 A succinct overview is found in Joachim Steinheuer, 'Valentini, Giovanni', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel etc., 1994), Personenteil 16, col. 1277–82.

such modern techniques as recitatives, duets, dialogues, instrumental sonatas, ritornellos, and ostinato basses. In addition, he cultivated a rich chromatic idiom that exceeded the boundaries of the traditional modal system, and he experimented with unusual time signatures such as 5/4 and 9/8.⁴⁵ The *Secondo libro de madrigali* (Venice, 1616) [RISM V88], which appeared while the court was still at Graz, was the first printed collection of madrigals to include instruments other than continuo.⁴⁶ Like Priuli's Viennese madrigals, the works of Valentini's Book Two include pieces scored for large forces, including one work for eleven parts (six vocal parts, plus an ensemble of cornetto and four strings). Valentini's *Musiche concertate* (Venice, 1619) [RISM V91] also includes richly scored works (up to ten parts) and concludes with the remarkable 'Tochin le trombe al arma' (the trumpets call to arms). This madrigal not only contains a vivid description of battle – a clear reference to the onset of the Thirty Years' War – but also features trumpet fanfares played on the cornetto. Even more striking is its use of patterns of repeated sixteenth notes marked 'ad imitatione del tamburo' (in imitation of the drum). Such rapid repeated notes were the hallmark of Monteverdi's *genere concitato* (agitated genre), a style that the composer claimed in his *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi* (Venice, 1638) [RISM M3500] to have invented to express 'the accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare'. It seems clear, however, that – Monteverdi's claims of originality notwithstanding – it was Valentini who introduced these warlike effects into the Baroque gestural lexicon.⁴⁷

The close relationship between the Habsburgs and Monteverdi extended far beyond the relationship between these 'warlike' madrigals. Monteverdi maintained a lifelong connection to the dynasty that began in his youth and culminated in two important dedications: the aforementioned *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi*, originally intended for Ferdinand II but dedicated in the wake of his

45 See Silke Leopold, *Al modo d'Orfeo: Dichtung und Musik im italienischen Sologesang des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber, 1995), 91-92; Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 203-22; Othmar Wessely and Erika Kanduth (eds.), *Frühmeister des stile nuovo in Österreich: Bartolomeo Mutis conte di Cesana, Francesco Degli Atti, Giovanni Valentini*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 125 (Graz, 1973), 52-136; and John Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 149ff.

46 Modern edition in Giovanni Valentini, *Secondo libro de madrigal à 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, & 11 Concertati con voci, et istromenti*, ed. Pyrros Bamichas, Archive of Seventeenth-Century Madrigals and Arias, <<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/lcahm/departments/music/research/ascima/Valentini.aspx>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

47 Pyrros Bamichas, 'Monteverdi's *stile concitato*: Some Later Indications', in *Musicology* 17 (2003), 140-83.

death to Ferdinand III; and the massive *Selva morale et spirituale* (Venice, 1641) [RISM M3446], dedicated to Eleonora Gonzaga.⁴⁸

The sacred music of Ferdinand II's reign was extraordinarily wide-ranging and differed in several fundamental ways from the secular repertoires. First, much of the music heard at religious observances was not recently composed; the repertoire included plainchant and Renaissance pieces from a repertoire that amounted to a Habsburg musical heirloom. Palestrina's hymn settings, for example, were staples of the repertoire from Ferdinand's time into the eighteenth century, and Marian antiphons from the sixteenth century were performed on some feasts. Another distinction from the secular repertoires was that musical style was a projection of the type and solemnity of the liturgical observance. On most feast days, the Emperor attended both a public Mass and Vespers, often traveling beyond the Hofburg to hear these services at local churches, convents, and monasteries, taking his musicians with him.⁴⁹ One contemporary chronicler noted that the Emperor passed almost every day at one church or another.⁵⁰ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the relationship between the solemnity of the feast, the locale, and the lavishness of the music had been codified into a fairly rigid structure,⁵¹ but the roots of both this stational worship and the basic shape of the court ceremonial began to take shape under Ferdinand II and Eleonora.

Since figural music was called for on most days,⁵² the chapel needed to have a vast stock of religious music. Unfortunately, only a fraction of this massive repertoire has survived; moreover, the music that does is probably not particularly representative of the imperial repertoire. Much of the surviving sacred repertoire is preserved in printed partbooks, the most efficient way for works to achieve wide distribution in the early modern era. Prints, with their multiple copies, stood a better chance of preserving an individual composition than did a manuscript, which was by its nature unique. However, printed mu-

48 The relationship between Monteverdi and the Habsburgs is detailed in Chapter 15 of this volume. See also Theophil Antonicek, 'Claudio Monteverdi und Österreich', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26 (1971), 266-71; Tim Carter, 'The Venetian Secular Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, ed. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge, 2007), 184-86; and Herbert Seifert, 'Monteverdi und die Habsburger', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 99-111.

49 For details on the religious observances and the use of music in the liturgy see esp. Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 33-57.

50 *Status particularis regiminis S. C. Majestatis Ferdinandi II* (Leiden, 1637), 36.

51 Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740): Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter* (Munich, 1977).

52 Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 33-36.

sic aimed at the public market needed to be suitable for performance in a variety of contexts. Much of the imperial sacred repertoire – Catholic church music written for one of the largest, most virtuosic musical ensembles in Europe – was, for obvious reasons, not always congenial to this print market. Put another way, the most characteristic parts of the imperial repertoire were the least likely to be preserved in print. Most large-scale works with instrumental participation, for example, survive only in manuscript, and we must assume that much of this music has been lost.

A related detail concerning the transmission of works from the Viennese court is worthy of note. Valentini, who served as imperial chapel master from 1626 until his death in 1649, published no music after being appointed *Kapellmeister*.⁵³ Part of the explanation doubtless lies in the fact that the composition of many large-scale ceremonial works fell to the chapel master. But Silke Leopold has advanced a tantalizing theory suggesting that more was at play in the composer's seeming 'lapse into silence' than market forces.⁵⁴ She theorizes that Ferdinand sought to preserve his most prized composers' works as his exclusive property, protecting them both from performance beyond his court and from unwanted imitation. There were thus two impulses at work in shaping the musical repertoire. Part of the repertoire was public and looked outward, proclaiming the grandeur and piety of the Habsburgs; another portion, however, was what has been called *musica reservata*, a private music written for consumption by a narrow circle of courtiers.

Because it served a variety of liturgical and ceremonial functions, the sacred music produced by court composers was stylistically even more diverse than the secular repertoire. Sacred compositions ranged from simple service music like the *falsobordone* psalms in Valentini's *Salmi, hinni, Magnificat, antifone, falsibordoni, et motetti concertati* (Venice, 1618) [RISM V90] or the uncomplicated, homophonic settings of Vespers music by Valentini, Alessandro Tadei, and Georg Pichelmair,⁵⁵ to massive polychoral works with virtuoso instrumental parts. New works still employed traditional, even dated compositional techniques: There were pieces in the *stile antico* (the style of imitative polyphony characteristic of the Renaissance), parody masses (which vary the

53 The same would be largely true of his successor, Giovanni Felice Sances, who was a prolific publisher of sacred music until his appointment as vice-chapel master in 1649. Sances did, however, publish two collections of Italian secular music later in Ferdinand III's reign.

54 Silke Leopold, 'Giovanni Valentini, Kapellmeister am Kaiserhof', in *University of Heidelberg Unispiegel*, <https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/uni/presse/RuCa3_98/leopold.htm> (accessed 25 June 2020).

55 On these simple choro pleno settings see Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 44–48.

contrapuntal fabric of an existing piece), and hymns intended for alternatim performance (performance in alternation with chant). At the other end of the stylistic spectrum, court composers wrote sacred monodies, few-voiced motets, and concerted masses in styles that employed the most current compositional devices. Even a listing of the various styles and genres within the sacred repertoire would be beyond the scope of this essay, yet one final aspect of the sacred repertoire deserves comment, the pointedly political tone of some sacred compositions.

As we have seen, Ferdinand's accession to the throne near the onset of the Thirty Years' War wrenched imperial policies away from a half-century of accommodation with Protestants, toward a militant Counter-Reformation agenda. Music would provide a useful tool in this enterprise. The politicization of sacred music took several forms. Some works took a didactic tack, setting texts that emphasized doctrines particularly important to the Habsburg dynasty, for example, those of the so-called *Pietas Austriaca*, a tradition that emphasized devotion to the cross, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary, and the cult of saints.⁵⁶ Other compositions highlighted theological doctrines that set Catholicism apart from Protestantism, for example the Immaculate Conception. A third means of adding a layer of political meaning to sacred music was to set psalm passages that plead for divine intercession against enemies or that invoke martial imagery.⁵⁷

Perhaps the most overtly political works from Ferdinand's chapel were the three mammoth compositions of Valentini's *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le Trombe* (Vienna, 1621) [RISM V92]. The court organist's dedication to these seven-choir behemoths claims that in them he had 'struggled to invent [a] new way of combining trumpets with voices and instruments'. All three pieces were written to celebrate political events: Ferdinand's coronation as King of Hungary, his coronation as Emperor, and the imperial forces' victory at White Mountain, the first major battle in the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁸ The political overtones are most overt in the setting of *Jubilate Deo*, which employs bellicose lines such as 'in the multitude of your power, your

56 Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, IN, 2004).

57 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 105-8, 115, 140-45.

58 The discussion of the collection is based on Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 99-118, and Steven Saunders, 'The Habsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe* (1621) of Giovanni Valentini', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991), 359-403.

enemies submit themselves to you,' lines drawn from Psalm 65, a text associated in Vienna specifically with conversion and victory.⁵⁹

Only two partbooks from a set that must have included thirty or more have survived, yet we can still deduce a great deal about Valentini's 'new way of combining trumpets with voices and instruments'. He wrote out trumpet parts in a sacred vocal work, a procedure virtually unheard of at the time, so that the trumpets could play in two distinct styles – styles described in the title to a contemporaneous treatise on trumpet playing as 'musical' and 'warlike'.⁶⁰ At times the trumpets function as more or less conventional additions to the instrumental ensemble, while at other times, they play martial fanfare figures that evoke the traditional associations between trumpets and battle or royalty. The music's admixture of these textual and musical tropes, performed in charged political contexts with a war looming on the horizon, would have carried stark messages regarding Ferdinand II's vision for the Holy Roman Empire and for the *ecclesia militans*.

3 Ferdinand III and Eleonora Gonzaga (II)

Ferdinand III inherited his father's passion for music and even took it to a new level by being active as a composer himself, the first in a line of composing Habsburg emperors.⁶¹ During his youth he studied composition with Valentini,

59 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 106.

60 Girolamo Fantini, *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba tanto di guerra quanto musicalmente* (Frankfurt, 1638; facsimile reprint, New York, 2001); English translation by Edward Tarr, *Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet in a Warlike Way as Well as Musically* (Vuarmans, 2009).

61 For details on Ferdinand III as a composer, see Guido Adler (ed.), *Musikalische Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I. und Joseph I.* (2 vols, Vienna, 1892; reprint, Westmead, 1972); H.v.F. Somerset, 'The Habsburg Emperors as Musicians', in *Music & Letters* 30 (1949), 204-15; Theophil Antonicek, 'Die italienischen Text-vertonungen Kaiser Ferdinands III.', in *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alberto Martino, Chloe 9 (Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1990), 209-33; Steven Saunders, 'The Emperor as Artist: New Discoveries Concerning Ferdinand III's Musical Compositions', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1996), 7-31; Andrew H. Weaver, 'A Recently Rediscovered Motet by Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III', in *Early Music* 43 (2015), 281-89; and Herbert Seifert, 'Die Brüder Ferdinand III. und Leopold Wilhelm, ihre Stellung zu ihrem Lehrer Giovanni Valentini, zur Dichtung und zur Musik', in *Musicologica Brunensia* 53 (2018), 5-18. Important studies of Ferdinand III's musical patronage include Theophil Antonicek, 'Musik und italienische Poesie am Hofe Kaiser Ferdinands III.', in *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung* 42 (1990), 1-22; Steven Saunders, 'Der Kaiser als Künstler: Ferdinand III and the Politicization of Sacred Music at the Habsburg Court', in *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early*

and he continued to share works and solicit compositional advice from his mentor until Valentini's death. He was active in the musical life of his court in a number of ways, including personally auditioning new singers, furnishing texts for his court musicians to set, and overseeing the preparations for operas and other musical events at court.⁶² Ferdinand III's affinity for music was widely known in his day and frequently mentioned by writers. The Venetian ambassador Girolamo Giustinani, for example, commented that 'music is his sole delight; he composes well and exquisitely judges voices and the art.'⁶³ Musicians throughout Europe knew of the Emperor's passion for their art and frequently honoured him with dedications of music prints.⁶⁴ Even well over a hundred years after his death a dictionary entry related that Ferdinand was 'praised by all writers of his time as a great connoisseur and patron of music.'⁶⁵

Ferdinand began assembling a personal chapel before becoming emperor; he first started hiring musicians in 1631, in preparation for his marriage to his first wife, Maria of Spain. For his *maestro di cappella* he borrowed a musician from his father, Pietro Verdina (c. 1600-43), who continued to serve in Ferdinand II's chapel while holding this new post. The rest of the younger Ferdinand's chapel was extremely modest; in fact, the only other musician who can be documented as serving Ferdinand III in the early 1630s is a bass singer by the name of Anselm Handler.⁶⁶ The modest size of his musical establishment changed, however, when he ascended the imperial throne in 1637 and inherited his father's chapel.

Modern German Culture, ed. Max Reinhart, Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies 40 (Kirkville, 1998), 187-208; Andrew H. Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage: Motets at the Habsburg Court in Vienna during the Reign of Ferdinand III (1637-1657)' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002); Andrew H. Weaver, 'Music in the Service of Counter-Reformation Politics: The Immaculate Conception at the Habsburg Court of Ferdinand III (1637-1657)', in *Music & Letters* 87 (2006), 361-78; and Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012).

62 Ferdinand's involvement with his musicians is discussed in Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 63-64, 70-71.

63 'La musica è l'unica sua delectatione, compone bene, e giudica delle voci e dell'arte equisitamente'; Joseph Fiedler (ed.), *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1866-67), vol. 1, 387.

64 For a list of nineteen musical works dedicated to Ferdinand III, see Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 45-46, n. 25.

65 Cited in Saunders, 'Der Kaiser als Künstler', 188. The original source is Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790-92; reprint, Graz, 1977), col. 404.

66 VienneHSA 186, fol. 97r lists the bass singer 'Anselmus Kandler' serving Ferdinand III from 1631 to December 1632.

Unlike previous generations of Habsburg emperors (including his father), Ferdinand chose to retain all his predecessor's musicians, and he continued the practice of maintaining a chapel of mammoth proportions. Upon his ascension to the throne, the total number of people in the imperial chapel exceeded ninety, of which fifty-four were adult male musicians (twenty-five singers and twenty-nine instrumentalists); the rest consisted of at least fifteen trumpeters, ten choirboys, nine female singers, and various other personnel.⁶⁷ Ferdinand continued to maintain a chapel of about this size for as long as possible. Only at the nadir of the Thirty Years' War, in 1645 with Vienna under siege by the Swedish army, did the Emperor deem it necessary to drastically cut back on his musical expenditures, reducing the number of adult male musicians to thirty.⁶⁸ Ferdinand began to rebuild the chapel as soon as he was able. By 1650 the number of musicians had increased to thirty-six, and the numbers went up every year thereafter until the end of his reign; the Emperor even rehired several musicians whom he had released in 1645. A list of the chapel membership published by Gabriel Bucelinus in 1655 (but reflecting the membership from no later than 1653) contains the names of fifty-two people (including forty professional musicians and five field trumpeters),⁶⁹ while a pamphlet itemizing every person in the entourage that accompanied Ferdinand III to the diet of Regensburg (1653-54) lists forty-three musicians and eleven trumpeters.⁷⁰ These numbers were further augmented with a spate of hirings during the last three full years of Ferdinand's reign.

Not surprising for somebody who studied composition with Valentini and grew up steeped in the Italianate culture fostered by his father and stepmother, Ferdinand continued to employ primarily Italian musicians. In the early years of his reign, the focus stayed on northern Italy: Ferdinand retained the services of his mentor Valentini as chapel master (to the chagrin of Verdina, who had to settle for vice-chapel master), and upon Valentini's death in 1649, he promoted

67 The other personnel included copyists, librarians, instrument makers, and *Calcanten* (organ blowers). For a detailed discussion of the composition of Ferdinand III's chapel, including comprehensive tables enumerating the membership by year, see Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 54-75, 83-90.

68 Ferdinand, however, recompensed them for all back wages and let them live in their quarters for as long as necessary.

69 Gabriel Bucelinus, *Germania topo- chrono- stemmato-graphica sacra et profana*, 2 vols. (Ulm, 1655-57), vol. 1, 279-80.

70 *Der Röm. Kayserl. Mayest. Ferdinandi III. Wie auch Der Röm. Königl. Mayest. Ferdinandi IV. Hoff-Stat: Wie sich derselbe in Jahren 1653. und 1654. uff dem Reichstag zu Regensburg eingefunden* (Frankfurt, 1654), 12-14. This list does not include every chapel member, as some musicians would have been left behind to continue performing liturgical services in Vienna.

to the position the Veronese composer and violinist Antonio Bertali (1605-69), who had been a member of the imperial chapel since at least 1624. Early in his reign, however, the Emperor's interest shifted south, from northern Italian musicians to musicians from Rome.⁷¹ The first important Roman musician to be employed at the imperial court was Giovanni Felice Sances (c. 1600-79), a native Roman who had been educated at the Jesuit *Collegio Germanico* and who entered imperial service in December 1636, following a stint in Venice.⁷² Sances quickly rose to prominence in the chapel. He was by far one of the most prolific composers at Ferdinand III's court, publishing seven volumes of sacred music during the first ten years of the Emperor's reign.⁷³ In 1649 he was appointed vice-chapel master; both he and Bertali retained their positions under Ferdinand's successor Leopold I, and upon Bertali's death in 1669, Sances was appointed chapel master. The *Collegio Germanico* seems to have been an important source of musicians for Ferdinand III's chapel; many of the musicians hired in the 1640s and 1650s seem to have found their way to Vienna by means of this important Jesuit institution.⁷⁴

Ferdinand III nevertheless also employed native musicians; in fact, the number of chapel members from German-speaking lands may have been greater during his reign than during his father's. Notably, the greatest concentration of German musicians can be found among the instrumental ensemble; of the twenty-seven instrumentalists listed by Bucelinus, all but four hailed from north of the Alps. This seems to be evidence of a lively native tradition of instrumental technique at the imperial court; Peter Holman, in fact, has pointed to what he considers signs of an Austrian tradition of string playing apparent in Monteverdi's later works dedicated to the Habsburgs.⁷⁵ Among the prominent native musicians in Ferdinand III's chapel were the keyboard

71 Valerio Morucci has recently argued that ties between the imperial court and Rome began during Ferdinand II's reign, via the diplomat Paolo Savelli: 'Musical Patronage and Diplomacy: The Case of Prince Paolo Savelli (†1632)', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 24 (2018), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-24-no-1/morucci-musical-patronage>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

72 The best biography of Sances is in the Introduction to Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (1638), ed. Steven Saunders, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 126 (Middleton, WI, 2003), ix-xii.

73 On Sances's publications, see Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 128-42, and Chapter 11 of this volume.

74 See Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome-St. Louis, 1970).

75 Peter Holman, '"Col nobilissimo esercizio della vivuola": Monteverdi's String Writing', in *Early Music* 21 (1993), 580 and 587-88.

players Wolfgang Ebner (1612-65) and Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-67), as well as the violinist Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620/23-80), who served as vice-chapel master under Sances and who, upon Sances's death, became the first non-Italian musician to serve as chapel master for this Austrian line, and the only one to do so until the appointment of Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741) in 1715.

The chapel continued to serve all the same functions under Ferdinand III that it had under his father. The practice of stational worship continued throughout his reign, becoming ever more regimented into standard practice.⁷⁶ Even when he was visiting other cities in the Empire, the Emperor and his retinue heard worship services at different churches throughout the city, while members of his chapel continued to observe services in Viennese churches. Spectacular performances of dramatic works in the Italian language – opera, ballet, and oratorio – continued apace, but with a break during the lean years of the war.⁷⁷ As was the case with his father, the most important focus of Ferdinand III's musical patronage was Latin-texted sacred music, which continued to be wielded as an important political weapon in the Habsburgs' Counter-Reformation program during the Thirty Years' War. As Andrew H. Weaver has argued, sacred music also proved to be a valuable means by which Ferdinand could shift his public image as the war steadily turned against the Habsburgs during the 1640s, allowing him to transform his image from that of a heroic, victorious warrior to a pious, protective father looking out for his citizens under the care of God.⁷⁸ Sances's motet books of the late 1630s, for instance, feature a number of settings of psalm texts that extol God for deliverance from enemies, thereby portraying Ferdinand III as a victorious King David; the same composer's motet book of 1642, in contrast, features a work in which King Solomon prays for God's protection of his people, shifting the Emperor's image from the bellicose David to the wise, peaceful Solomon.⁷⁹

Ferdinand III's chapel continued the same musical practices as his father's; in fact, many of the choirbooks of *stile antico* liturgical repertoire were recopied during his reign. But cutting-edge music in the latest styles, both large-scale *concertato* works for various combinations of voices and instruments and small-scale works for few voices and continuo, remained an important focus.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 100-6.

⁷⁷ On operatic performances at Ferdinand III's court, see Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 68-85.

⁷⁸ Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, esp. 159-92.

⁷⁹ Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 160-82.

⁸⁰ A sampling of the styles of Latin sacred music at Ferdinand's court is available in the modern editions Sances, *Motetti*, ed. Saunders; Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e*

Given the geographical shift in the chapel membership from northern Italy to Rome, it should come as no surprise that musical styles at the imperial court also shifted from Venetian polychoral idioms reminiscent of the Gabriellis to styles cultivated in the Eternal City. Just as the first Eleonora Gonzaga had been instrumental in bringing northern Italian music and musicians to the Viennese court, so too does Ferdinand III's third wife, also named Eleonora Gonzaga (1630–86, married in 1651), seem to have been important in bringing Roman styles, genres, and musicians to the imperial court. The Venetian ambassador to the imperial court remarked in 1661, for instance, that Elenora had introduced the oratorio 'al'uso di Roma' to the Viennese court.⁸¹

Two styles of Roman sacred music seem to have taken hold in Vienna by the 1640s. The first is the so-called *concertato alla Romana*, in which the unpredictable kaleidoscopic textural shifts of Venetian *concertato* music are replaced with a sectional approach, in which each section of the work is for different performing forces.⁸² The second Roman style that found its way to Vienna is the so-called 'Colossal Baroque', in which the performing forces are divided into multiple choirs (usually four or more) positioned in different areas of the church, often on elevated choir lofts located quite a distance from each other and encircling the congregation.⁸³ Although there is not an abundance of evidence that music in the Colossal Baroque style was performed at the imperial court (not surprisingly, as this is music that tended not to be preserved), there is nevertheless enough to prove that Ferdinand III cultivated polychoral music with spatially separated forces. The practice may have even started with Ferdinand II, for Valentini's above-mentioned seven-choir *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo* of 1621 seems to be an early example. Examples of Colossal Baroque music from Ferdinand III's reign include two motets by Verdina that survive in

cinque voci (1642), ed. Andrew H. Weaver, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 148 (Middleton, WI, 2008); and Andrew H. Weaver (ed.), *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III and Other Musicians from the Habsburg Court, 1637–1657*, Collegium Musicum: Yale University, second series 18 (Middleton, WI, 2012).

81 Steven Saunders, 'The Antecedents of the Viennese Sepolcro', in *Relazioni musicali tra Italia e Germania nell'età barocca*, ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como, 1997), 65. See also Marko Deisinger, 'Römische Oratorien am Hof der Habsburger in Wien in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts: Zur Einführung und Etablierung des Oratoriums in der kaiserlichen Residenz', in *Musicologica austriaca* 29 (2010), 89–114.

82 On the *stile concertato alla Romana*, see Graham Dixon, 'Concertato alla Romana and Polychoral Music in Rome', in *La scuola policorale romana del sei-settecento*, ed. Francesco Luisi et al. (Trent, 1997), 129–34.

83 On the 'Colossal Baroque', see Graham Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque"', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979–80), 115–28.

manuscript,⁸⁴ as well as a print by the non-court musician Andreas Rauch of motets for up to fourteen voices divided into three, four, and five choirs, published in Vienna in 1648 with a dedication to Ferdinand III to celebrate the end of the Thirty Years' War.⁸⁵ There are also at least two descriptions of performances of multi-choir music during Ferdinand III's reign. A report of the grand ceremony in 1647 consecrating the Emperor's *Mariensäule* (Marian column) in Vienna's *Platz am Hof* describes the singing of the Litany of Loreto by 'many choruses of both voices and instruments',⁸⁶ and in 1653 the famous castrato Atto Melani described in a letter the music performed in Regensburg for the election of Ferdinand IV (Ferdinand III's eldest son) as King of the Romans, mentioning that it included a *Te Deum* and a mass 'con molti chori'.⁸⁷

Ferdinand's chapel was by no means the only group of musicians active at the imperial court. The Dowager Empress Eleonora Gonzaga continued to exert influence on music at the Viennese court until her death in 1655, even (as mentioned above) constituting her own chapel of about twenty musicians.⁸⁸ One of the most important contributions she made to musical life at Ferdinand III's court was her institution in 1637 of the Fifteen Mysteries Devotion, a Lenten celebration held annually in the court church, the *Augustinerkirche*. Early observances of this Marian devotion involved music (including motets by Ferdinand III, one of which has survived) and scenic backdrops, thus setting the stage for the later Viennese *sepolcro*, an opera-like sacred genre

84 Modern edition in Pietro Verdina, *Two Concerted Motets*, ed. Andrew H. Weaver, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music 28 (September 2013), <<http://sscm-wlscm.org>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

85 Andreas Rauch, *Currus triumphalis musicus, Imperatorum Romanorum Tredecim ex Augustissima Archiducali Domo Austriaca* (Vienna, 1648) [RISM R342]. For more information about this print, see Andrew H. Weaver, 'The Materiality of Musical Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Representation and Negotiation in Andreas Rauch's *Currus triumphalis musicus* (1648)', in *Journal of Musicology* 35 (2018), 460–97, and Chapter 11 of this volume.

86 Vilem Slavata, *Maria virgo immaculate concepta: Publico voto Ferdinandi III. Rom. Imp. in Austriae patronam electa* (Vienna, 1648), sig. B3r: 'Insecutus est Symphoniacorum omnium e tota urbe collectorum, et in plures qua vocom, qua instrumentorum, ac etiam tubarum campestrium, ac tympanorum choros divisorum plausus.' For more information about the *Mariensäule* and this ceremony, see Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 236–48.

87 MantuaAS E.v1.3, busta 554, fasc. Atto Melani – 1653: 'Per la nuova dell'elettione del Rè de Romani, si cantò Giovedì mattina nella Chiesa di S. Francesco il Tedeu~ [Te Deum] et una messa con molti chori di musica in rendim:to di gratie....'

88 Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga'. See also the list of musicians who served Eleonora in Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 69.

performed during Lent.⁸⁹ Ferdinand's younger brother Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614-62) was also an avid patron of music, supporting his own chapel of about twenty musicians and maintaining a collection of music and musical instruments, both at the Viennese court and, starting in 1646, at his court in Brussels as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.⁹⁰ Important composers who served the Archduke include Orazio Benevoli (1605-72) and Johann Caspar Kerll (1627-93); he even tried repeatedly to coax the celebrated Roman composer Giacomo Carissimi (1605-74) into his service. Leopold Wilhelm was the dedicatee of at least eight musical works, including the monumental treatise *Musurgia universalis* by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher, which was published with support from the Habsburgs.⁹¹ Membership among the various chapels at the imperial court was rather fluid; Leopold Wilhelm and Eleonora frequently borrowed musicians from the Emperor (with some musicians simultaneously serving in two chapels), and service to the Archduke or Dowager Empress was often used as a stepping stone to membership in the Emperor's chapel. In one case, however, the opposite happened: When Ferdinand III was forced to reduce the size of his chapel in 1645, many musicians moved directly into the service of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.⁹²

4 Leopold I

Prepared for the priesthood, Leopold was thrust into the role as successor to Ferdinand III following the sudden death of his older brother Ferdinand IV in

89 Saunders, 'The Antecedents', 61-65. Three motets by Ferdinand III intended for the Fifteen Mysteries Devotion are listed in the *Distinta specificazione*, a manuscript catalogue of Leopold I's music library: ViennB Sup. Mus. 2451, fol. 2r. A modern edition of the surviving motet, 'Popule meus', is in Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*, 19-25.

90 Lists of musicians who served Leopold Wilhelm are provided in Seifert, 'Die Brüder Ferdinand III. und Leopold Wilhelm', 15-16 and Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 68. A manuscript catalogue of his music library and musical instruments survives in ViennKA W61/A/32, fols. 2-11.

91 A list of works dedicated to the Archduke is in Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 52, n. 46. On Kircher's relationship with the Habsburgs and its impact on the *Musurgia*, see Eric Bianchi, 'Prodigious Sounds: Music and Learning in the World of Athanasius Kircher' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011), 30-39.

92 Leopold Wilhelm informed one of his officials in a letter of 1 March 1645 that due to 'the reform of the Hofstatt' he would be taking on the services of several of his brother's musicians. See Steven Saunders, 'Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II (1615-1637): The Latin Vocal Works of Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1990), vol. 1, 55 and vol. 2, 866 (Documents 16 and 17).

1654.⁹³ Noticeably unattractive and somewhat indecisive, Leopold formed a stark contrast to his lifelong arch-rival, Louis XIV. Freed from the pressures of the Thirty Years' War, Leopold focused on strengthening Catholicism within his diverse lands and dramatically increasing support of all the arts, especially music. The siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire in 1683 severely tested his control of the Habsburg Empire, but once the Turks had been driven from Vienna and the Habsburg forces had reclaimed control of Hungary, Leopold emerged as a more confident and decisive leader.⁹⁴ He would be severely challenged once again during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), a conflict that would determine whether Leopold's younger son Charles or the French Philip, Duke of Anjou, would inherit the Spanish throne following the death of the mentally deficient Habsburg monarch Charles II.⁹⁵ Leopold did not live to witness the conclusion of the war in favour of the French claimant.

To a great extent, the remarkable cultural growth that took place in Vienna during the second half of the seventeenth century can be attributed to Leopold himself. The Emperor was especially interested in developing the manuscript and print holdings of the imperial library, which increased by approximately ten thousand volumes during his reign. A catalogue of music manuscripts dated 1684 and titled *Distinta specificatione Dell'Archivio Musicale per il Servizio della chiesa e Camera Della Sacra Ces.^a Real. Maestà di Aug.^{mo} Imperat.^e* (ViennNB Sup. Mus. 2451) inventories a large number of works, many of which are lost. The extant portion of his music library, the *Collezione Leopoldina*, is preserved in the present-day *Musiksammlung* of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.⁹⁶ For his personal use he also maintained a library of music manuscripts, which were kept in his large private bedroom for special performances attended by handpicked guests.⁹⁷

93 On Austrian political and cultural history during the reign of Leopold I, see Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge, 1994), 53-149; John P. Spielman, *The City and the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court, 1600-1740* (West Lafayette, IN, 1993); Franz Martin Mayer and Raimund Kaindl, *Geschichte und Kulturleben Österreichs*, ed. Hans Pirchegger (Vienna, 1958-65), 186-265; and Erich Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs* (Munich, 1984), 246-303.

94 On Leopold's changing image, see Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz, 2000), 229-33.

95 For an account of the War of the Spanish Succession, see Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 107-18.

96 See Mayer and Kaindl, *Geschichte und Kulturlebens Österreichs*, 252-53.

97 The history of Leopold's private collection of music manuscripts is traced in Josef Gmeiner, 'Die "Schlafkammerbibliothek" Kaiser Leopolds I.', in *Biblos* 43 (1994), 199-211.

A reflection of his broad education, Leopold's interests in the arts were unusually diverse, but he especially favoured music. He paid the personnel of the imperial chapel as much as ten thousand florins annually, a lavish sum of money in the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ Leopold himself laid down specific rules for the organization and conduct of the chapel members.⁹⁹ An accomplished performer on the harpsichord and recorder, he was, like his father, active as a composer throughout his adult life. Of the four emperor-composers – Ferdinand III, Leopold himself, Joseph I, and Charles VI – he was by far the most prolific and probably the most naturally gifted.¹⁰⁰ Leopold composed at least nine sacred dramatic compositions, eleven secular dramatic works (written in Italian or German), a number of liturgical pieces, over one hundred dances for violin and continuo, and a few vocal chamber pieces. In addition, he provided many individual arias that were inserted into dramatic works by composers active at the Habsburg court.¹⁰¹

Two other members of the Habsburg family were vital to the encouragement of music during Leopold's reign. The emperor's uncle Archduke Leopold Wilhelm returned to Vienna from Brussels upon Ferdinand III's death in 1657 and continued being active in court musical life. The Dowager Empress Eleonora Gonzaga followed the example of the previous Eleonora Gonzaga in supporting her own sizable chapel and participating actively in musical life at the imperial court.¹⁰² She sang in many *Gala-Tage* compositions such as the

98 On the salaries of musicians, see Franz Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof: Mit einem Spielplan (1625-1740)*, Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung 1951/52 (Vienna, 1955), 64.

99 In his autograph instructions attached to a letter dated 27 May 1687 from Draghi to the *Obersthofmeister*, Prince Dietrichstein, Leopold outlined rules for the deportment of musicians; a German translation of the letter appears in Ida Maria Lipsius (La Mara), *Musikerbriefe aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1886), 122.

100 For more about Leopold as a composer, see especially Günther Brosche, 'Die musikalische Werke Kaiser Leopold I.: Ein systematisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Kompositionen', in *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Franz Graserberger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Günther Brosche (Tutzing, 1975), 27-82.

101 For example, Leopold composed arias for two operas by Sances; see John Whenham, 'Giovanni Felice Sances, the Emperor Leopold I and Two Operas for the Viennese Court', in *Il teatro musicale italiano nel Sacro Romano Impero nei secoli XVII e XVIII: Atti del Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII, Laveno di Menaggio (Como), 15-17 luglio 1997*, ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como, 1999), 311-38.

102 On the Dowager Empress's chapel, see Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', and Marko Deisinger, 'The Music Chapel of Empress Eleonora II: Source-Related Difficulties in Researching the History of an Italian-Dominated Institution in Vienna (1657-1686)', in *Athens Journal of Humanities and Arts* 3 (2016), 171-80. See also the discussion of Eleonora's musical patronage in Chapter 15 of this volume.

cantata *Lo specchio* by Antonio Draghi, which celebrated Eleonora's birthday in 1676 by extolling the joys of singing. She also collaborated with Leopold Wilhelm in establishing a Viennese literary academy in the Italian manner, where music was often heard, a practice that had begun in the final years of Ferdinand III's reign. Membership in the academy shifted from Italian diplomats and military figures at the beginning to prominent Italian men of letters after the founding of the *Accademia degl'Illustrati* by Eleonora in 1668. Draghi and Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli contributed works performed during sessions of this academy. Eventually Leopold I sponsored his own academy, which held its first meeting on 7 January 1674.¹⁰³

During the late seventeenth century, a strict protocol based upon the Catholic liturgy, important historical events, and significant dates in the lives of imperial family members determined the schedule of musical performances at court. The Emperor maintained the pattern of stational worship with his chapel that had been instituted by Ferdinand II and continued by Ferdinand III. The birthdays and name days of the Emperor and Empresses (Margarita Teresa, 1651-73; Claudia Felicitas, 1653-76; and Eleonora Magdalena, 1655-1720), as well as the birthdays and name days of archdukes and archduchesses, provided ample opportunities throughout the year for elaborate celebrations with music. Other occasions that inspired celebrations with music included the marriages of prominent members of the imperial family, the birth of Leopold's heir (the future Joseph I, 26 July 1678), the ascent of Archduke Joseph to the title of King of the Romans at the age of eleven (26 January 1690), battle victories, and academic occasions.

4.1 *Chapel Personnel*

The personnel of the court chapel under Leopold I followed the example of his father's and grandfather's chapels in that it included administrators, composers, male and female singers, *Singerknaben* (choirboys), instrumentalists, instrument makers, professional scribes, and servants. Rather than substantially supplementing the number of musicians in Ferdinand III's chapel, during the first half of his reign Leopold instead increased expenditures for lavish performances of dramatic music. Once the threat of the Turkish siege of Vienna had receded, the number of court musicians grew steadily. By 1705, the year of the Emperor's death, the total had risen to 105.¹⁰⁴ Italian and Austrian musicians

103 For a detailed discussion of the origin and evolution of academic meetings in Vienna during Leopold I's reign, see Herbert Seifert, 'Akademien am Wiener Kaiserhof der Barockzeit', in *Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken, 1993), 215-23.

104 Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*, 10.

made up the majority of the chapel membership, with the percentage of Italians increasing throughout the late seventeenth century.

In his landmark study of the chapel membership, Köchel divided the years of service into periods of roughly twenty to thirty years each. The two periods that cover Leopold I's reign are 1657-79 and 1680-1711.¹⁰⁵ The list of members for the earlier period begins with the names of *Kapellmeister*, *vice-Kapellmeister*, and court theatre director (*Hoftheater-Intendant*, a position that did not exist under the previous emperors),¹⁰⁶ followed by organists, singers (basses, tenors, male altos, and male sopranos), boy sopranos, and instrumentalists. The list of singers does not include the names of women (but see below). At the end of the list of instrumentalists, Köchel indicates that the court employed eight to nine trumpet players, one to two copyists, one *Calcant*, one lute maker, one servant, and one librarian (*Stimbenzusambentrager*).¹⁰⁷ For the period 1680-1711 Köchel likewise begins with the names of *Kapellmeister*, *vice-Kapellmeister*, and court theatre director, but he then proceeds with the names of six court composers (*Compositoren*), organists, and singers. Carlo Agostino Badia (1672-1738) was the first to be given the newly created position of court composer, receiving the appointment on 1 July 1694.¹⁰⁸ At the end of the lists for basses, tenors, male altos, and male sopranos, Köchel lists three female singers, of which two (Anna Maria 'Lisi' Badia and Cunigonda Sutterin) served during Leopold's reign. Rather than grouping all the instrumentalists in one large category, as he did for the period 1657-79, Köchel divides them into lists of violinists, violoncellists, violonists, theorbists, bassoonists, percussionists, oboists, cornetto players, lutenist, and trumpet players. At the end of the list he also mentions two organ builders and *Calcanten*, one lute maker, and two servants. For each chapel musician Köchel provides detailed information about years of employment, salaries, raises, pensions, and – whenever known to Köchel – death dates for musicians whose lives ended during their imperial service. To supplement their salaries, many musicians received additional sums from the Emperor and from the Dowager Empress Eleonora. For example, Fillippo Vismarri received 150 guilders in 1665 to send for his sister from Italy so that she could marry the court singer Baldassare Poggioli. Sometimes the additional

105 Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*, 62-72.

106 The title of *Hoftheater-Intendant* appears to have been created for Antonio Draghi, who held the position from 1 January 1674 until the end of 1681.

107 Some of the trumpet players may have been 'non-musical' trumpeters who served as part of the stables, as in the chapels of Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III.

108 For this information, the author is indebted to Eva Halfar Badura-Skoda.

sums were given in recognition of outstanding service; for example, Eleonora rewarded Carlo Cappellini with the substantial sum of 225 guilders in 1669.¹⁰⁹

As mentioned above, the imperial court also sustained an impressive chapel patronized by the Dowager Empress and consisting almost entirely of Italian musicians.¹¹⁰ Although the membership of the two chapels was distinct, interchange of personnel for special performances was common, as during Ferdinand III's reign. It is fascinating to follow the careers of these musicians as they advanced professionally, often finding their way to new positions in the Emperor's service. In fact, after Eleonora's death in 1686, her chapel was absorbed by the Emperor.

In general, a composer's nationality defined his duties. Italians prepared dramatic music (opera, oratorio, *sepolcro*, serenata, and cantata) for performance, while German-speaking composers focused upon instrumental ensemble music, keyboard music, liturgical compositions, music for Jesuit dramas, and ballet music for secular dramatic works. Separation of duties was not entirely strict. Keyboard composers included not only Austrians such as Kerll and Ferdinand Tobias Richter (1649-1711), but also the Italian Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683). Such exceptions were nevertheless rare.

4.2 *The Succession of Kapellmeister*

The first *Kapellmeister* to serve under Leopold was Bertali, who continued in the post to which Ferdinand III had appointed him. Following his death, Bertali was succeeded by his *vice-Kapellmeister* Sances. Together, Bertali and Sances composed a vast amount of sacred and secular vocal music for the imperial court. Unfortunately, only a small percentage of Bertali's compositions are extant.¹¹¹ Sances's successor, the Austrian Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, applied officially on 18 December 1679 for the position, which was made retroactive to 1 October. Due to Sances's advanced age upon becoming *Kapellmeister*, Schmelzer had already been performing most of the responsibilities of the position before 1679.

109 For additional details, see Herwig Knaus, *Die Musiker im Archivbestand des Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisteramtes (1637-1705)*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1967-69).

110 For details about the membership of Eleonora's chapel, see Herwig Knaus, 'Wiener Hofquartierbücher als biographische Quelle für Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung* 16 (1965), 178-206. See also Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', and Deisinger, 'The Music Chapel of Empress Eleonora II'.

111 Details can be found in the *Distinta Specificatione* (ViennNB Sup. Mus. 2451), which also itemizes the large amount of Sances's music that has also been lost.

Schmelzer achieved considerable fame as a violinist throughout his career, receiving an official appointment to the court orchestra on 1 October 1649. He enjoyed a special relationship with Leopold I. For example, he was placed in charge of instrumental music for Leopold's coronation at Frankfurt, and the Emperor even sought Schmelzer's advice with regard to his own compositions. He received a title of nobility on 14 June 1673. Schmelzer took refuge in Prague with the court retinue during the plague, but unfortunately the plague had spread to Prague, and Schmelzer died sometime between 29 February and 20 March 1680, having served as *Kapellmeister* only a few months.¹¹² Schmelzer's early death left the position vacant.

Because of the plague, the entire court was away from Vienna throughout 1680 and most of 1681, and the Emperor did not choose a new *Kapellmeister* for nearly two years. Antonio Draghi (1634-1700) finally succeeded Schmelzer on 1 January 1682. Before arriving in Vienna, the youthful Draghi had established himself in northern Italy as a singer, first as a boy soprano, then as a bass. It was as a singer that he began his career in Vienna. The earliest music attributed to Draghi is a *compositiōne drammatica* entitled *La mascherata*, where he is named in the score as 'musicò dell'Imperatrice [Eleonora]'. During the 1660s he also provided librettos for dramatic works by Bertali, Giuseppe Tricarico, and Pietro Andrea Ziani.

Draghi was to become one of the most prolific Italian composers of the seventeenth century.¹¹³ During the 1670s alone he composed more dramatic works for Vienna than all other composers combined. Once he had attained the title of *Kapellmeister* to the Emperor, his productivity continued unabated. Serving the court without a *vice-Kapellmeister* throughout most of his tenure, he shouldered not only heavy demands for new compositions but also administrative responsibilities. From the time of his appointment until his death, Draghi retained a relationship with Leopold that closely paralleled the relationship between Jean-Baptiste Lully and Louis XIV, in which he enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the composition of dramatic music for court entertainment.¹¹⁴

112 For more about Schmelzer, see Rudolf Schnitzler, 'Schmelzer, Heinrich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 22, 326-28.

113 For a general study of the life and works of Draghi, see Rudolf Schnitzler (with Herbert Seifert), 'Draghi, Antonio', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 7, 545-51. For details about Draghi's secular dramatic works, see Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*. Concerning the sacred works, see Rudolf Schnitzler, 'The Sacred Dramatic Music of Antonio Draghi' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1971).

114 Concerning the centralization of music in France, see Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, 1973).

Leopold clearly held his *Kapellmeister* in high regard and contributed arias to many of Draghi's dramatic works.

To assist the ailing *Kapellmeister* near the end of his imperial service, Leopold finally appointed Antonio Pancotti (d. 1709) as his *vice-Kapellmeister* in 1697. Following Draghi's death on 18 January 1700, Pancotti assumed the title of *Kapellmeister*. Unlike Draghi, Pancotti contributed few dramatic works to the court repertoire, devoting his energy instead to administrative responsibilities.

4.3 *Important Composers of Vocal Music*

Besides Bertali, Sances, and Draghi, an impressive list of prominent Italian composers joined the Habsburg chapel during Leopold I's reign. Some, like the chapel masters, spent decades in the service of the Emperor. Others stayed for only brief periods or alternated their creative activities between Austrian and northern Italian courts. The striking list of gifted composers includes Giuseppe Tricarico (1623-97), Antonio Cesti (1623-69), Pietro Andrea Ziani (c. 1616-84), Filippo Vismarri (before 1635-1706?), Antonio Maria Viviani (before 1630?-1683), Carlo Cappellini (before 1635-84), and Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli (before 1650-89).

These composers brought their talents from a wide variety of Italian cities: Tricarico from Gallipoli with extensive experience in Rome, Ziani from Venice, Vismarri from Bologna, Viviani probably from Florence, Cappellini and Pederzuoli from Brescia. Most of them received appointments in the chapel of the Dowager Empress. Tricarico, for example, served Eleonora as her *Kapellmeister* beginning in 1656. He probably returned to Gallipoli in 1662 after Ziani replaced him as Eleonora's *Kapellmeister*. Cappellini and Pederzuoli began their service in Vienna as organists at Eleonora's court, Cappellini in 1659 and Pederzuoli perhaps as early as 1670. Pederzuoli succeeded Draghi as Eleonora's *Kapellmeister* in 1682 and continued in this position until her death in 1686, after which he went to Venice.

Several composers came to Vienna after serving Archduke Ferdinand Charles of Tyrol, a second cousin of Leopold. Viviani was engaged at Innsbruck even before 1648. In 1673 he went with the widowed Archduchess Anna from Innsbruck to Vienna, where he was appointed *maestro di cappella* to her daughter, Empress Claudia Felicitas, Leopold's second wife. Ziani also served at Innsbruck before beginning his service at Eleonora's chapel, first as *vice-Kapellmeister*, then as *Kapellmeister*. Only Cappellini and Viviani transferred from the Dowager Empress's chapel to the imperial court chapel. On 27 April 1665 Cappellini was appointed court organist, and Leopold continued to employ Viviani even after Claudia Felicitas's death in 1676. The soprano castrato Vismarri, on the other hand, served only at the Emperor's court, beginning 1

April 1650 until his retirement in 1683, after which he continued to receive a pension.

Cesti became one of the most renowned opera composers of his generation.¹¹⁵ His presence in Austria from as early as December 1652 fuelled fresh interest in Italian dramatic music at Habsburg courts. In that year he received an appointment as *maestro di cappella* at the Innsbruck court of Archduke Ferdinand Charles. Much in demand, Cesti moved about between Austrian and Italian courts, both as a tenor and as a composer. After the deaths of Ferdinand Charles (30 December 1662) and his successor Sigismund Franz (24 June 1665), the imperial crown assumed control of Tyrol, and the flourishing Innsbruck chapel was absorbed by the Habsburgs in Vienna.

By the time he arrived in Vienna in 1666, Cesti's music had already begun to circulate there. He received the appointment of *cappellano d'honore* and *intendente delle musiche* on 1 January, although he did not arrive in Vienna before 22 April. Later in that year he became *vice-Kapellmeister*, a position he held simultaneously with Sances. The highlight of his activity was undoubtedly the celebrated opera *Il pomo d'oro* (12 and 14 July 1668), a colossal allegorical work that climaxed the splendid festivities for the marriage of Leopold and the Infanta Margarita Teresa of Spain.¹¹⁶ Cesti's service at the imperial court was to be short-lived, for he soon received the Emperor's permission to leave for Tuscany because of family and health, never to return to Vienna.

The composers who served in Vienna during the second half of the seventeenth century provided a rich variety of vocal music genres: opera, oratorio, *sepolcro*, cantata, and liturgical music. Undoubtedly the most important Italian opera composer, apart from Draghi and Cesti, was Ziani. Having established a flourishing reputation as an opera composer in Venice, Ziani produced no fewer than eight secular dramatic works for festive occasions in Vienna. Ziani also composed six oratorios for Vienna. In 1660 the court produced Vismarri's opera, *L'Orontea*, a setting of the famous libretto by G. A. Cicognini that was first set to music by Cesti (Venice, 1649).¹¹⁷ Tricarico and Cappellini also produced a handful of secular and sacred dramatic works. Vismarri and

115 For Cesti's biography, see especially Herbert Seifert, 'Cesti and His Opera Troupe in Innsbruck and Vienna', in *Rivista musicale italiana* 37 (2003), 15-61, and David L. Burrows and Carl B. Schmidt, 'Cesti, Antonio', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 5, 394-400.

116 See Carl B. Schmidt, 'Antonio Cesti's *Il pomo d'oro*: A Reexamination of a Famous Hapsburg Court Spectacle', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 381-412.

117 For more about Vismarri's *L'Orontea*, see especially William C. Holmes, 'Yet Another "Orontea"', in *Venezia e il melodrama nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence, 1976), 204-5.

Cappellini excelled at composing charming Italian cantatas, which consist of a free intermingling of recitatives, ariosos, and brief arias. Five of Vismarri's cantatas are designated as *cantate morali*. Pederzuoli's cantatas for academic occasions display a command of contrapuntal techniques that would surely have pleased the erudite tastes of the Habsburg court.¹¹⁸ Pederzuoli's list of other compositions written for Vienna include *sepolcri*, oratorios, fourteen secular dramatic works, and a variety of small vocal chamber works. Summoned to Vienna from time to time by Leopold from as early as 1667, Viviani may have composed part of the Spanish opera *A un vencido vence Amor, o El Prometeo* (Vienna, 1669). This work, as well as two Spanish arias definitively attributed to him, were undoubtedly composed to please Empress Margarita Teresa.

Beginning in 1698 a new group of Italian composers entered the Emperor's service. With the arrival of Badia in 1694, Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747) in 1698, Marc'Antonio Ziani (c. 1653-1715) in 1700, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti (1681/82-1732) in 1701, Antonio Maria Bononcini (1677-1726) around 1702, and Pier Francesco Tosi (1654-1732) in 1705, musical style in Vienna underwent a radical change. For almost forty years Draghi had controlled the development of music, producing countless works of conservative but consistent quality. In comparing the works of Badia, the earliest of the new arrivals, with the music of Draghi, Egon Wellesz remarked that it is difficult to believe that the two composers were contemporaries.¹¹⁹ Vienna had indeed fallen behind the exciting style changes taking place in cities like Venice, Rome, and Naples. Regarding dramatic music, the changes included the preference for da capo arias, the regular alternation of recitative and aria, the decline in the use of arioso, and the increasing number of arias with obbligato instruments. A detailed study of the music of the newcomers belongs more appropriately to the age of Joseph I, whose influence in all aspects of court life increased steadily after 1700, well before he ascended the throne on 5 May 1705.

4.4 *Keyboard Composers*

A substantial repertoire of keyboard music was created for the Habsburgs by three prolific composers: Johann Caspar Kerll, Alessandro Poglietti (early seventeenth century-1683), and Ferdinand Tobias Richter (1649-1711). Kerll's links to the Habsburgs predated his service in Vienna, where he had studied as a youth with Valentini. He served in the Brussels court of Archduke Leopold

¹¹⁸ For more about Pederzuoli's academic cantatas, see Lawrence Bennett, *The Italian Cantata in Vienna: Entertainment in the Age of Absolutism* (Bloomington, 2013), 64-70.

¹¹⁹ Egon Wellesz, 'Die Opern und Oratorien in Wien von 1660-1708', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1919), 5-138.

Wilhelm from 1647 to 1656 and composed the mass for the coronation of Leopold I in 1658, for which he was rewarded with a title of nobility six years later. Following seventeen years at the court of Elector Ferdinand Maria in Munich, Kerll took up residence for a decade in Vienna, where he received a pension in 1675 and an appointment as one of the court organists two years later. His interest in Italian musical style derived not only from his studies with Valentini, but also from a sojourn in Rome supported by Leopold Wilhelm. His output includes numerous keyboard works, instrumental ensemble music, a large number of mass settings, at least two Italian operas, and a small number of Italian vocal chamber pieces.¹²⁰

The Italian-born Poglietti settled in Vienna around 1661. By 1 July of that year he had received an appointment as court and chamber organist in Leopold's chapel. He was especially esteemed as a teacher; monks travelled from many parts of Austria to study with him. He was eventually ennobled by the Emperor and given the title of Knight of the Golden Spur by the Pope. Unfortunately, Poglietti died during the siege of Vienna. He is often viewed as an important link between Frescobaldi and late-Baroque composers such as Bach and Handel. His large and varied keyboard output includes such compositions as twelve *ricercars* in a strict contrapuntal style and a host of programmatic works that imitate the sounds of birds, bells, and battles. On the occasion of the Emperor's third marriage, Poglietti composed the brilliant programmatic cycle *Rossignolo*.¹²¹

The youngest of the three important keyboard composers active in Vienna, the German-born Richter began his Austrian career in 1675 at the monastery of Heiligenkreuz. He succeeded Poglietti as a court and chamber organist in Vienna on 1 July 1683 and was promoted to first organist at the court chapel seven years later. Like Poglietti, he was a revered teacher; the future Emperors Joseph I and Charles VI were his pupils, as well as many south German organists who visited Vienna. Richter's music is known for its dramatic flair. He composed a number of keyboard suites that open with a prelude and fugue and continue with a group of dance movements. He also wrote a substantial

120 For biographical studies of Kerll, see C. David Harris (with Alfred C. Giebler), 'Kerll, Johann Kaspar', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 13, 491-92, and Richard Schaal, 'Quellen zu Johann Kaspar Kerll', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 99 (1962), 14-27.

121 For more information about the life and works of Poglietti, see Friedrich W. Riedel and Susan Wollenberg, 'Poglietti, Alessandro', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 19, 938-39.

number of vocal works, including operas, oratorios, music for Jesuit school plays, and a variety of sacred works.¹²²

4.5 *Composers of Instrumental Ensemble and Dance Music*

Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, his son Anton Andreas Schmelzer (1653-1701), and Johann Joseph Hoffer (1666-1729) contributed a rich repertoire of instrumental ensemble and dance music at Leopold's court. Although dance music never attained the extraordinary popularity that it enjoyed in France, the Schmelzers and Hoffer provided many suites for operas, ballets, and equestrian ballets performed at the imperial court. The ballet suites that Johann Heinrich prepared for countless performances of dramatic music between 1655 and 1680 consist of between two and nine dances, including many French and Italian examples, as well as some programmatic pieces. Schmelzer composed many sonatas, some for two violins, or for violin and viola, with continuo. Sonatas for up to eight parts, some in polychoral style, can be seen in his *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus fidium aliorumque instrumentorum* (Nuremberg, 1662) [RISM S1658]. His *Sonatae unarum fidium seu a violino solo* (Nuremberg, 1664) [RISM S1659], six sonatas for solo violin, is among the earliest printed collection dedicated entirely to this genre in German-speaking lands.

4.6 *Singers*

During the years 1657-79 the Habsburgs engaged thirteen basses, ten tenors, eight alto castrati, and eighteen soprano castrati. Nearly ninety percent of these singers were of Italian origin. The names of composers like Sances and Vismarri appear in the lists alongside names of less familiar singers. The longer stretch of 1680-1711 witnessed the service of seventeen basses, sixteen tenors, ten alto castrati, and fifteen soprano castrati. Of these, more than seventy-five percent were Italians.

Lisi Badia and Cunigonda Sutterin were not the first female singers to be engaged at the Habsburg court. As discussed above, professional female singers performed for the court as early as 1617, and Janet Page has identified sixteen singers employed in Vienna between 1617 and 1686.¹²³ Many of these women were wives of composers, such as Maria Bertali, or relatives of other

¹²² For more about Richter, see Rudolf Schnitzler, 'Richter, Ferdinand Tobias', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London 2001), vol. 21, 338-39.

¹²³ Janet K. Page, 'Sirens on the Danube: Giulia Masotti and Women Singers at the Imperial Court', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (2011, published 2015), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-17-no-1/sirens-on-the-danube-giulia-masotti-and-women-singers-at-the-imperial-court>> (accessed 25 June 2020), 3.1 (Table 1).

musicians or court employees. Before Badia and Sutterin, Giulia Masotti (c. 1650-1701) was undoubtedly the preeminent female singer during Leopold I's reign. Having established a career as a star soprano in Venice, Masotti was appointed to Empress Claudia Felicitas's court in 1673. At Innsbruck on 5 September of that year she sang in a serenade on the occasion of the engagement of Claudia Felicitas and Leopold. She earned an extraordinary salary of 1,500 florins plus bonuses – higher than that of the leading castrati. According to Page, she often performed for the personal entertainment of the Emperor and Empress in *Haus Concerten* (chamber music concerts), sometimes with the soprano castrato Vincenzino. The Empress herself occasionally participated as a singer. Masotti's singing in Antonio Draghi's opera *Il ratto delle Sabine* on 9 and 10 June 1674 breached the imperial tradition of prohibiting women from appearing on the stage.¹²⁴

The singers engaged by the Habsburgs performed in a vast array of sacred and secular genres. Franz Hadamowsky has traced the performances of dramatic music at the Habsburg court from 1625 to 1740, providing a detailed chronological list of dramatic vocal works (*Spielplan*).¹²⁵ He supplies information about the date of each performance, the title of each work, the genre designation, the names of the librettist and composer (when known), and other details. Seasons such as carnival and Lent, compositions with comic aspects, and works with ballet are all indicated. Hadamowsky also weaves in numerous details about important events in the lives of the imperial family, the movement of the court from Vienna to other cities in the Empire, historical events such as the plague, and the participation of members of the royal family in performances. The genre designations vary greatly. Among the most common are *drama per musica*, *festa teatrale*, *trattenimento musicale*, and *favola* for large secular dramatic works in more than one act. For shorter works, librettists use terms such as *scherzo musicale*, *operetta*, *divertimento teatrale*, and *serenata*. For sacred dramatic works the most common designations are *azione sacra*, *representazione sacra*, and – rarely – oratorio. The *sepolcro*, a special type of Viennese oratorio, was reserved for Maundy Thursday and Good

¹²⁴ For more about Masotti, see Page, 'Sirens on the Danube'. The entire volume of that journal is a special issue devoted to Masotti. See also Chapter 15 of this volume.

¹²⁵ Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof*. The *Spielplan* is updated in Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 429-585 and Herbert Seifert, 'Ergänzungen und Korrekturen zum Spielplan 1622-1705: Appendix 2014 zu *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*. Tutzing, 1985', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 263-79.

Friday of Holy Week.¹²⁶ Singers were of course constantly called upon to participate in sacred music at the *Burgkapelle* in the oldest part of Vienna's Hofburg (the *Schweizerhof*), or in other churches. Smaller secular works such as cantatas could be heard during banquets or at academic sessions.

5 Conclusion

With this second Austrian line of the Habsburg dynasty the Baroque arrived at the imperial court, thanks primarily to the Italianate preferences of Ferdinand II's father Archduke Charles II and the Italian brides of Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III. Throughout this time, the most cutting-edge Baroque musical styles coexisted peacefully with revered works of the past, a balance of innovation and tradition that served to express the Habsburgs' magnificence and emphasize the dynasty's longevity. As it had since the reign of Maximilian I, the chapel served an important representational function, in which the music of court composers became an instrument of imperial politics; not only did it proclaim the Habsburgs' grandeur through the sheer beauty and impressive scope of the music (especially with the establishment of regular performances of spectacular operas), but it could also stress important messages and values through the texts of sacred and secular music alike. For these music-loving emperors and their wives, the chapel also provided a favoured means of recreation, soothing the soul and even serving as a creative outlet. Indeed, throughout the seventeenth century, Habsburg court musicians contributed to a vibrant musical life that was the envy of courts across Europe.

¹²⁶ The classic study of the *sepolcro* is Gernot Gruber, *Das Wiener Sepolcro und Johann Joseph Fux* (Graz, 1972). On the early history of the genre see Saunders, 'The Antecedents', and Herbert Seifert, 'The Beginnings of Sacred Dramatic Musical Works at the Imperial Court of Vienna: Sacred and Moral Opera, Oratorio, and Sepolcro', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 765-82. *Sepolcro* performances from the seventeenth century are listed in Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 429-586. For a masterful overview of the context and meanings of *sepolcro* performances, see Robert L. Kendrick, *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna* (Berkeley, 2018). Kendrick's study acknowledges and examines the blatant anti-Semitism of the period.

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The Court Chapels of the Tyrolean Line: From Archduke Ferdinand II to Archduke Ferdinand Charles

Sara Pecknold

Many Habsburg emperors, such as Maximilian I – whose massive shrine dominates the Innsbruck *Hofkirche* – used the Innsbruck palace as a secondary residence. However, for a century of its history – from the ascension of Archduke Ferdinand II in 1564 until the untimely death of Sigismund Franz in 1665 – the court of Innsbruck was ruled by its own (relatively) independent sovereign. During this brief period of Habsburg history, the Tyrolean archdukes promoted a vigorous festal and musical culture that featured the essential components of the late Renaissance Catholic court: liturgical splendour, musico-dramatic spectacles (on subjects both sacred and secular), processions and field displays, and, in the seventeenth century, opera.

1 Archduke Ferdinand II

Ferdinand II (1529–95) was born in Linz on 14 July 1529 to King Ferdinand I (later Emperor Ferdinand I) and Anna of Bohemia. Innsbruck was only one of Ferdinand I's many residences.¹ As the Ottoman threat increased in the 1520s, the Viennese court temporarily relocated to Innsbruck, and Ferdinand II spent much of his childhood at the Innsbruck Hof. In Innsbruck, Ferdinand received his early education, including music lessons from organists Wilhelm Hofhaimer and Hans Schächinger.² Contemporary accounts claim that Ferdinand was

1 M. A. Chisholm, 'A Question of Power: Count, Aristocracy and Bishop of Trent; The Progress of Archduke Ferdinand II into the Tyrol of 1567', in *Der Innsbrucker Hof: Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heinz Noflatscher and Jan Paul Niederkorn, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 138 (Vienna, 2005), 351–424, esp. 389–90. See also Václav Bůžek, 'The Arrival of Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol to Bohemia and His Court', in *Between Lipany and White Mountain*, ed. James R. Palmitessa, Studies in Central European Histories 58 (Leiden, 2014), 120–48.

2 Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954), 63. This monograph is an indispensable resource, offering a nearly exhaustive catalogue of all extant archival information regarding music and musicians at the Innsbruck court. A useful recent resource is the

rather musical and that he sang well. The panegyrists also praise him as a poet and an artist specializing in *Ritterkünste* (chivalric arts). In 1543, Ferdinand – together with his mother and siblings – left Innsbruck for Prague, which became his primary residence until his relocation to Innsbruck in 1567.

In 1544, Ferdinand joined his uncle Charles v in the Schmalkaldic War.³ At the end of the war, Ferdinand's travels allowed him to witness the pinnacle of sixteenth-century Netherlandish culture. Indeed, Ferdinand's admiration for the artistic and musical achievements of the Low Countries would later become evident in his employment of numerous musicians from the Netherlands. In 1547, Ferdinand personally oversaw the festivities surrounding his installation as governor of Bohemia; his 'penchant for micromanagement' of courtly festivities was again manifested nearly two decades later in his official entry into Innsbruck.⁴ In Prague, Ferdinand maintained a sumptuous court, although early documents tend to list only trumpeters and drummers in Ferdinand's service. In 1557, Ferdinand married the daughter of an Augsburg patrician, Philippine Welser. Theirs was a morganatic union, which would later prohibit their two sons from inheriting the Tyrolean throne. When his father visited Prague in 1558, Ferdinand organized glorious festivities that included performances by musicians and singers hired expressly for the occasion. Thus, as governor of Bohemia, Ferdinand began to promote a rich musical culture; it was only in Innsbruck, however, that he was able to bring this desire to fruition.

1.1 *Ferdinand II's Tyrolean Court*

Ferdinand entered Innsbruck as the reigning sovereign (*Landesfürst*) of Tyrol on 17 January 1567. The entry was a grand affair spanning several days.⁵ M. A. Chisholm has described these events in detail: On 14 January, near the town of Kufstein, Prince Ferdinand met and shook hands with his commissaries, his lords, and his Chancellor, Chrisoph Klöcker; on 15 January, the retinue

website *Musikland Tirol*, maintained by the Institut für Tiroler Musikforschung Innsbruck, <<http://musikland-tirol.at>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

3 In the first half of the sixteenth century, Protestant rulers of lands within the Holy Roman Empire grew increasingly restless for both political and confessional autonomy; one of the resultant conflicts was the Schmalkaldic War, which erupted in the summer of 1546 between the Protestant Schmalkaldic League of German Princes – led by Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Prince-Elector John Frederick of Saxony – and Emperor Charles v. The imperial forces defeated the League at the battle of Mühlberg on 24 April 1547; see Daniel H. Nexon, *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change* (Princeton, 2009), 1–19.

4 Chisholm, 'A Question of Power', 391.

5 Curiously, there was a three-year delay between Ferdinand's acquisition of Tyrol and the new Archduke's entry into the region's capital. This delay was in part due to tensions between Ferdinand and the Prince-Bishops of Trent and Brixen (Chisholm, 'A Question of Power', 351–52).

travelled to Rattenberg, the next day to Schwaz, and on the afternoon of 17 January the new ruler finally arrived at the church of St. Jakob in Innsbruck.⁶

Even before Ferdinand's arrival to St. Jakob, the religious nature of these events was apparent in several details. For example, as the ruler neared the River Inn, he was met by a retinue of clergy, led by the *Weihbischof* (auxiliary bishop) of Trent and Brixen. As Chisholm explains:

As the archduke approached, the *Weihbischof* held up a crucifix containing a sliver of the Holy Cross. The archduke dismounted, walked under the canopy, removed his head-dress and kissed the crucifix, after which the *Weihbischof* held a Latin oration and blessed the archduke, who then remounted and riding under the canopy entered Innsbruck in a procession arranged in the following order: noble servants; nobles; government lords; commissaries' servants; commissaries; twenty archducal pages; archducal courtiers; government officials; local clergy; priesthood, Franciscans, Jesuits, conventuals and their deacan and provost; four prelates; the *Weihbischof* with the crucifix in hand; a trumpeter and twelve drummers; the *Landeshauptmann*, Wilhelm Wolkenstein; the Vice-governor, Christoph Wolkenstein; the herald, Bathasar Trautson; Ferdinand and the eight aristocrats under the baldachin; ... some of the cardinal's advisors from Trent and Brixen; finally, the archducal bodyguard.⁷

Both Chisholm and Walter Senn have offered valuable information regarding the role of music during Ferdinand's entry. As noted, a trumpeter and drummers accompanied Ferdinand's arrival on the Inn River Bridge, and throughout the procession to St. Jakob the court singers and instrumentalists performed 'songs and sonatas' (*Gesängen und 'Sonaten'*).⁸ The rubrics for the entry also instruct that a Te Deum and other hymns were to be sung upon Ferdinand's arrival at St. Jakob. One might assume that there was also a sung High Mass as part of the festivities; such liturgy was standard fare for the installation of Habsburg rulers.⁹

6 Chisholm, 'A Question of Power', 397-98.

7 Chisholm, 'A Question of Power', 398-99.

8 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 69; Senn cites Josef Hirn, *Erherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol* (Leipzig, 1905), 65.

9 Regarding the religious piety of the Habsburg courts, see Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, 2004), esp. 18-27; on the indispensable role of liturgy at the imperial court, see Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 191-221.

As Senn and Veronika Sanbichler have shown, in Innsbruck Ferdinand cultivated a pan-European court culture that was marked by festivities: 'weddings and baptisms, tournaments and jousting, court hunting parties and shooting matches'.¹⁰ All of these events required the attendance of musicians, including Tyrolean-born instrumentalists and choirboys as well as highly skilled singers and lutenists recruited from abroad. A brief glance at the payroll of the *Hofkapelle* reveals that Ferdinand employed musicians from the Netherlands, France, Italy, Poland, and Spain. Furthermore, in his efforts to secure the best musicians for his court, Ferdinand used his familial ties across Europe; he courted and eventually employed musicians from the households of his brothers in Vienna and Graz, as well as from the Dukes of Bavaria, Ferrara, and Florence.

Two residences served as major venues for the artistic life of Ferdinand's court: the Innsbruck Hof and Schloß Ambras. Almost immediately following his Tyrolean entry, Ferdinand commissioned his court builder from Prague, Giovanni Luchese, to oversee the renovation of the Innsbruck Hof. The walls were decorated with murals by Heinrich Teufel, and in 1577 construction was begun on the Silver Chapel, which would become the location of the ruling family's private liturgical celebrations. In addition to the Hof, Schloß Ambras – perched on a hilltop overlooking the city – was crucial to Ferdinand II's reign. The location and resources of Schloß Ambras allowed for the flourishing of a courtly culture promoting music and the arts, as well as the Archduke's beloved pursuits of chivalry, swordsmanship, equestrianism, and hunting. At Schloß Ambras, Ferdinand amassed his extensive collection of paintings, weaponry, books, precious metals and minerals, and other curiosities such as exotic wildlife. It was also here that Ferdinand established a residence for his wife Philippine Welser; when Welser died in 1580, Ferdinand married his niece, the Mantuan princess Anna Caterina Gonzaga. Ferdinand and Anna Caterina had two daughters but no sons; thus, the first sovereign of the Tyrol had no legitimate heir to continue his archducal line.

1.2 Archduke Ferdinand II's Hofkapelle

The musicians at Ferdinand II's court were divided into two groups: the *Hofmusik*, comprising instrumentalists, and the *Hofkapelle*, which consisted of

10 'Hochzeiten und Taufen, Turniere und Ritterspiele, Hofjagden und Schützenfeste'; unless noted otherwise, the information in this section is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 69. See also Veronika Sandbichler, 'Festkultur am Hof Erzherzog Ferdinands II.', in *Der Innsbrucker Hof: Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heinz Nollatscher and Jan Paul Niederkorn, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 138 (Vienna, 2005), 159–74.

chapel singers, organists, and lutenists.¹¹ Throughout his reign, Ferdinand's *Hofkapelle* boasted anywhere from twenty-two to thirty members: first and second *Kapellmeister*, court organist, six to eight choirboys (*Kapellknaben*), and four to six each of altos, tenors, and basses. The musicians' salaries came from the personal *Kasse* of the Archduke, with the distribution overseen and recorded by the *Hofpfennigmeister*. At the beginning of Ferdinand's tenure, the singers were paid an average of twelve gulden per month, which was just slightly less than the fifteen gulden earned monthly by imperial singers. Ferdinand's choirboys received stipends plus room and board; additional funds were available for musicians' pensions, clothing, travel allowances, and the hiring of more musicians for special occasions. In 1575, a commission recommended that the following changes be made to the *Hofkapelle*: One of the five court chaplains would be dismissed, only the six best choirboys and the twelve finest singers would be retained, and the court organist and cantor would be replaced by the parish organist Wilhelm Hurlach. At the same time, the *Hofmusik* was reduced to two trumpeters, and it was mandated that the timpanist would also serve as a court attendant; the reasons for these recommended reductions to the chapel remain unclear.

The primary function of the *Hofkapelle* was, of course, religious. Together with the court chaplain, the *Hofkapellmeister* was responsible for all liturgical celebrations. However, the responsibilities of the *Kapellmeister* went far beyond the liturgy: He directed all musical performances in the church, the chamber, and the banquet hall; he taught the choirboys singing, counterpoint, and composition; and he served *in loco parentis* to the choirboys, who lived and ate with him.¹² The *Kapellmeister* was well compensated for his far-ranging efforts; the salary was initially twenty-four and later thirty gulden per month.¹³ Although the *Kapellmeister* could often rely upon the support of his second *Kapellmeister*, this position was not always filled. The second *Kapellmeister* (*vice-Kapellmeister*) shared responsibility for the instruction of the choirboys, and he was contracted to fulfil the *Kapellmeister's* obligations if the latter were ill or on leave. During Ferdinand's reign, the *vice-Kapellmeister* earned between

¹¹ The information in this paragraph is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 71-74; on the division of musicians, see also Walter Senn and Harald Goertz, 'Innsbruck', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 12, 393-96.

¹² *Kapellmeister* Wilhelm Bruneau, his family, and the choirboys lived in a house 'vor dem Georgentor', that is, on the street today called Maria-Theresien-Straße (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 74).

¹³ The *Kapellmeister* also received on average six more gulden for each choirboy's room and board; see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 74.

eighteen and twenty-five gulden per month; he also received one courtly garment ('ein Kleid') per year.¹⁴

Ferdinand's first *Kapellmeister* in Innsbruck was Wilhelm Bruneau (d. 1584), who had also served Ferdinand in Prague.¹⁵ Once the move to Innsbruck was under way, Ferdinand sent Bruneau to the Netherlands to recruit singers; the correspondence instructs Bruneau to seek out a particularly 'good discantist and a bass' as well as a chaplain.¹⁶ Not many of Bruneau's compositions survive; in 1570 he dedicated four works to Duke Ludwig of Württemberg, and in 1584 he dedicated his *Ciertos libros de musique* to the King of Spain.¹⁷

Although Bruneau's compositional efforts are largely unknown to us, the works of alto and second *Kapellmeister* Alexander Utendal (c. 1530/40-81) have been far better preserved. Like Bruneau, Utendal hailed from the Netherlands, and he also served Ferdinand in Prague before coming to Innsbruck with the Archduke.¹⁸ Utendal's name first appears on the Prague payroll in 1564 as an alto earning a monthly salary of twelve gulden; in 1572, the register names him *vice-Kapellmeister*. Utendal was well respected as a singer and composer throughout Europe; in 1580, he turned down an offer to become *Kapellmeister* at the Dresden court, a position that was also offered to Orlando di Lasso (1530/32-94). Utendal's extant compositions include seven prints (all but one issued during his lifetime), several reprints, and works in manuscripts housed

14 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 74.

15 It seems that Bruneau was offered the post of *Kapellmeister* in Vienna in 1564, but since Ferdinand I died in 1564, it is unlikely that Bruneau ever assumed this post; this is confirmed by the appearance of his name on the Prague payroll in 1564 (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 74).

16 '[Einen] guten Diskanten und einen Bassisten, der gleichzeitig Hofkaplan'; see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 75. Senn cites Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Chronologische Hof-sachen, 23 July 1566. This is the archival signature that appears in Senn; I have been unable to find a current designation for this document. Except in the case of this document and the Chronologische Ambraser Kammersachen/Kammerregistratur, I have provided the current archival signatures, which have changed since the publication of Senn's book. I am grateful to Nadja Karjicek of the Tiroler Landesarchiv for providing me with this information.

17 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 76; I have been unable to locate publication information for either of these volumes; Senn cites Gustav Bossert, *Die [Württemberg] Hofkantorei unter Herzog Christoph* (Stuttgart, 1898), 159.

18 The information in this paragraph is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 76-77. For more information on Utendal, see also Ignace Bossuyt, *De componist Alexander Utendal (ca. 1543/1545-1581): Een bijdrage tot de studie van de Nederlandse polyfonie in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België: Klasse der Schone Kunsten 36 (Brussels, 1983).

in Vienna, Brussels, Berlin, and Regensburg. His oeuvre includes large-scale liturgical works as well as secular works in German and French.¹⁹

Stylistically, Utendal's *Fröliche neue Teutsche und Französische Lieder* serve as an excellent example of sixteenth-century part songs: They feature clear melodies within pleasing polyphonic textures, dulcet sonorities, and frequent syncopations. The title page of the print declares that they can be performed 'with all kinds of instruments'.²⁰ Both the German and the French texts are decidedly secular in character, and some are downright risqué; for example, in his setting of Pierre de Ronsard's 'Pleut-il à Dieu', the poet laments his surrender to a certain body part of his mistress.²¹ In contrast to his bawdier secular songs, Utendal also issued several significant prints of sacred music. Utendal's supplicative *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* juxtapose sinuous, polyphonic textures with livelier, homophonic passages, in keeping with the kinds of textural contrasts that abound in sixteenth-century ecclesiastical works.

Utendal's successor, Jacob Regnart (c. 1540/45-99), was the most widely respected musician in Ferdinand's *Kapelle*. Regnart began his career as a *Kapellknabe*; after a brief sojourn studying in Italy, he worked at Emperor Maximilian II's courts in Prague and Vienna (1570-76). He remained in Vienna after Maximilian's death (working for Emperor Rudolph II), before accepting the position of *vice-Kapellmeister* in Innsbruck in 1582; Ferdinand made him *Kapellmeister* in 1585. Under Regnart's direction, the music of the Tyrolean court achieved unprecedented excellence. Regnart recruited several virtuosic musicians from the Low Countries and from Italy. Like Utendal before him, Regnart was also respected as a composer throughout Europe. Also like Utendal, Regnart published works in German; his *Teutsche Lieder* for three to five voices were published and reprinted in several different volumes between 1574

19 All of Utendal's prints were published in Nuremberg, including *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (1570) [RISM U199], *Sacrarum cantionum* (1571) [RISM U120], *Sacrae cantiones* (1573) [RISM U121], *Tres missae* (1573) [RISM U122], *Fröliche neue teutsche und französische Lieder* (1574) [RISM U123], and *Liber sacrarum cantionum* (1577) [RISM U125]; modern editions include Alexander Utendal, *Busspsalmen und Orationen*, ed. Stefan Schulze, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 138-39 (Graz, 1985); Alexander Utendal, *Motetten*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, *Monumenta Flandriae musica* 5 (Peer, 1999); Albert Dunning (ed.), *Staatsmotetten für Erzherzog Karl II. von Innerösterreich*, *Musik alter Meister* 21-22 (Graz, 1971); and Alfred Krings (ed.), *Deutsche Lieder* (Cologne, 1956).

20 The title page reads: 'Fröliche neue teutsche und französische Lieder / lieblich zu singen / auch allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen ...' (frolicsome new German and French songs, lovely to sing, also [with the option] to use all kinds of instruments).

21 This text was also set by Jacob Regnart's brother François; it appeared in François Regnart, *Poésies de P. de Ronsard et autre poètes mis en musique à quatre et cinq parties* (Paris, 1579) [RISM R730].

and 1614.²² In general, Regnart's German songs are simpler than Utendal's and feature more homophonic passages; this seems to reflect an Italian influence, which contrasts with the more complex, Flemish character of Utendal's Lieder.

Although less popular than the body of his vernacular works, Regnart's sacred oeuvre is nonetheless of considerable importance. At least four prints of his sacred compositions were issued during his lifetime, and several of his works were published posthumously. Regnart's sacred publications include a St. Matthew Passion, masses for four to eight voices, and Marian antiphons for five, eight, and ten voices.²³ Regnart's *Mariale* – the only print issued during his tenure in Innsbruck – comprises Marian antiphons and motets for four to six voices.²⁴ Many of his sacred works feature typical sixteenth-century polyphonic textures, as seen, for instance, in his five-voice motet for the Feast of the Epiphany, *Stella quam viderunt magi*. However, some of Regnart's ecclesiastical compositions look towards the more homophonic, antiphonal textures of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; works featuring instruments evoke the style of Giovanni Gabrieli. For example, Regnart's *Litania Deiparae Virginis Mariae* exemplifies this later style, surely in part due to the nature of

22 Jacob Regnart's impressive list of publications includes: *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder zu dreyen Stimmen nach Art der Neapolitanen oder Welschen Villanellen* (Nuremberg, 1574) [RISM R742], *Der ander Theyl kurtzweiliger teutscher Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1577) [RISM R746], *Der erste Theyl schöner kurtzweiliger teutscher Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1578) [RISM R744], *Der dritter Theyl schöner kurtzweiliger teutscher Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1579) [RISM R749], and *Newe kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1580) [RISM R751]. The volumes were frequently reprinted, as well as combined, reprinted, and sometimes intabulated in such prints as *Teutsche Lieder ... in ein Opus zusammen druckt* (Munich, 1583) [RISM R755], *Tricinia: kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1584) [RISM R756], and *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder* (Munich, 1591) [RISM R760].

23 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 82.

24 Jacob Regnart, *Mariale, hoc est: Opusculum sacrarum cantionum omnibus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae festivitatibus* (Innsbruck, 1588) [RISM R733]. Of special note are his settings of texts for both the Joys and the Sorrows of Our Lady, devotions that have taken various forms since the Middle Ages. Mary's Joys have been numbered between five and eight, as included in meditations of the Dominican Rosary (five) and the Franciscan Crown (seven). Tyrolean devotion to the Joys of Mary may have inspired the seventeenth-century composer Barbara Strozzi to include a setting of the text *Gaude virgo, plena laude* in the *Sacri musicali affetti* (Venice, 1655) [RISM S6986], which she dedicated to Anna de'Medici, the Archduchess of Innsbruck. In regard to the Franciscan devotion to the Seven Joys of Mary and Barbara Strozzi's motet, see Sara Pecknold, "On Lightest Leaves Do I Fly": Redemption and the Renewal of Identity in Barbara Strozzi's *Sacri musicali affetti* (1655) (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 2015), 125–30; on the Servite devotion to the Sorrows of the Virgin (especially in Florence), see Giovanni Zanovello, "In the Church and in the Chapel": Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of the Santissima Annuziata, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014), 379–428.

the text: it is largely antiphonal and homophonic, featuring the blocks of sonorities that one hears in sacred music of the early Baroque. Taken as a whole, Regnart's oeuvre exemplifies the pinnacle of musical life at Ferdinand's court, which featured impressive ecclesiastical music and lively chamber songs and dances, performed by highly skilled musicians recruited from artistic centres throughout Europe.

1.3 *Domestic Music-Making at Ferdinand II's Court*

As Peter Tschmuck has shown, Ferdinand II's chapel singers and court instrumentalists often combined forces in chamber performances for important feasts and banquets.²⁵ At the same time, Ferdinand's cultivation of instrumental music on its own terms – as well as his fondness for the increasingly popular solo song – is visible in the Archduke's maintenance of a considerable corps of chamber musicians throughout his reign. The varied chamber repertoire included Italian madrigals, canzonettas, and villanellas, French chansons, and German Lieder, which could be performed in a variety of ways: by instruments alone, by instruments with several voices, or as solos by the virtuosic Italian singers whom Ferdinand actively recruited.²⁶ Court records indicate the hiring and payment of several such musicians. In March 1587, the Archduke thanked the Venetian tenor Alfonso Paganini and asked him to send more Italian singers to the Tyrolean court. In April of the same year, Ferdinand wrote to Ludovico Spinosa in Milan to inquire after three unnamed singers, two of whom were castrati ('Eunuchi').²⁷ Spinosa did indeed recruit a bass, Brother Giacomo Antonio, a Venetian who was praised in a letter dated 29 May 1587 as possessing 'art and exquisite, natural qualities' (*Kunst und vorzüglichen Eigenschaften*).²⁸ There was also an attempt to engage another Venetian bass from the *cappella* of St. Mark's, a Franciscan named Fabrizio. On 29 March 1589, Ferdinand wrote

25 Peter Tschmuck, 'Sozioökonomische und kulturelle Rahmenbedingungen der höfischen Musikpflege in Innsbruck im späten 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert', in *Musikgeschichte Tirols 2: Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Kurt Drexel and Monika Fink (Innsbruck, 2004), 15.

26 Occasionally these sought-after virtuosos needed a bit of prompting to come to Innsbruck; a letter of 1576 states that a trustworthy servant was needed to accompany a newly hired Italian singer to Ferdinand's court (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 150 and InnSTLA 182).

27 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 150.

28 InnSTLA 182 and Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151. Antonio's arrival in Innsbruck was delayed, due to the fact that he was also engaged in the service of the Venetian Signoria; correspondence indicates that Antonio was keen to come to Innsbruck, but he could not until released from his Venetian obligations.

that he urgently wished 'to have Fabrizio in our service, or at least to hear him sing'.²⁹

In addition to the Italian singers, a number of highly skilled lutenists formed an important component of Ferdinand's chamber ensemble; these lutenists served the court as both performers and teachers.³⁰ Throughout his reign, Ferdinand hired a succession of lute instructors for the sons of his courtiers and for the musically inclined women at court. Nikolaus Ballamanuto (also a singer) taught lute to children and to women musicians at the court until his death in 1580. Ballamanuto was succeeded by Juli Crema, who served in this capacity until 1585. Several other lutenists appear in payroll documents: in 1578, Jakob Neiderländer spent thirty-nine weeks in Innsbruck, the intabulator Melchior Neusidler served the Archduke in 1580 and 1581, and the lutenist Johann Orgas was in Innsbruck by at least 1593.³¹

The promotion of chamber music provided Ferdinand the opportunity to participate in another phenomenon that was occurring across Europe, most notably at the court of Ferrara: the education and employment of female musicians.³² According to Senn, several women – most of whom were from abroad – appear in the account records as having received payment or other compensation for musical performances. On 23 September 1570, an imperial councillor (acting on the recommendation of Philip Bruneau) wrote to inform the court that he had engaged a singer from the Low Countries to come to Innsbruck. According to Bruneau, she was a very 'artful singer' (*künstliche Sengerin*) who accompanied herself on an unnamed instrument.³³ In 1574, the court imported a young Venetian woman who sang exceptionally well and played the cithara; it seems she had already been solicited by the court several

29 'Fabrizio in unserem Dienst zu haben oder wenigstens singen zu hören' (InnstLA 182 and Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151).

30 In Prague, Ferdinand had employed several lutenists at an annual salary of 164 gulden (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 152).

31 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 152. On Melchior Neusidler, see also Hans Radke et al., 'Neusidler', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 17, 793–95.

32 Walter Senn provides brief but intriguing information about these women, and Linda Maria Koldau has addressed the topic as well. See Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151–52; Linda Maria Koldau, 'Frauen in der deutschen Musikkultur der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 62 (2005), 220–48, esp. 236–37; and Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2005), esp. 56–68. Unless noted otherwise, the information in this paragraph is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151–52; original archival sources are noted in Senn as well.

33 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151 and Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Chronologische Ambraser Kammersachen/Kammerregistratur, 7 July 1584; I have been unable to locate a current designation for this document.

times and requested to take up residence in Innsbruck with her father. Female musicians were also imported from German-speaking lands; the court chaplain Vincentio Neopolitano recommended a young German woman as a worthy addition to the court's roster of female musicians. Perhaps the most renowned (and most expensive) female musician in Ferdinand's employ was Isabella Istrana of Treviso. Istrana – who was 'famous for her artistry in music and instruments'³⁴ – travelled to Innsbruck in 1594 with her parents and a considerable entourage including several servants. Tragically, Isabella spent only two years at court – officially in the retinue of the new Archduchess Anna Caterina – before she died in 1596.³⁵ In most cases, these women musicians received musical instruction at Ferdinand's court. At least some of their teachers are listed in payroll records, including the aforementioned lute instructor Balamano. Pierino Colici taught violin to the *Frauen*, an unnamed teacher offered harpsichord lessons, and Giovanni Flori served as singing instructor.³⁶ In fact, in 1580, Flori defended himself against accusations that he had neglected his pedagogical duties, complaining that the pupils 'could not read, nor write, [and] above all, despite everything, "did not sing according to the notes"'.³⁷

Not all musicians had such a negative view of the girls and women making music in Innsbruck. In February 1580 – during his tenure as *Hoforganist* in Munich – the Italian composer Stefano Rossetti wrote to the Archduke with an offering of 'many works composed for three sopranos and one bass for your musical damsels'.³⁸ Rossetti also offered to send his *Psalterio di David*, which he claimed was suitable for many different kinds of performances and would be especially appropriate for the *Hofdamen*. Rossetti declared that he himself was ready to take on instruction of the singers; it is not clear if by this he meant instruction only for the performance of his compositions or more general musical instruction.³⁹ It is interesting to note that at the time Rossetti wrote this

34 'in der Musica und Instrumenten für künstlich berüemt' (InnstLA 39).

35 Upon Isabella's death, a curious financial transaction took place: The court instructed that her father should receive 300 gold crowns, in order to prevent slanderous remarks ('Schimpfs und Nachred'). Koldau refers to this impressive payment as 'hush money', implying that Isabella had served the Archduke in capacities beyond those of a regular court musician (Koldau, 'Frauen', 237).

36 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151.

37 'sie könnten zwar nicht lesen, schreibt, er u.b., aber alles "nach den Noten unversehens dahersingen"' (InnstLA 39).

38 'molte opere, fatte con tre soprani ed un basso per le sue donzelle musiche' (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 151, and InstLA 162.2).

39 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 152.

letter, he had already dedicated a volume of motets to Ferdinand in 1573.⁴⁰ When one considers this print alongside Rossetti's letter, one catches a glimpse into the musical culture of late sixteenth-century Innsbruck and the possible significance of the musical *Hofdamen*. The motets were issued in separate partbooks for five to six voices, and the title page indicates that they were 'composed so that they might be fitting for all kinds of instruments'.⁴¹ This designation suggests a few possibilities: that the motets were performed during the liturgy by the combined forces of Ferdinand's chapel singers and court instrumentalists (as court instructions dictated should occur on high church feasts), that they were heard as non-liturgical music-making by these same musicians, or possibly that the motets were performed by the women singers of the court, with instruments filling in the lower vocal parts as needed. In any case, Rossetti's correspondence with the court reflects his keen awareness of the general musical life at the Innsbruck Hof, as well as the presence of musically trained professional and amateur female musicians.

1.4 'Theater und Feste' at the Court of Ferdinand II

Theatrical and festive spectacle was an important feature of life at Ferdinand II's court. There were several venues for festive events: the great rooms of the Hof and Schloß Ruhelust in Innsbruck, and also Schloß Ambras outside the city.⁴² These locations – as well as the town itself – were used for the staging of myriad theatrical spectacles throughout Ferdinand's reign, including Christmas and Lenten plays, performances by visiting theatrical companies, triumphal processions (always modelled after the Roman archetype), tournaments and chivalric displays (*Springer*), and dramatic-musical events that were the forerunners of opera.⁴³

40 Stefano Rossetti, *Novae quaedam sacrae cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant, 5-6vv, ita compositae, ut ad omnis generis instrumenta attemperari possint* (Nuremberg, 1573) [RISM R2730], available in a modern edition: Stefano Rossetti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. Allen B. Skei, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 15 (Madison, 1973).

41 'ut ad omnis generis instrumenta attemperari possint'; see Skei's preface to Rossetti, *Sacrae cantiones*, ix.

42 The late-sixteenth-century travel diary of Hans Georg Ernstinger also describes two *palheuser* or 'playhouses' (e.g., theatres) near the Innsbruck Hof: 'An diser burg ligt ... zway bedeckhte palheuser da man mit dem grossen und klainen palen spilt' ('At this palace there are two covered playhouses where one performs both large- and small-scale spectacles'). See A. F. Walther (ed.), *Hans Georg Ernstingers Raisbuch*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart 135 (Tübingen, 1877), 4-5; according to Ernstinger, he began his travels in 1579 (Walther, *Hans Georg Ernstingers Raisbuch*, 1).

43 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 175.

The most important spectacles were performed in conjunction with aristocratic weddings and baptisms. In February 1580, Philippine Welser's nephew, Freiherrn Johann von Kolowrat, married Katharina von Payrsberg; the sumptuous festivities spanned several days.⁴⁴ According to Senn, the festivities began with a spectacular procession depicting the gods of Olympus and creatures representing the animal kingdom (in keeping with Ferdinand's fascination with zoological exoticisms).⁴⁵ On one of three eagle-drawn carriages, Ferdinand himself appeared in his favourite guise as Jupiter, 'shimmering in gold and jewels' with a 'fiery thunderbolt' in his hand (the eagles surely referred to the Habsburg eagle and the family's self-chosen identification as heirs to the Roman imperial legacy).⁴⁶ The second day of festivities included a tournament during which Ferdinand displayed his highly prized armour, and on the third day, men fought duels in the *Rennplatz* in front of the Hof. As Sandbichler has noted, the festivities not only celebrated the wedding of Philippine Welser's nephew, but they also glorified the Archduke and his morganatic union with Welser, who – due to her social status – could achieve no higher official title than the Archduke's concubine.⁴⁷ The importance of the events was confirmed by the commissioning of a commemorative print by Hans Baur of Siegmund Elsässer's depiction of the festivities.⁴⁸

Other significant familial events were celebrated with musical-theatrical spectacle. The baptism of Ferdinand and Anna Caterina Gonzaga's first child, Princess Anna Eleonora, was celebrated with fireworks and a 'dialogue' about the rape of Proserpina.⁴⁹ For the baptism of their second daughter in June 1584, Ferdinand and Anna Caterina enjoyed the performance of a 'comedy' in German, *Comoedi Speculum vitae humane*. Of particular interest is an *intermedio* that was performed alongside *Comoedi Speculum*, which depicted a contest

44 Senn discusses the wedding at length (*Musik und Theater*, 176), citing three books – of slightly varied description – that chronicle the events of the Kolowrat wedding. The books are listed in the 1596 inventory of the 'ambraser Kunstkammer'. See also Elisabeth Schleicher, 'Ein Fest am Hofe Erzherzogs Ferdinand II', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 (1981), 120–40, and Sandbichler 'Festkultur', 173–77.

45 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 176.

46 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 176: 'Erzherzog Ferdinand erscheint als Jupiter, in Gold und Edelsteinen schimmernd, den feurigen Blitzstrahl in der Faust'.

47 Sandbichler, 'Festkultur', 173–74.

48 Siegmund Elsässer, *Kolowrat Hochzeit*, copper etching and watercolour on paper, VienKHM 5269; see also Sandbichler 'Festkultur', and M. Simons, 'Presentation, Representation and Invisibility: Emperor Ferdinand I and his Son Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Prague (1547–1567)', in *The Habsburgs and Their Courts in Europe, 1400–1700: Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, ed. Herbert Karner, Ingrid Culišová, and Bernardo J. García García (Vienna, 2014), 147 n. 38.

49 The information in this paragraph is from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 177–78.

between the seven works of spiritual charity and the seven deadly sins, accompanied by the singing of angel choirs and the playing of instruments. Regnart composed the music, which comprised four angel choruses in Latin and a pilgrim song in German. The *intermedio* and Regnart's music seem to have been positively received: A week after the baptism, Regnart wrote to the Archbishop of Prague, promising to send the text of the play as well as his own compositions. The only music that has survived is an eight-voice motet from the sixth act, *Iustorum animae in manu Dei*.⁵⁰

In addition to performances at court, Ferdinand was an avid patron of the Jesuit plays at the Gymnasium.⁵¹ The court account books and the Innsbruck Jesuit chronicles provide sparse but revealing information regarding the first three decades of Jesuit plays in Innsbruck, from 1563 to 1591.⁵² The repertoire included plays in Italian, Latin, and German, with plots drawn from scripture, hagiography, and classical sources. Some performances took place at the Gymnasium, others at the Hof. For example, in the 1560s Euripus, *Hekaste* was staged in the large hall of the Hof.⁵³ A play about the Resurrection of Christ was staged at the Jesuit College in 1574; for this performance and for improvements to their residence, the Archduke gave the Jesuits fifty-seven florins forty-three crowns.⁵⁴ In 1576 and 1577, the Gymnasium presented the 'Tragedi S. Catharina' on the saint's feast day, 25 November; Charles of Steiermark and his consort Maria of Bavaria were present at the latter performance, which lasted eight hours.⁵⁵ In 1580, the court witnessed a Christmas play in German

50 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 178 and BerlS 30. See also Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, Musicological Studies and Documents 43 (Holzgerlingen, 1999), 259, and William Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), 233-34.

51 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180.

52 Both Walter Senn and more recently Ellen Hastaba have reproduced chronologies of the Jesuit plays performed in Innsbruck; Hastaba's list is more thorough and includes several performances that Senn's does not; see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180, and Ellen Hastaba, "Jesuitenspiele" in Innsbruck', in *Musikgeschichte Tirols 2: Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts*, ed. Kurt Drexel and Monika Fink (Innsbruck, 2004), 395-97. Stefan Tilg has identified authors of several Jesuit plays; see Stefan Tilg, 'Die Popularisierung einer Ritualmordlegende im Anderl-von-Rinn-Drama der Haller Jesuiten (1621)', in *Daphnis* 33 (2004), 623-40 and Stefan Tilg, *Die Hl. Katharina von Alexandria auf der Jesuitenbühne: Drei Innsbrucker Dramen aus den Jahren 1576, 1577 und 1606* (Tübingen, 2005).

53 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180.

54 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180.

55 InnSTLA 115. The *Rechnungsbuch* provides the name of the playwright: Johann Sonhovius, whom Senn identifies as 'a native of Flanders then working in Hall' ('aus Flandern gebürtigen und damals in Hall tätigen'); see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180.

(possibly in Tyrolean dialect – ‘in der Volkssprache’), which ‘brought the viewers to tears’.⁵⁶ Sometimes the performers were drawn from the town as well as the Jesuit college; in 1584, a Christmas play was performed by ‘the paupers and poor students from the Parish school’.⁵⁷ The plays performed toward the end of Ferdinand’s reign seem to represent a slight change of subject matter: *Die verlorne Sohn* was staged in 1589, and in 1591, the *Comedia S. Viti* was the first Jesuit play to be performed in the *Innsbrucker Ballspielhaus*.⁵⁸ With his promotion of Jesuit plays and other theatrical spectacles, Ferdinand set a precedent for subsequent Tyrolean princes, with the expectation that the theatre should not only provide entertainment but should also be pedagogical, theological, and occasionally charitable.

After reigning Tyrol for thirty-one years, Archduke Ferdinand II died on 24 January 1595 at the age of sixty-six. He is buried in the Silver Chapel of the *Hofkirche*; after his death, members of the *Hofkapelle* kept vigil for the deceased Archduke by singing psalms.⁵⁹ At the time of his death, Ferdinand II had contributed greatly to not only the political but also the artistic and musical culture of Tyrol; his efforts to foster music at the Tyrolean court would not be matched until half a century later by Archduke Ferdinand Charles.

2 Maximilian III, the *Deutschmeister*

Ferdinand II’s death caused what Astrid von Schlachta has called a ‘dynastic rupture’, due to the inability of the Archduke’s sons to inherit his throne.⁶⁰ There followed seven years of interregnum before the throne passed to Ferdinand II’s nephew Maximilian III (1558-1618), the fourth son of Emperor Maximilian II and Empress Maria (daughter of Charles V). During his youth, Maximilian studied music with Alard du Gaucquier and Giorgio Flori, who

56 ‘das viele Zuschauer zu Tränen rührte’ (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180).

57 ‘pauperes und der armen Schueler aus der Pfarrschule’ (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180); see also Hastaba, “Jesuitenspiele”, 396.

58 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 180, 395 n. 40.

59 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 186; the payroll states that the musicians were paid forty gulden for this service.

60 Astrid von Schlachta, ‘The Innsbruck Court in the 17th Century: Identity and Ceremonial of a Court in Flux’, in *A Constellation of Courts: The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*, ed. René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaeker, and José Eloy Hortal Munoz (Leuven, 2014), 341-65. Maximilian the *Deutschmeister* is referred to as either II or III; I follow von Schlachta’s designation of his title as ‘Maximilian III’, which helps to distinguish him from his father, Emperor Maximilian II.

later served as *vice-Kapellmeister* in Innsbruck.⁶¹ Maximilian seems to have been intended for an ecclesiastical career from an early age; in 1585 (at the age of twenty-seven), he entered the Teutonic Order. In 1590, he became the *Hochmeister* of the Order – whence derives his common epithet, *Deutschmeister* – and he took up residence in Mergentheim.⁶² Very soon, his responsibilities greatly increased, for in 1593 he was named Governor of Inner Austria; during this time he also served in the Turkish Wars. Although he travelled throughout the 1590s, Maximilian maintained his residence at Mergentheim. Not until 1602 did he move to Innsbruck and establish his court in the Tyrolean capital.

2.1 *Sacred Music under Maximilian III*

As *Hochmeister* of the Teutonic Order, Maximilian had established a small but reputable *Hofkapelle* at Mergentheim, which comprised a *Kapellmeister*, an organist, two each of basses, tenors, and altos, a 'diskantist', five choirboys, seven trumpeters, and a drummer.⁶³ According to Senn, Maximilian's first *Kapellmeister* in Mergentheim was the Austrian composer Blasius Ammon (c. 1560–90), but Anthony F. Carver has shown that Ammon 'was Kantor of the Cistercian monastery of Heiligkreuz from 1585 to 1587'.⁶⁴ If indeed Ammon was Maximilian's first *Kapellmeister*, he did not remain in the post long, for in 1589 Aegidius Bassengius took over direction of music at Mergentheim. In 1591, Bassengius dedicated a volume of motets for five, six, and eight voices to Maximilian.⁶⁵ Bassengius left the *Deutschmeister's* employ in 1594, just after he (along with the rest of the *Kapelle*) accompanied Maximilian to the diet in Regensburg. With the exception of Bassengius, most of Maximilian's musicians from Mergentheim accompanied him during his official entry into Innsbruck as the Tyrolean sovereign on 2 June 1602. The musicians were led by the new *Kapellmeister* Johann Pettauer; the entourage included an organist, two tenors, one bass, four trumpeters, and four choirboys.⁶⁶

61 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 187.

62 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 187, and Theophile Antonicek, 'Die höfische Musik von Maximilian III. bis zur Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle', in *Musikgeschichte Tirols 2: Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts*, ed. Kurt Drexel and Monika Fink (Innsbruck, 2004), 40.

63 Antonicek, 'Die höfische Musik', 41.

64 Anthony F. Carver, 'Ammon, Blasius', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 1, 511.

65 Aegidius Bassengius, *Motectorum quinque, sex, octo vocom, liber primus* (Vienna, 1591) [RISM B1236].

66 Pettauer entered Maximilian's service as an alto in 1594, but he served as *Kapellmeister* only from 1602 to 1603. Regarding Maximilian's Tyrolean entry, it is possible that another

During the *Deusthmeister's* reign, the Innsbruck court was a 'quiet residence' ('eine stille Residenz'), and festivities were of a religious nature.⁶⁷ Maximilian cultivated the performance of liturgical music by maintaining a *Hofkapelle* of moderate size and considerable quality. The first *Hoforganist* Paul Sartorius (1569-1609) serves as an excellent example of the high calibre of musicianship at Maximilian's court, as well as the continued influence of Italian musical trends. Born in Nuremberg, Sartorius claimed that after his education at a parish school, he studied music in Italy 'with some of the famous composers of the day'.⁶⁸ Several of his works are preserved in Innsbruck in print and manuscript form; they include masses for six to eight voices, motets for six to twelve voices, a Magnificat for six voices, other Latin sacred genres for six to eight voices, and his *Neue teutsche Liedlein nach Art der welschen Canzonette* for four voices.⁶⁹ His sacred compositions exhibit the influence of Palestrina rather than the new, concerted style emerging from Venice, but one wonders how his compositional style may have changed if Sartorius had not died in 1609.

Johann de Fosse succeeded Pettauer as *Kapellmeister* in 1603. De Fosse was sent to Innsbruck upon the recommendation of Maximilian's brother, Archduke Albrecht VII. It seems that de Fosse dedicated a mass to Maximilian in 1602, perhaps in order to solicit the employment that he quickly obtained from the Tyrolean sovereign; unfortunately, the music for this work has been lost. During his short tenure in Innsbruck, de Fosse and his wife Magdalena (née Mangelschott) had four children; Maximilian was named the godfather of at least three of them. In 1607, de Fosse left to take the post of *Kapellmeister* at the court of the Bishop of Passau. His departure did not end his relationship with Maximilian; the musical inventory of 1619 includes five partbooks by de Fosse, which were dedicated to the *Deutschmeister* and published in Prague in 1610.⁷⁰ De Fosse was succeeded by Johann Stadlmayr (c. 1580-1648), arguably the most important *Kapellmeister* ever to serve the Tyrolean Habsburgs. Due to nature of

alto and bass were present, but Senn hypothesizes that they were included in the roster of chaplains and other servants (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 187).

67 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 196; see also Schlachta, 'The Innsbruck Court', 351.

68 Franz Krautwurst, 'Sartorius, Paul', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 22, 308-9.

69 Paul Sartorius, *Neue Teutsche Liedlein mit vier Stimmen nach Art der Welschen Canzonette, auff allerley Instrumenten zu gebrauchen* (Nuremberg, 1601) [RISM S1082]; one of the songs (*Frisch auf, ihr lieben G'sellen!*) is included in Johannes von Profe (ed.), *Chor- und Hausmusik aus alter Zeit 2* (Berlin, 1927).

70 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 188; unfortunately, Senn does not provide any details regarding these partbooks, and I have been unable to locate any further information regarding these compositions.

Stadlmayr's service – he was *Kapellmeister* for over forty years, serving three different Tyrolean sovereigns – his tenure will be discussed in greater detail below.

In addition to the *Kapellmeister* and organists, Maximilian's payroll records provide information regarding other musicians at the *Deutschmeister's* court. The tenor Nicholas Wolk came from Mergentheim; he served Maximilian for twenty-eight years (1591-1619) and after the *Deutschmeister's* death received a pension of 104 gulden.⁷¹ The 'musician and bass' (*Musikus und Bassist*) Georg Rieger also came from Mergentheim; he died in the *Deutschmeister's* service in 1606.⁷² In 1603, the tenor and *Musikus* Andreas Silberegger married Agatha Angermann, the daughter of the headmaster of St. Jakob's parish school. After Maximilian's death, Silberegger received a pension of seventy-eight gulden; he then was hired as a cantor at St. Jakob – no doubt the familial connections may have assisted him in his search for employment after the dissolution of Maximilian's chapel. The bass Georg Burkhart also served as a cantor at St. Jakob from 1596 to 1602, before accepting a position at Maximilian's court in 1603. Burkhart was also a copyist; in 1612 Ferdinand II's widow Anna Caterina paid him fourteen gulden for a cantional that he copied and expanded for her use.⁷³

Court documents from this period do not always offer specific designations for Maximilian's instrumentalists. Often, the musicians are listed simply as 'instrumentalist' (*Instrumentist*) or 'musician' (*Musikus*) without any reference to the specific instrument(s) a certain musician played. For example, Hans Nestmann served as a 'musician and instrumentalist' from 1586 to 1606; on the other hand, Dionysi Schmaha is listed as a 'drummer and instrumentalist' from 1602 to 1608.⁷⁴ By contrast, Hans Storch, who led the *Hofmusik* from 1602 to 1611, is given not a general designation but rather the specific titles of *Obrist-musikus* (leader of the *Hofmusik*) and 'Trompeter'.⁷⁵ In all these cases, Maximilian's payroll bears one striking difference from that of Ferdinand II: Under the *Deutschmeister*, there appears to have been a complete absence of lutenists. It is possible that – as Theophil Antonicek has suggested – the general designations *Musikus* and *Instrumentist* imply that these men could have also

71 Wolk's son became court organist to Maximilian's successor Leopold v (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 189).

72 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 189.

73 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 189. It is unclear how Anna Caterina used the cantional.

74 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 190 and InnSTLA 991/2, Innsbruck, St. Jakob, Totenbuch 2, pag. 39.

75 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 190 and InnSTLA 991/4, Innsbruck, St. Jakob, Totenbuch 3, pag. 185.

played the lute (or other stringed instruments) in chamber performances.⁷⁶ At the same time, it is also possible that Maximilian did not employ lutenists, due to the religious nature of his court.

The latter possibility may indeed have been the case, and Maximilian's spiritual orientation can be glimpsed in other ways. For instance, although all Tyrolean rulers maintained strong ties to the parish church of St. Jakob, Maximilian strengthened the connections between the court, the *Pfarrkirche*, and the town. In 1602, a decree was issued that every year for the feasts of St. Catherine and Epiphany, the choirboys of St. Jakob's *Singschule* would gather before the houses of Innsbruck to sing.⁷⁷ On Epiphany, there was an additional stipulation that the pupils should perform a Christmas play ('ain Waynachspil').⁷⁸ The decree called for the presence of as many people as possible, 'young and old, men and wives, foreigners and townspeople'.⁷⁹ In 1608, Maximilian instituted the 'Pfinztagsamtes mit Prozession' (Pentecost Office with procession), which involved the participation of city councillors, the cantors of St. Jakob, other parish and court musicians, and the watchmen of the town.⁸⁰

Maximilian also strengthened the court's relationship with the local Jesuits. As noted, Ferdinand II had supported the performance of the Jesuit plays at the Gymnasium. Maximilian also fostered the artistic and academic growth of the Gymnasium, attending several Jesuit plays throughout his reign. The Jesuit 'Festspiel' *Josephs a fratribus venditus* was performed in 1602 in honour of Maximilian's ascension to the Tyrolean throne.⁸¹ In 1606, the inauguration of the new Gymnasium was commemorated with a performance of the *Tragedy von S. Catharina der heiligen Junckfrawen und sighafften Marterin*; Maximilian was present, accompanied by the three Archduchesses (most likely the widow Anna Caterina Gonzaga and her daughters).⁸² In addition to supporting the Jesuits' theatrical ventures, Maximilian fostered the life of the Gymnasium in other ways. For instance, although Ferdinand II had already established a home for poor students on scholarship (the so-called *Nikolaihaus*), Maximilian established fifteen more such houses. These students received room, board, and stipends; they were able to attend the Gymnasium, with the expectation

76 Antonicek, 'Die höfische Musik', 17.

77 InnSTLA 17.

78 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 196.

79 'jung und alt, Mann und Weibs, frembde und inheimbische' (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 196, and InnSTLA 17).

80 InnSSI 1609/11, pag. 30. Maximilian also donated 26,000 florins to St. Jakob for interior refurbishment, which included ornate and costly silverwork (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 196).

81 Hastaba, "Jesuitenspiele", 397.

82 Hastaba, "Jesuitenspiele", 397.

that they would sing for liturgies in the *Jesuitenkirche* and perform in the school plays.⁸³

Two other types of sources lend insight into the importance of religious music at Maximilian's court: works composed by his court musicians, and the music inventory that was compiled in 1619 after his death. The former category includes *stile antico* works by Sartorius and Stadlmayr. The inventory, on the other hand, reflects a wider breadth of styles. While Maximilian's music library included mostly sixteenth-century works by such composers as Palestrina, Lasso, Philippe de Monte, Jacobus Vaet, and Jacob Regnart, there are also examples of the Venetian style by both Gabrieli as well as concerted works by Ludovico Viadana, Giovanni Valentini, and Bernardo Borlasca.⁸⁴ While it is difficult to know which of these works were actually performed by Maximilian's *Hofkapelle* (and with what frequency), one can imagine musical life at the *Deutschmeister's* court as conservative, mostly liturgical, and certainly religious – but also featuring performances of works in the modern *concertato* style.

A closing note to this discussion of music at Maximilian III's court should be made about the relatively separate court of Ferdinand II's widow Anna Caterina Gonzaga. Like Maximilian, her lifestyle and her court culture were of a religious nature. After Ferdinand's death, Anna Caterina lived at *Schloß Ruhelust* with her daughters Maria and Anna, taking many of her husband's musicians with her. In 1612, Anna Caterina established the Servite cloister (also called the *Versperrtes Kloster*) in Innsbruck; Maximilian himself sponsored the celebrations surrounding the establishment of the new religious house. The Archduchess entered the order, taking the name Sister Anna Juliana. The first *Kapellmeister* of the cloister was Giuseppe Marini, who directed a small performing ensemble including an organist, an alto, two tenors, two basses, three instrumentalists, and four choirboys. There may have been a hiatus between the first two *Kapellmeister*, for Marini seems to have left in 1613, and his successor, Wolfgang Ißlinger, does not appear in the documents until 1615. Ißlinger composed a Magnificat for twelve voices and horns, as well as a twelve-voice setting of the Vespers psalm *Dixit Dominus*, but it is unclear whether Ißlinger's settings were performed at the *Versperrtes Kloster*.⁸⁵ When the Archduchess died in 1621, the chapel was disbanded, and the nuns themselves assumed responsibility for all music performed in the cloister. Linda

83 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 197.

84 Unless noted otherwise, the information in this section is drawn from Antonicek, 'Die höfische musik', 41-42.

85 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 199.

Maria Koldau has provided the names of a few outstanding women musicians of the Servite cloister, including the organist, composer, and *Kapellmeisterin* Maria Julian (1610/11-86), the organist Maria Aloisia Fischer (1655/56-1725), and the eighteenth-century choir mistress Maria Peregrina Daisser (1710-57).⁸⁶

3 Leopold v

Born to Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria and Maria of Bavaria in 1586, Leopold v (1586-1632) initially pursued an ecclesiastical career: In 1607 he became the Bishop of Passau, and in 1608 Administrator and then Bishop of Straßbourg.⁸⁷ Leopold established his first court in Saverne, where his *Hofkapelle* comprised twenty members: *Kapellmeister*, *Hoforganist*, six choirboys, and two each of altos, tenors, and basses, as well as a violinist, a cornettist, a trombonist, a drummer, and two trumpeters. After Maximilian III's death in 1618, Leopold v was named Governor of Tyrol; in 1619, he moved to Innsbruck, bringing with him most of his musicians from the Saverne court. As Schlachta has noted, after Leopold assumed governorship of Tyrol, he gradually asserted his independence from imperial influence – an independence that was initiated in 1625 by an agreement with his brothers that gave Leopold two thirds of the Upper and Outer Austrian lands. In 1626, these lands offered an 'act of homage' to Leopold as their new ruler, and in 1630, his hereditary sovereignty expanded to cover the other third of the lands.⁸⁸ Unlike Maximilian, Leopold did not remain in religious life during his archduchy; in 1626, he married Claudia de' Medici, daughter of Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Leopold and Claudia had two sons, Ferdinand Charles and Sigismund, both of whom eventually became heirs to the Tyrolean throne.⁸⁹

86 Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, 68; see also pp. 67, 590, 814, and 860-70. The music of Innsbruck nuns merits a great deal more attention, especially in English-language scholarship.

87 Unless noted otherwise, the information in this section is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 205-6.

88 Schlachta, 'The Innsbruck Court', 344.

89 On the cultivation of Italianate artistic culture at the court of Leopold v, see Sabine Weiss, 'Der Innsbrucker Hof unter Leopold v. und Claudia de' Medici (1619-1632): Glanzvolles Leben nach Florentiner Art', in *Der Innsbrucker Hof: Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heinz Noflatscher and Jan Paul Niederkorn, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 138 (Vienna, 2005), 241-348.

3.1 *The Splendid Chapel of Leopold v*

During the early years of Leopold's reign in Innsbruck, he employed eight choirboys and three each of altos, tenors, and basses, as well as six instrumentalists, an organist, and a *Kapellmeister*. Leopold's *Kapellmeister* – who also served his widow and his son Ferdinand Charles – was perhaps one of the most famous and widely published musicians to serve in the Innsbruck chapel: Johann Stadlmayr.

Although early music historians such as Fétis place Stadlmayr's birth in 1560, it is more likely that he was born about 1580.⁹⁰ Before joining the *Hofkapelle* under Maximilian III, Stadlmayr worked for the Archbishop of Salzburg as *vice-Kapellmeister* and *Kapellmeister*. With the dissolution of the chapel in Innsbruck in 1618, Stadlmayr was apparently left without a livelihood for himself and his family; consequently, he repeatedly petitioned for employment so that his family would not need to leave Innsbruck.⁹¹ Junkermann and Schmitt also tell us that in order to support his family, Stadlmayr sought employment as a meat inspector for the government.⁹² Not until 1624 was Stadlmayr reinstated as *Kapellmeister* at the Innsbruck court. Stadlmayr's substantial oeuvre is representative of the music of the Innsbruck chapel; it comprises masses, Vespers psalms, Marian antiphons, and motets for several voices and instruments, which exhibit traits of both the *stile antico* and the *stile moderno*.⁹³

The transition to the modern style and the advent of Baroque virtuosity is apparent in Leopold's employment of several castrati. Perhaps most noteworthy was the castrato (or 'Falsettist') Elias Racholdinger (served 1619–44, died 13 February 1644), whose time in Italy helped to foster the Italian influence on music at the Innsbruck court.⁹⁴ Racholdinger hailed from Günzburg, and he joined Leopold's chapel after the death of Ferdinand II's son, Margrave Charles of Burgau. He earned a good salary in Innsbruck, starting at 240 gulden per year and *Tafel bei Hof*. During a pilgrimage to Loreto in the early 1620s, Racholdinger was detained in Verona, where he became acquainted with Italian musicians who instructed him in the new affective style. He worked at the cathedral of Verona; sources report that he sang a solo motet at the Elevation of

90 As Hilde Junkermann and Theo Schmitt have noted, 'in 1619 [Stadlmayr] was called "a rather young and lively man"'; Hilde H. Junkermann and Theo Schmitt, 'Stadlmayr, Johann', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 24, 251–52.

91 Junkermann and Schmitt, 'Stadlmayr', 251.

92 Junkermann and Schmitt, 'Stadlmayr', 251.

93 See the list of Stadlmayr's works in Junkermann and Schmitt, 'Stadlmayr', 251–52.

94 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 213.

the Host during Mass.⁹⁵ Although he received a salary of fifty-two ducats at the cathedral and sixty-five ducats singing at other churches in Verona, he returned to his post in Innsbruck. Racholdinger later returned to Loreto and Rome with Leopold v in the jubilee year of 1625.⁹⁶

Leopold's instrumentalists were often required to play both for ecclesiastical and chamber performances. To this end, the Archduke maintained a roster of musicians that included the violinist Michael Zobl, who served from 1619 to 1632, and the violinist and possibly gambist Paul Rösl, who came to the court as a choirboy in 1620. There were several trombonists ('Posaunist'), including Georg Kerl (served 1619-25), Gregor Richter (1619-28), and Johann Bischof (1621-31). The roster of trumpeters – at least seven in all – is rather impressive. A few trumpeters deserve particular notice: Janisch Pellin (or Pellini, 1619-29) played the timpani as well as the field trumpet, the trumpeter Leonard Richter (1619-39) came with Leopold from Saverne, and Johann Mayr (1623-61) was a chamber and field trumpeter. Johann Steinwanter began as a choirboy in 1622, then went on to play both trumpet and trombone at the courts of Archduchess Anna Caterina and later Leopold v. In some cases, instrumentalists assumed dual roles: the cornettist Paul Keinhaimer, who came to the court in 1619, served also as a *Kammerdiener*, and Georg Nub – who also played the cornet – is listed as a *Hoffurier* as well as a musician.

The excellence of Leopold's *Hofkapelle* reached a pinnacle in 1630. Leopold hired four more instrumentalists (including two organists); thus, the chapel now totalled forty-five members. The additions to the chapel during this 'golden age' included the organists Ambrosius Reiner (son of Jakob Reiner, served 1630-48), Georg Kuentz (1631-33), and Abraham Maegerle (1621-33), who came to the court after serving as a choirboy at Anna Caterina's *Versperrte Kloster*.⁹⁷ A few singers were added to the ranks as well: The alto Horatio Viliberi appears on the payroll in February 1631; a bass from Salzburg, Leonhard Zuntegger, arrived at the court sometime before 1632; and a tenor named Michael – with no surname – is first listed on the register on 7 February 1630.⁹⁸ Another violinist,

95 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 213 and InnSTLA 35; all other information in this paragraph is drawn from Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 213-14.

96 In addition to castrati, pay records for Leopold's chapel include Italian singers of all voice types: to name a few, Francesco Maserollo, bass; Vicenz Scapita of Valenza, tenor and Franciscan court chaplain; Sebastian Francio of Cremona, tenor and court chaplain; Johann Battista Scarmiglioni of Umbria, alto; and Don Matteo Rossi (possibly from Mantua), bass and court chaplain. The age of Italian music in Innsbruck was well under way; this Italianate music reached its pinnacle during the reign of Leopold's son, Archduke Ferdinand Charles.

97 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 220.

98 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 200.

Philipp Jakob Schöndorfer, was added to the chapel in 1630, as well as a somewhat staggering number of four more trumpeters.⁹⁹ The addition of so many more musicians (particularly the trumpeters) reflects a significant increase in the splendour of the music heard at Leopold's court – a splendour that must have been intended to glorify the sovereign himself, as well as serving the Archduke's religious sensibilities.

Leopold v died in 1632 at the relatively young age of forty-six. Under his patronage, the sacred music of the chapel had grown in excellence and renown. His archduchy did see other great achievements in festival and spectacle, such as the Archduke's own wedding festivities, which lasted from 19 April to 1 May 1626 and included several large-scale musical processions, an Italian ballet, and the participation of several religious orders.¹⁰⁰ Leopold also commissioned the building of Innsbruck's first *Komödienhaus* (constructed from 1628 to 1630) for theatrical performances; the second *Komödienhaus* would be commissioned by Leopold's heir Ferdinand Charles, whose archduchy brought one hundred years of Tyrolean musical culture to a brief – but brilliant – climax.¹⁰¹

4 Ferdinand Charles

Unlike his predecessors Ferdinand II and Maximilian III, Leopold v succeeded in producing an heir. When Leopold died in 1632, the firstborn prince Ferdinand Charles (1628–62) was only four years old. Ferdinand Charles's mother, Archduchess Claudia, ruled Tyrol until her son came of age.¹⁰² The Tyrolean heir was educated by the Jesuits of Innsbruck, but he also spent a great deal of time in Florence at his mother's native court. The future Archduke was fluent in both Italian and German, and he received instruction in art and music as well as governance. The former pursuits would preoccupy him throughout his Tyrolean reign, often at the expense of the latter. Ferdinand Charles assumed the throne of Tyrol on 9 April 1646; in June, he married his cousin, the

99 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 200–1.

100 On the wedding festivities of Leopold v and Claudia de' Medici, see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 222–24.

101 On Leopold's *Komödienhaus*, see Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 229–32.

102 More research is needed regarding Tyrolean musical life during the regency of Archduchess Claudia, as well as at the court of Charles, Margrave of Burgau (1560–1618), and at the Convent (*Damenstift*) of the Sacred Heart during the tenure of Archduchess Magdalena (1532–90) as its founding abbess. In regard to music during Archduchess Claudia's regency, see Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, 102–12. In regard to music at the *Damenstift* under Archduchess Magdalena, see Walter Senn, *Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1938), and Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, 59–64.

Florentine princess Anna de' Medici. The wedding festivities included the performance of a Jesuit play, *Tyrolis pacifica*;¹⁰³ this presentation signified a continuation of the court's patronage of Jesuit drama, a phenomenon that would continue throughout the new Archduke's reign.

Several scholars have noted that Ferdinand Charles's 'wasteful and complacent character' had disastrous effects upon the financial state of the Tyrolean government.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, however, Ferdinand Charles's policies (or lack thereof) resulted in a period of unparalleled flourishing of art and music at the Innsbruck court; as the Chancellor Wilhelm Bienenner observed, at Ferdinand Charles's court, there were 'masques, comedies, balls, and nothing else'.¹⁰⁵ Although Bienenner's characterization was fairly accurate, the chancellor omitted two important elements: the Archduke's cultivation of splendid liturgical music, and his vigorous efforts to promote opera. Scholarship regarding Ferdinand Charles's patronage of music has focused nearly exclusively on opera; however, sacred music also played a crucial role in the musical life of the Ferdinand Charles's court.

4.1 *Sacred Music at the Court of Archduke Ferdinand Charles*

Throughout his reign, Ferdinand Charles maintained a chapel with four choirboys, six adult singers, an organist, violinists, violists, gambists, a cornettist, and trombonists. The regular 'Gregorian' chapel choir ('der gregorianische Choral') was distinguished from the ensemble of virtuoso singers who performed opera and chamber music at the court, but who still joined the chapel on special occasions.¹⁰⁶ Court documents provide several details about Ferdinand Charles's chapel singers, including the choirboys. The choirboys' musicianship seems to have been of a high calibre, and their musical education thorough; many *Kapellknaben* made their adult careers as court musicians – playing instruments as well as singing – in Innsbruck and other cities.¹⁰⁷ The adult singers were also highly trained and versatile; many played instruments in addition to singing in the choir. For instance, Matthias Stadler served as an

¹⁰³ Available in modern edition: Vitus Dinzl, *Spes aurei saeculi: Hoffnung auf ein goldenes Zeitalter oder Tyrolis pacifica*, ed. Stefan Tilg (Innsbruck, 2002); see also Hastaba, "Jesuitenspiele", 400.

¹⁰⁴ Franz-Heinz Hye, 'Ferdinand Karl von Tirol', in *Die Habsburger: Ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Brigitte Hamman (Munich, 1988), 116, as quoted in Antonicek, 'Die höfische musik', 39.

¹⁰⁵ 'Maschere, comedie, balli e nient'alto'; Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 244 and Franz Carl Zoller, *Geschichte und Denkwürdigkeiten der Stadt Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1816), 377.

¹⁰⁶ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 246.

¹⁰⁷ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 246–47. For instance, Jakob Reichart began in 1652 as a choirboy, then later served the court as a violinist and cornettist.

alto and organist from 1646 to 1709, and the court cantor Karl Boussier (c. 1660–90) sang tenor and bass as well as played the violin. Other singers and musicians filled clerical roles: Antonio Castelli resided at the court as an organist and a chaplain from c. 1656 to 1660, and the bass Ludwig Fieger was chaplain to the *Damenstift* in the nearby town of Hall.

Only two *Kapellmeister* served under Ferdinand Charles: Johann Stadlmayr and Ambrosius Reiner (1604–72). Stadlmayr was over sixty-five years old when Ferdinand Charles assumed the throne and had served at the Innsbruck court for nearly forty years. On 1 July 1648 – sixteen days before Stadlmayr's death – Reiner was named the new *Kapellmeister*, proving himself a worthy successor. Reiner had first come to Innsbruck in 1630 as a probationary organist, and in 1631 he was officially appointed the second court organist and instructor of the *Kapellknaben*. In 1635, he was promoted to first court organist. All of Reiner's existing works are sacred; his oeuvre consists of compositions for voices and instruments, lending insight into the kind of sacred music that was likely heard regularly during Ferdinand Charles's reign. For instance, Reiner's Vespers psalms for Sundays and other major feasts, printed in Innsbruck in 1651, are scored for eight voices and two violins, and the title page indicates that the Magnificat was composed in *concertato* style for other instruments as well.¹⁰⁸ It is difficult to know exactly which instruments accompanied the Magnificat; the only additional extant partbooks are designated for trombones. In any case, Reiner's psalms reveal that during Ferdinand Charles's reign, lavish, concerted music was standard liturgical fare, at least on Sundays and important feast days.

Other sources reveal that splendid liturgical celebrations were a central feature of courtly life under Ferdinand Charles. One such document is a travel diary that chronicles the Archduke's journey to the courts of northern Italy in the winter and spring of 1652.¹⁰⁹ Although much evidence has been gleaned from this document regarding the performance of secular music, the religious aspects of the diary also merit attention.¹¹⁰ On 23 January (the feast of the virgin and martyr St. Emerentiana), the Archdukes departed the Hof with a

108 Ambrosius Reiner, *Psalmi vespertini pro Dominica, B. Maria Virgine, Apostolis, Reliquis festis per annum et terna magnificat octo vocum: Cum uno Magnificat concertato Voc. 2. Violin. Instrumentis et vocibus alius accessorius* (Innsbruck, 1651) [RISM R1078].

109 For a modern transcription of the diary, see Thomas Küstler and Veronika Sandbichler, 'Erzfürstettraiss nacher Welschlandt [...] de Anno 1652: das Reisetagebuch Erherzog Ferdinand Karls', in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der tiroler Landesmuseen* 2010 (Innsbruck, 2010), 194–384.

110 Roger Freitas has examined musical performances during the Tyrolean Archdukes' sojourn in Mantua; see Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge, 2009), 61–64.

retinue numbering 321 people; many of their attendants were musicians and clergy, including preachers and confessors fluent in both German and Italian.¹¹¹ The travel diary is shot-through with liturgical-musical events. For instance, on the feast of Corpus Christi, Vespers was sung by the 'best singer in all of Welschland'; most likely the castrato Pompeo Sabbatini.¹¹² At the end of their travels, the court celebrated the feast of St. Anne – Anna de' Medici's name day – at the Franciscan *Hofkirche* with a high sung Office.

Splendid liturgical music played a major role in the Catholic conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden in Innsbruck in 1655. Like the events of the 1652 tour, the festivities surrounding Queen Christina's conversion have been most recognized for the secular music-making – most notably the performance of Antonio Cesti's new opera *L'Argia* – that accompanied the celebrations. However, the liturgical celebrations during the Queen's visit also involved excellent musical performances; it is likely that the *Hofkapelle* performed Reiner's concerted mass for five voices with strings and wind instruments.¹¹³ An eyewitness to the events, Galeazzo Gualdo, reported that the 'exquisite music' was 'sweetly accompanied by the harmony of concerted *trombe, timpani e tamburi*', and that it moved the listeners to delight.¹¹⁴ According to Gualdo, Queen Christina – although only partially visible – seemed to be both content and satisfied with the performance.¹¹⁵

4.2 'Kammermusiker', Virtuosi, and Opera

Liturgical works in the concerted style required the participation of the court instrumentalists, who were also required to play in other court performances, including chamber music and, most importantly, operatic productions. In fact, Ferdinand Charles cultivated a secular musical culture that was arguably the most splendid – and expensive – that the Innsbruck court would ever see. Two events of Ferdinand Charles's reign were particularly decisive in the further establishment of an Italianate musical culture in Innsbruck: the construction of his *Komödienhaus*, the first Venetian-style opera house north of the Alps, and the establishment of the position of *Kammerkapellmeister*, a director of

¹¹¹ Küstler and Sandbichler, 'Erzfürstercraiss nacher Welschlandt', 193.

¹¹² See Küstler and Sandbichler, 'Erzfürstercraiss nacher Welschlandt', 263.

¹¹³ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 288.

¹¹⁴ 'dove una Musica isquisita soavemente accompagnata dal concerto ed armonia di trombe, timpani e tamburi, così ben aggiustato, che come cosa nuova e non più sentità, portò un sommo diletto alla curiosità' (Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 288); Senn cites Galeazzo Gualdo, *Historia della real maestà di Christina* (Venice, 1656), 88.

¹¹⁵ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 288 and Gualdo, *Historia*, 75: 'La Regina fù sentirla ad una fenestra assai scoperta e publica e se ne chiamò molto contenta e soddisfatta.'

music for performances of chamber music and opera. In fact, Ferdinand Charles created the position of *Kammerkapellmeister* expressly for the composer and tenor Antonio Cesti (1623–69), who accepted the post in December 1652 at a salary of 900 florins.¹¹⁶ The Archduke greatly treasured Cesti; the visiting castrato Atto Melani claimed that Cesti was the Archduke's 'god of music'.¹¹⁷ In 1662, Ferdinand Charles made an unprecedented gift to Cesti of a sumptuous residence. Throughout Ferdinand Charles's reign, the court witnessed the production of at least five of Cesti's operas: *La Cleopatra* (4 January 1654 at the newly constructed *Komödienhaus*), *L'Argia* (for the conversion of Queen Christina, 4 November 1655), *Orontea* (19 February 1656), *La Dori* (1657), and *La magnanimità d'Alessandro* (4 June 1662, for Queen Christina's return visit to Innsbruck). Cesti was not in residence in Innsbruck from 1659 to 1661; during this period, he sang in the papal chapel and was courted by Cardinal Mazarin to work in Paris, but in 1661 he returned to Innsbruck from Rome, apparently due to troubles with the Pope.¹¹⁸ After Ferdinand Charles's death in 1662, Cesti worked briefly for his brother Sigismund Franz (d. 1665), and then for Emperor Leopold I. Cesti died in Florence in 1669.

In order to perform compositions by Cesti and other *maestri*, Archduke Ferdinand Charles recruited some of the best musicians in all of Europe – both instrumentalists and singers – who became known as his *Kammermusiker* and *virtuosi*. The singers – who performed in liturgies on special feasts as well as appearing in operas and chamber performances – included several castrati, such as Clemente Antonio, who accompanied the Archdukes on the 1652 Italian tour and sang before Queen Christina in 1655. The payroll also includes the castrato Astolfo Bresciani, who travelled with the court to the diet of Regensburg in 1654, and to whom Mauritio Cazzati referred in his *Sacri concerti* of 1664.¹¹⁹ As noted, Pompeo Sabbatini – another well-known castrato – travelled with Ferdinand Charles in 1652 and probably sang Vespers on the feast of Corpus Christi. Ferdinand Charles also employed several highly skilled altos; documents praise Philippo Bompaglia as an 'exquisite mezzo-soprano'

¹¹⁶ Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 256.

¹¹⁷ Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 80.

¹¹⁸ It took the combined efforts of Ferdinand Charles, Cosimo III of Florence, and Emperor Leopold I to obtain Cesti's leave from the papal chapel; see David L. Burrows and Carl B. Schmidt, 'Cesti, Antonio', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 5, 395.

¹¹⁹ Mauritio Cazzati, *Sacri concerti di motetti* (Bologna, 1664) [RISM C1664]; see also Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 263.

(‘vorzüglicher Mezzosopran’), and the alto and composer Antonio Pancotti received a gift of 3000 florins from the Archduke in 1657.¹²⁰

Ferdinand Charles’s instrumentalists were also of the highest calibre. The virtuosic English gambist William Young came to the court in the early 1650s. Young travelled with the Archdukes to Italy in 1652 and to Regensburg in 1654; he also accompanied Ferdinand Charles to England in 1660. In 1653, Young dedicated to the Archduke a print of sonatas published in Innsbruck by Michael Wagner.¹²¹ When Queen Christina visited Innsbruck in 1655, Young’s chamber performances delighted the guest of honour.¹²² Young, widely recognized as one of the best gambists of his time, died in Innsbruck on 23 April 1662.

The violinist Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli served Ferdinand Charles in the 1650s and 1660s. Mealli also composed sonatas, which are marked by their improvisatory and virtuosic displays. In 1660, two of Mealli’s sonata collections, opp. 3 and 4, were published in Innsbruck.¹²³ The third opus was dedicated to both Ferdinand Charles and Anna de’ Medici. Interestingly, on the title page, the Archduchess’s name is much larger than that of her husband; this may imply that she had a special appreciation for Mealli’s art. The prefatory material of Mealli’s third opus is also entirely in Italian, a feature that reflects deference to the Archduchess – who shared Mealli’s native tongue – as well as the generally Italianate nature of the court’s musical life.

Antonio Maria Viviani (before 1630–83) took employment at the court sometime before 1648, and in 1651 his name appears with the title *Hoforganist*. Like Young, Viviani accompanied the Archdukes on the Italian tour of 1652. Viviani served as the superintendent of the Innsbruck chamber musicians from 1660; it must have been in this capacity that he again travelled with the Archdukes to Italy in 1661, this time to the Archduchess’ native Florence. Viviani’s compositions include a musical-theatrical spectacle presented in Innsbruck in 1652; the libretto was written by the Italian court preacher and panegyrist Didaco Lequile.¹²⁴ Antonio Maria Viviani’s cousin, Giovanni Bonaventura (1638–after 1692), came to Innsbruck as a violinist around 1656. Unlike the many musicians

120 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 263.

121 William Young, *Sonate à 3, 4, e 5 con alcune allamand, correnti, e balletti à 3* (Innsbruck, 1653) [RISM Y137].

122 Senn, *Musik und Theater*, 262.

123 Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli, *Sonate a violino solo, per chiesa e camera ... opera terza* (Innsbruck 1660) [RISM P832] and Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli, *Sonate a violino solo, per chiesa e camera ... opera quarta* (Innsbruck, 1660) [RISM P833].

124 Herbert Seifert, ‘Viviani, Antonio Maria’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 26, 845.

who left Innsbruck for the imperial court after the death of Sigismund Franz in 1665, Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani remained in Innsbruck as the director of the chamber musicians until at least 1678.

Ferdinand Charles died in 1662 at the age of thirty-four; during his sixteen-year reign, he had cultivated the most splendid era of music at the Innsbruck court. He was succeeded by his brother Sigismund Franz, who also died young (at the age of thirty-five) in 1665. Tyrol and the Innsbruck court then fell under the direct control of Emperor Leopold I. Although Ferdinand Charles's policies had disastrous effects on the economy of Tyrol, his artistic sensibilities left behind an ensemble of first-rate court musicians, most of whom went on to work at the imperial court in Vienna. In this way, although the splendour of Tyrolean musical life no longer belonged exclusively to the court of Innsbruck, its excellence continued – perhaps in an even more visible way – under the direct patronage of the Emperor himself.

Acknowledgements

Research for this essay was made possible in part by a generous grant from the Cosmos Club of Washington, DC.

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PART 2

Cultural Contexts



Italian Musical Dramatic Genres at the Courts of the Austrian Habsburgs

Herbert Seifert

1 Opera at the Imperial Court

Already in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the main focus of the development of the new genre of opera shifted from Florence to Mantua, which was not only ruled by a duke open to the arts, Vincenzo Gonzaga, but was also where one of the greatest geniuses of musical dramatic art, Claudio Monteverdi, worked. With his operas *L'Orfeo* (1607) and *L'Arianna* (1608), Monteverdi created the first masterpieces of the genre, which strongly influenced his contemporaries. Only the music of *L'Orfeo*, whose virtuoso title role was sung by the famous tenor Francesco Rasi (1574-1621), is preserved today in its entirety. Rasi visited the imperial court in 1612, at that time still resident in Prague, where he sang before the new Emperor Matthias. On his way back to Mantua he travelled through Salzburg, where he presented the Prince Archbishop Marcus Sitticus of Hohenems a manuscript of his compositions and possibly sang for him. Fourteen months after his visit to the Salzburg court, a series of opera performances began there, which lasted until the Prince's death in 1619. The first of these operas was titled *Orfeo*; produced for a number of years and performed for the visiting Emperor Ferdinand II in 1619, it was likely the opera composed by Monteverdi.

While Salzburg was the first city north of the Alps to mount Italian opera, much more important, and only second to Salzburg in the northern reception of opera, was the imperial court, now resident in Vienna but at times also temporarily in other cities. In recent years scholars have several times corrected the presumed date of the first Italian music drama at the imperial court. Today we are aware of a rather isolated first musical dramatic event in Prague in 1617, and a series of performances in Vienna starting in 1622, only sporadic at first and becoming more frequent in the 1630s.

The first event took place during the reign of Emperor Matthias, who in 1612 had transferred the imperial residence from Prague back to Vienna, after the visit by Francesco Rasi, during which the tenor not only sang but also presented the Emperor with an exemplar of one of his prints of monodic

compositions, for which Matthias rewarded him with the usual gifts.¹ At one of the Emperor's several subsequent visits to Prague, Matthias and his wife Anna Eleonora (the daughter of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol and Anna Caterina Gonzaga) were entertained by several noble gentlemen with a ballet in the Hradčany Castle featuring a dramatic introduction sung in Italian, known in Czech scholarship as *Phasma Dionysiacum* (which, however, is not a title, meaning only 'carnival appearance'; in a German version of this single sheet print, the title is 'Mascarade').² This took place on carnival Sunday of 1617, the same day on which a performance of the opera *Andromeda* took place in Salzburg. The entire libretto survives, as well as pictures of the stage designs (see Figure 7.1) – probably the first Baroque ones with machines outside Italy – and from these we can ascertain that the work was not exactly a proper opera, but a ballet with sung dramatic and staged parts, in the vein of either Monteverdi's *Ballo delle Ingrate* or the Florentine *intermedio*.³ This genre was at that time much more frequently performed than opera, even in Florence.⁴ The gentlemen of the imperial court, most of them Bohemians, undoubtedly chose an Italian entertainment of this kind because of its modernity;⁵ they themselves only had to dance, for the vocal parts were sung by professional musicians of

- 1 Herbert Seifert, 'Vorwort', in Francesco Rasi, *Musiche da camera e da chiesa und Camillo Orlandi, Arie a tre, due et a voce sola*, ed. Herbert Seifert, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg* 7 (Salzburg, 1995), vii-xii, at viii. See also Herbert Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 67-73.
- 2 Studies of the performance of this work, focusing on its diplomatic and musical significance, include Petr Mat'a, 'Das *Phasma Dionysiacum Pragense* und die Anfänge des Faschings am Kaiserhof', in *Theater am Hof und für das Volk: Festschrift für Otto G. Schindler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Brigitte Marschall, Maske und Kothurn 48 (Vienna etc., 2002), 67-80; Miloš Štědroň, 'Hudba v pražské slavnosti "Phasma Dionysiacum" z roku 1617 (Konfrontace a posuny)', in *Ars Naturum Aduvans: Sborník k počtě profesora PhDr. Miloše Stehlíka*, ed. Jiří Kroupa (Brno, 2003), 10-14; Miloš Štědroň, 'Pražská operní slavnost *Phasma Dionysiacum* (1617) jako doklad bariér mezi českou společností a habsburskou mocenskou garniturou v předvečer třicetileté války', in *Od folkloru k world music: Hudba a bariéry*, ed. Irena Přibyllová and Lucie Uhlíková (Náměšť nad Oslovou, 2012), 68-74; and Donatella Barbieri, *Costume in Performance: Materiality, Culture, and the Body* (London-New York, 2017), 39-43.
- 3 Herbert Seifert, 'Das erste Musikdrama des Kaiserhofs', in *Österreichische Musik, Musik in Österreich: Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas, Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Elisabeth Theresia Hilscher, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 34 (Tutzing, 1998), 98-111; Herbert Seifert, 'Das erste Libretto des Kaiserhofs', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 46 (1998), 35-75. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 325-38 and 339-77.
- 4 Denis Arnold, 'Intermedio, Ballet and Opera in the Œuvre of Monteverdi', in *La musique e le rite sacré et profane: Actes du XIIIe Congrès de la Société Internationale de Musicologie, Strasbourg 1982*, ed. Marc Honegger and Christian Meyer (Strasbourg, 1986), vol. 1, 363-70.
- 5 Another important factor in selecting an Italian genre is the fact that Italian culture had long been the default for court culture in Prague; see Erika Supria Honisch, 'Sacred Music in Prague, 1580-1612' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011), esp. 31-36.

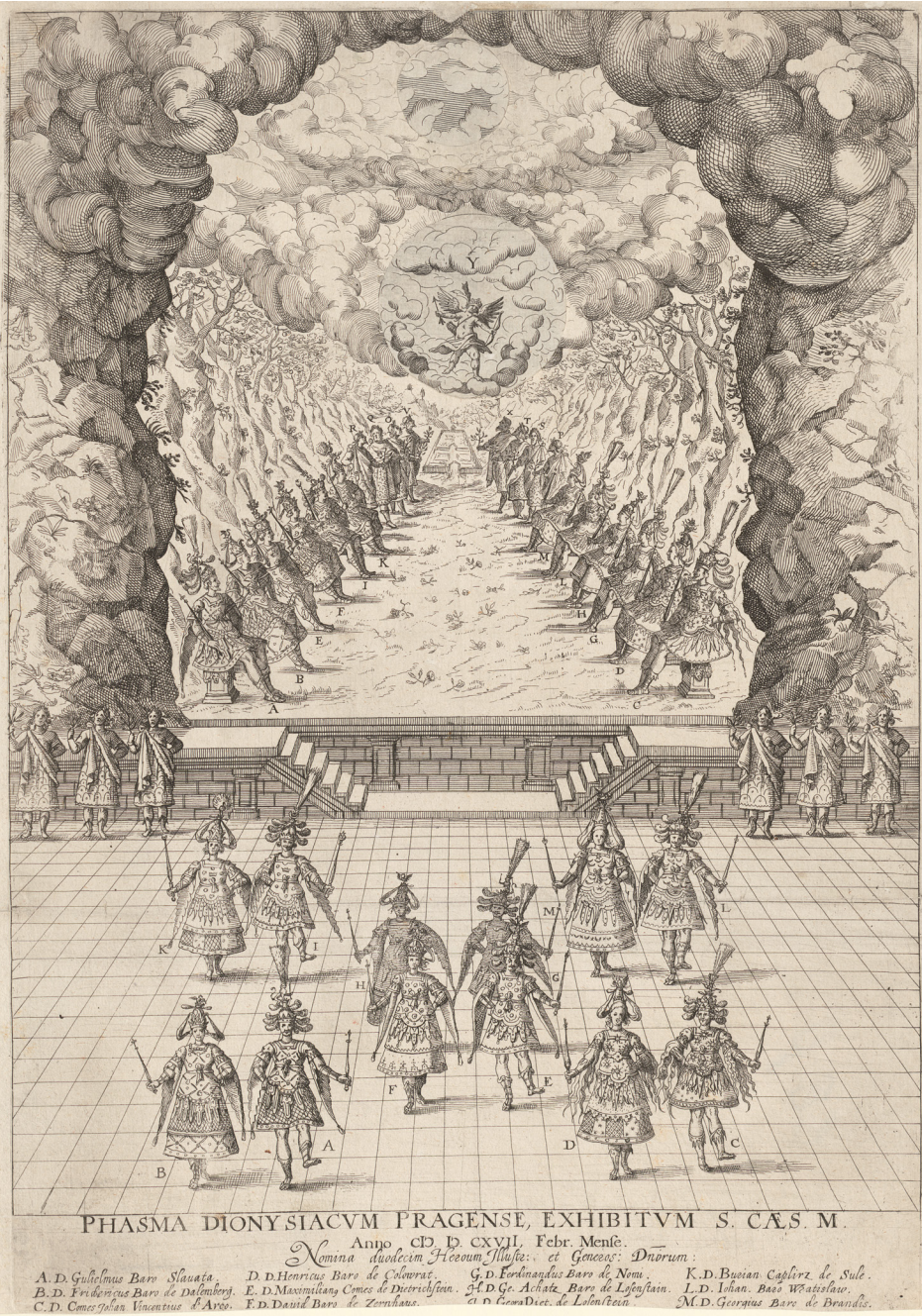


FIGURE 7.1 Scene from the carnival ballet in Prague, engraving, 1617
MUNICH, DEUTSCHES THEATERMUSEUM, INV. NR. IV 4366, USED WITH
PERMISSION

the imperial chapel, including a woman, all of them probably of Italian origin. The singers were accompanied by a continuo group of harpsichord, theorbo, and a string instrument. The author of the text, choreographer, and director was Count Giovanni d'Arco from the Trentino, who was married to a member of the Gonzaga family.⁶

Opera was established in Vienna several years later by Matthias's successor, Ferdinand II, a cousin of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga. As early as 1598 Ferdinand had heard in Florence the through-composed *Giuoco della Cieca* from Giambattista Guarini's pastoral play *Il Pastor fido*; the music – singing and ballet, accompanied by harpsichord and lutes – had been composed by Emilio de' Cavalieri, and the text had been reworked by Laura Guidiccioni.⁷ The vocal and instrumental forces for opera performances were readily available at Ferdinand's court, as the Emperor had brought his large Italianate musical establishment from Graz to Vienna upon ascending to the imperial throne in 1619, dismissing almost all of his predecessor's musicians. The Emperor's predilection for Italian music and musicians thus stems from long before his marriage to the Italian princess Eleonora Gonzaga (1598-1655), the daughter of Monteverdi's former employer Vincenzo. It seems that ballet and music drama must have already been performed for him in Graz, since he had the necessary forces at hand, but the sources provide evidence only for other monodic compositions.

Of course, Ferdinand II's second marriage, to Eleonora Gonzaga, gave another impulse to the performance of Italian opera at court. She arrived in Vienna early in 1622, and already for her coronation as Queen of Hungary in July in Sopron a 'Commedia ... in musica' (one of the usual terms for opera) was performed, probably with the participation of Cavaliere Francesco Campagnolo, a native of Mantua who had been in the service of Archbishop Marcus Sitticus in Salzburg and who in 1619, shortly before Sitticus's death, had

6 Herbert Seifert, 'Die musikalischen Früchte dynastischer und diplomatischer Beziehungen der Habsburger zu Italien von Kaiser Matthias bis zu Karl VI.', in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione: Gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX) / Höfe als Orte der Kommunikation: Die Habsburger und Italien (16. bis 19. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Marco Bellabarba and Jan Paul Niederkorn, *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento. Contributi*, 24 / *Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient. Beiträge*, 24 (Bologna-Berlin, 2010), 199.

7 Theophil Antonicek, 'Italienische Musikerlebnisse Ferdinands II. 1598', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 104 (1967), 108-9; Warren Kirkendale, 'L'opera in musica prima del Peri: Le pastorali perdute di Laura Guidiccioni ed Emilio de' Cavalieri', in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1983), 365-95.

returned to Mantua and seems to have accompanied the Empress to Vienna.⁸ This 'commedia' could have been the comic recitative dialogue between Satiro and Corisca from Guarini's *Il Pastor fido* with a final chorus, set to music and published by the imperial court organist Giovanni Valentini (1582/83-1649) just five months earlier in his *Musiche a doi voci* (Venice, 1622) [RISM V95].⁹ If this was indeed the work performed, the tenor Campagnolo could not have participated as a singer – the dialogue is set for soprano and bass – but rather may have served as the director, as had been the case years before in Salzburg and afterwards in Innsbruck.

Two entertainments very likely similar to the one in Prague followed four weeks later in Eleonora's summer palace just outside of Vienna, the 'Favorita', where she presented the Emperor an 'invenzione in Musica' with a ballet danced by ladies of her court and choreographed by herself; the poet was Count Giovanni Sforza Porcia, captain of the county of Görz/Gorizia and Gradisca. Likewise, the Emperor ordered another such performance in February 1623 in Regensburg, where the court was staying at the time.¹⁰ In 1624, Crown Prince Władysław of Poland was entertained on the occasion of his visit to Vienna with a musical drama acted and sung in Italian, which no doubt describes an opera.¹¹

From July 1625 there is a report of a 'Comoedie der Hof-Musici' performed in the imperial palace in Vienna on Emperor Ferdinand's birthday, also commissioned by Eleonora. Six court musicians acted as inhabitants of three Italian cities and as *commedia dell'arte* characters, but the text was in verse, and the work at least ended with sung madrigals. This could have been an early comic opera.¹² Two years later, in November 1627, the court was again in Prague, this time for the occasion of coronations, and a pastoral opera titled *La Transformatione di Calisto* was performed; the plot was drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (a very popular source for opera plots at that time). The libretto was written by a relative of the Empress, Don Cesare Gonzaga. Sources inform us that the performers were men and women of the imperial musical establishment. During the following years there is evidence of sporadic opera performances in Vienna

8 Otto G. Schindler, 'Von Mantua nach Ödenburg: Die ungarische Krönung Eleonoras 1. Gonzaga (1622) und die erste Oper am Kaiserhof. Ein unbekannter Bericht aus der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek', *Biblos* 46 (1997), 277-88.

9 Ed. by Othmar Wessely in *Frühmeister des Stile Nuovo in Österreich: Bartolomeo Mutis conte di Cesena, Francesco Degli Atti, Giovanni Valentini*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 125 (Graz-Vienna, 1973), 114-36.

10 Seifert, 'Die musikalischen Früchte', 16.

11 Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 263.

12 Herbert Seifert, 'Die Comoedie der Hof-Musici 1625: Die erste Oper in Wien?', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (1993), 77-88. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 379-90.

on the occasions of carnival, of the Emperor's or his wife's birthdays, and of his son Ferdinand III's wedding in 1631.¹³

During Ferdinand III's reign as Emperor (1637-57), the frequency of operas decreased from an average of one a year between 1627 and the death of Ferdinand II in 1637 to one every two years, certainly due in part to the dire political situation during the final stage of the Thirty Years' War. Nonetheless, this Emperor was himself active as composer and even composed an Italian moral opera, performed in the Prague castle in carnival of 1648, which he sent to Athanasius Kircher in 1649.¹⁴ Three of the operas during Ferdinand III's reign were staged in Regensburg, including in 1653 the greatest and most modern one: *L'Inganno d'Amore* with music by *maestro di cappella* Antonio Bertali (1605-69) and libretto by Benedetto Ferrari, with many German princes in the audience. At this early stage the plots of imperial operas were derived from Greek or Roman mythology or from Renaissance literature like Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* or Guarini's *Pastor fido*, or they belonged to the allegorical moral genre. *L'Inganno d'Amore*, in contrast, is the first libretto with a freely invented amorous plot of the fashionable Venetian type, with two couples and comic characters, love intrigues, disguises, and false identities.¹⁵

The real establishment of almost regular opera performances happened immediately after Leopold I assumed the imperial throne in 1659. From this year forward, with few exceptions, an opera was staged every year on the birthdays and later also on the name days of the adult members of the imperial family and during carnival. The Emperor, himself also a composer of operas and of single pieces in almost every music drama he commissioned, was supported in

13 From the last instance stems the first Viennese libretto that has survived: *La Caccia felice* by Cesare Gonzaga.

14 Theophil Antonicek, 'Die italienischen Textvertonungen Kaiser Ferdinands III.', in *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alberto Martino, Chloe 9 (Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1990), 21-27. The discovery of the Prague performance was announced in Erika Supria Honisch, 'Morality in Wartime: On the First Performance of Ferdinand III's *Drama musicum*', paper presented at 27th Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Duke University, 5 April 2019. I have recently recovered the seventeenth-century manuscript score of this *Drama musicum*, missing for more than a century; a report of this score is in Herbert Seifert, 'Die Brüder Ferdinand III. und Leopold Wilhelm, ihre Stellung zu ihrem Lehrer Giovanni Valentini, zur Dichtung und zur Musik', in *Musicologica Brunensia* 53 (2018), 5-18, and a new edition is possibly in preparation. For a list of operas and Italian oratorios performed at court during Ferdinand III's reign, see Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 72-77.

15 See Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 212-15.

these efforts by his stepmother, the second Empress Eleonora Gonzaga (1630–86), whom his father had married in 1651. Like the first Eleonora, she played an important part in bringing Italian musicians and music to the Viennese court, concentrating on oratorios and *sepolcri*. Also like her predecessor, as a widow she maintained a musical establishment of her own, which contributed to the imperial stage.¹⁶ No scores of operas from the imperial court are extant before 1660, with the only exception being Ferdinand III's above-mentioned moral opera from 1648. See Chapter 15 of this volume for a discussion of the extensive operatic connections between Leopold I's court and Venice.

It seems necessary to stress that no entire opera with text and music was imported to the imperial court during the period in question, with only one or two exceptions.¹⁷ All the music was composed by court musicians, at first by the chapel masters Bertali, Giovanni Felice Sances (c. 1600–79), and Pietro Andrea Ziani (c. 1616–84), and then in 1666–68 by Antonio Cesti (1623–69), who was brought from the extinguished Habsburg court of Innsbruck along with the librettist Francesco Sbarra and the court's best singers. This successful team was hired especially for the festivities connected with Leopold's first marriage, to his Spanish niece Margarita Teresa (1651–73). The greatest and most spectacular opera in Vienna, *Il pomo d'oro*, was planned for this occasion, but it could not be performed until more than a year and a half later, in July 1668. The new theatre building, the stage designs, and the costumes were the work of Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, who had come from Venice in 1651 with his father Giovanni and would remain one of the three pillars on which opera at the imperial court rested in the ensuing decades. The other two were likewise hired from Venice: librettist Count Nicolò Minato and composer Antonio Draghi (1634–1700), who was originally employed as singer, then as librettist, and finally as the main composer of dramatic music at court. Minato's plots usually were taken from ancient history but adapted to the usual Venetian model of the 'catena d'amore' (amorous chain) by new inventions, including comic characters. For more than thirty years beginning in 1660 this triumvirate dominated the somewhat conservative character of Viennese opera, before it began to dissolve and a younger generation could take over. Other important persons working for the theatre were Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620/23–80), who provided music for the ballets, choreographed by Santo Ventura;

16 Herbert Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', in *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Angerer et al. (Tutzing, 1982), 527–54. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 633–64.

17 One such exception is Alessandro Scarlatti's early Roman opera *Gli Equivoci nel Sembiante* from 1679, which was performed two years later in Linz as *Amor non vuol Inganni*.

these two were replaced by their sons Anton Andreas Schmelzer (1653-1701) and Domenico Ventura after their deaths in 1676 and 1680 respectively. The costumes and stage designs were set up by Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini. Minato died in 1698; his successor was Donato Cupeda, supported since 1701 by Pietro Antonio Bernardoni. Draghi's output began to decline around that time, for which reason new court composers were hired: Carlo Agostino Badia (1672-1738), Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), and Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741), who together with the new deputy chapel master Marc'Antonio Ziani (c. 1653-1715) now determined the profile of the court theatre.

What were these operas like? The Italian librettos predetermined the distribution of recitatives and arias by their metrics and had to give occasions for ensembles and frequently also for short choruses. The selection of subjects and their processing show the decisive influence of the opera metropolis Venice, but the texts were usually written anew; so too was the music regularly newly written, although in a very similar style. An homage to the honoured person, a 'licenza', closed the operas (except in carnival), which were usually divided into three acts. Comic characters such as servants and old nursemaids helped lessen the severity of the plots, which played between princes. The court operas, accessible only to the court society, functioned as propaganda for the Emperor and against his enemies, especially the French King Louis XIV, and also as criticism and instruction for the nobility in the audience.

The room where this took place was usually the theatre hall of the Hofburg, erected in 1630 and rebuilt several times; today's 'Redoutensaal' is its successor. The new opera house, built in 1666 by Burnacini, which opened with *Il pomo d'oro* and was torn down in 1683 because of the Turkish siege, was rarely used. When the court moved to its spring or summer residences near Vienna, the performances took place there, frequently in the open air.

All in all, more than 400 dramatic works were performed at court during Leopold's reign, about 100 of them oratorios and *sepolcri*, the rest secular dramas, i.e., operas and smaller, non-scenic dramas, which can be called 'serenatas'. These serenatas were as a whole encomiastic, had allegorical personnel, and were performed without scenery and costumes; in contrast to opera, the arias took more time than the recitatives, since there was no real plot.

2 Opera at the Courts in Innsbruck and Graz

Similarly to the imperial court, the establishment of opera at the Habsburg court in Innsbruck was preceded by the Princes' exposure to the genre in Italy.¹⁸ In 1618, Archduke Leopold v attended a pastoral drama, *Andromeda*, with Domenico Belli's musical *intermedii* in Florence (some months after the opera *Il Perseo* with the same plot had been staged in Salzburg), and in 1626 he also attended another opera, *L'Europa* by Balduino di Monte Simoncelli, at the court of Mantua.¹⁹ Shortly afterwards, on the occasion of the festivities for the Archduke's wedding to the Florentine Claudia de' Medici in April 1626, he organized a ballet in the style of an Italian *intermedio*, including solos for the gods of Antiquity. Leopold celebrated the birth of his son Ferdinand Charles two years later with a similar spectacle, which an Italian witness called a 'com-media'. It lasted for two hours and offered solos, choruses, ballets, and rich scenic action.²⁰ After his activities in Salzburg and Vienna, Francesco Campagnolo was employed in Innsbruck at least in 1629, where he was charged with organizing musical and dramatic entertainments; this employment lasted only a short time, however, for he died in Innsbruck in 1630.

Archduke Ferdinand Charles himself also married a Medici princess, Anna de' Medici, and in 1652 he travelled with her and his brother Sigismund Franz to the courts of Mantua, Modena, Parma, Florence, and Ferrara, witnessing several opera performances. After his homecoming he organized a dramatic introduction to a tournament, with music by his organist Antonio Maria Viviani (before 1630-83). In December 1652 he hired Cesti as *maestro di cappella* of his chamber music – presumably meaning secular music, including opera – and he soon built a new theatre on the Venetian model. It opened with Cesti's *La Cleopatra* in January 1654, and this great composer wrote at least five (but probably no fewer than eight) more operas for the Archduke and his successor, including his greatest success, *La Dori*, before Emperor Leopold I called for him, together with the librettist Francesco Sbarra and several singers, after the extinction of the Tyrolean line of the Habsburgs in 1665.²¹

18 The facts about this court are taken from Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954), unless stated otherwise.

19 Emilio Faccioli, *Mantova: Le lettere*, vol. 2 (Mantua, 1962), ill. 46.

20 Herbert Seifert, 'Italienische Oper des Barocks in Österreich', in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca: Atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII*, Lovenjo di Menaggio (Como) 1993, ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como, 1995), 110-12. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 91-98.

21 Herbert Seifert, 'Cesti and His Opera Troupe in Innsbruck and Vienna, with New Informations about His Last Year and His Œuvre', in *La figura e l'opera di Antonio Cesti nel*

There were two more periods in which Innsbruck was the residence of governors who also supported opera. Between 1678 and 1693 Duke Charles of Lorraine and his wife Eleonora Maria, a daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III and the second Eleonora Gonzaga, attended several performances sung by members of the nobility. These included operas by Cesti and the first two operas by Carlo Agostino Badia (1672-1738), who afterwards became court composer in Vienna. The second period, 1707-17, was the governorship of Duke Charles Philip of Neuburg, during which only a few operas by Jakob Greber and Francesco Feo were performed.

The only member of the Austrian nobility not belonging to the Habsburg family who before 1740 was able to support an operatic ensemble was apparently Prince Johann Seyfried von Eggenberg (1644-1713). Between 1688 and 1694 at least four operas by his chapel master Pietro Romulo Pignatta – previously active in Rome and afterwards in Venice – were performed in his castle near Graz.²² One of the Italian singers was the famous alto castrato Gaetano Orsini, who later was employed at the imperial court.

In overviewing the general conditions determining the establishment, development, and decline of operatic institutions in Austria, we find a handful of sovereigns inclined to Italian culture, most of them also connected personally and politically to Italian principalities, who had experienced the new musical entertainments there, wanted to have them at their own courts, and therefore hired the personnel necessary for them. That it was Italian opera was very natural for this region, due to its vicinity to Italy and its very close familiar and political relations to its courts. French influence was for political reasons minimal, restricted to ballet and instrumental music. After its establishment, the patronage of opera was for the most part short-lived, except at the imperial court in Vienna, where the institution lasted for almost 120 years. The decline in all other instances was an abrupt end caused by the death of the sovereign.

3 Oratorio and *Sepolcro*

In addition to opera, other dramatic works with music included the sacred genres of oratorio and its staged cousin the *sepolcro*. The *sepolcro*, often called *rappresentazione sacra*, is on account of its spiritual function, allegorical

Seicento europeo: Convegno internazionale di studio, Arezzo, 26-27 aprile 2002, ed. Mariateresa Dellaborra, Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia 37 (Florence, 2003), 15-62. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 195-242.

22 Hellmut Federhofer, 'Musik in der Steiermark', in *Die Steiermark: Land, Leute, Leistung*, ed. Gernot D Hasiba, Berthold Sutter, and Josef Krainer (Graz, 1971), 639.

persons, and scenic performance closely related to the genres of *opera sacra* and *opera morale*, whose significance and differences have been made clear by Carolyn Gianturco.²³ The first drama in Vienna which possibly belongs to the category of sacred opera, but at least can be called an Italian sacred play with a great deal of music, was printed and in all probability also performed there in 1629: *La Maddalena*. Its author was Giovanni Battista Andreini, the prolific dramatist and leader of the troupe 'I Fedeli', which served the dukes of Mantua. The music was likely composed by Valentini, who is named in the preface. This seems to be for Vienna the starting point of Italian sacred drama set to music.

In 1640 we learn from a letter of Emperor Ferdinand III to his younger brother Archduke Leopold Wilhelm that imperial chapel master Valentini had conducted a passion written by the Emperor in front of the Holy Sepulchre, probably on Good Friday.²⁴ It probably was similar to the sepulchre performances by Valentini to follow in 1642 and 1643: *Rime sopra la Colonna, Flagello, Corona di Spine, Croce, e Lancia di Christo da recitarsi in musica il venerdì santo* (Vienna, 1642) and *Santi risorti nel giorno della Passione di Christo et Lazaro tra quelli, an Opera da rappresentarsi in musica* (Vienna, 1643). This performance could have been a scenic one in front of the sepulchre like that of later *sepolcri*.

If these works were precursors of the later *sepolcro*, in the next dramatic text by Valentini, performed on 18 August 1643, we have an early specimen of the oratorio.²⁵ The author called his text *La Vita di Santo Agapito, Fanciullo di quindici anni a Dialogo ... da cantarsi*.²⁶ It has many features in common with the early *oratorio volgare*: a plot drawn from hagiography, several choirs, and a frame consisting of a kind of *testo* in the beginning and a final *Choro de Rappresentanti*, which links the work to Empress Maria's birthday in the style of the later opera *licenza*. It is important to note that oratorio was taken up in Vienna very soon after its creation in Rome, at about the same time as in

23 Carolyn Gianturco, 'Opera sacra e opera morale: due "altri" tipi di dramma musicale', in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e Germania nell'età barocca, atti del V convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII* (Lovenjo di Menaggio – Como, 28-30 giugno 1993), ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como, 1995), 169-77.

24 Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 439, 899. Steven Saunders, 'The Antecedents of the Viennese Sepulchre', in *Relazioni musicali tra Italia e Germania nell'età barocca, atti del VI convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII* (Lovenjo di Menaggio – Como, 11-13 luglio 1995), ed. Alberto Colzani et al. (Como, 1997), 64.

25 Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1977), vol. 1, 373: 'clearly an early oratorio in one structural part'.

26 Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 176, mentions the 'uncertain state of terminology', vacillating between *dialogo* and *oratorio* in the time around 1640.

Florence and perhaps Sicily,²⁷ but much earlier than in Bologna, Modena, Mantua,²⁸ or Venice.²⁹ The printed libretto seems to be well ahead of Italian libretto prints for oratorios, which did not appear before the 1650s, and in Rome not until after 1670.³⁰ Another performance at the Holy Sepulchre seems to have taken place on 4 April 1654, Holy Saturday. Archduke Leopold Wilhelm wrote the text for an *Oratorio per la Settimana Santa in Musica*, which survives in two different versions, one in a dated manuscript (VienNB Ser. nov. 4270), the other in a printed collection of poetry by the Archduke.³¹ It is likely that the music was composed by his brother, Emperor Ferdinand III.³² That this really was the case with another sacred dramatic text is proven by the inclusion of an undated *Dialogo spirituale Ti stringo al petto à 6 voci di S. M. C.* in an inventory of music from Leopold Wilhelm's court (VienHKA W61/A/32), which is identical with Leopold Wilhelm's *Dialogo nel Natale di Christo per Musica*, an early Christmas oratorio.³³ It thus seems very likely that the *sepolcro* of 1654 was also set to music by the Emperor himself.

As Steven Saunders has pointed out, connections with Rome led to the early reception of sacred music dramas, including oratorios, at the imperial court.³⁴ It is telling that Andreini dedicated his *Maddalena* to the Roman nuncio and that a Roman topic was chosen for *La Vita di Santo Agapito* (St. Agapitus lived in Palestrina and was tortured by the Roman Emperor Aurelianus). The institutions that were important for the transfer of the genre from Rome to Vienna are the Jesuit *Collegio Germanico* with its *maestro di cappella* Giacomo Carissimi (1605-74) and the papal chapel. Numerous personal connections between

27 See Luciano Buono, 'Forme oratoriali in Sicilia nel Seicento: il dialogo', in *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII-XVIII): Atti del convegno internazionale Perugia, Sagra Musicale Umbra, 18-20 settembre 1997*, ed. Paola Besutti, Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia 35 (Florence, 2002), 116.

28 See Paola Besutti, 'Oratori in corte a Mantova: tra Bologna, Modena e Venezia', in *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII-XVIII): Atti del convegno internazionale Perugia, Sagra Musicale Umbra, 18-20 settembre 1997*, ed. Paola Besutti, Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia 35 (Florence, 2002), 365-421.

29 See Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 283, 279, 282, 289.

30 Juliane Riepe, 'Das italienische Oratorium', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, vol. 7 (Kassel, 1997), 744.

31 [Archduke Leopold Wilhelm,] *Diporti del Crescente* (Brussels, 1656), 60-71.

32 Herbert Seifert, 'The Beginnings of Sacred Dramatic Musical Works at the Imperial Court of Vienna: Sacred and Moral Opera, Oratorio and Sepolcro', in *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII-XVIII): Atti del convegno internazionale Perugia, Sagra Musicale Umbra, 18-20 settembre 1997*, ed. Paola Besutti, Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia 35 (Florence, 2002), 489-511. See also Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 765-82.

33 Leopold Wilhelm, *Diporti del Crescente*, 52-59.

34 Saunders, 'The Antecedents', 65-66.

Rome and the Habsburg court are known to us, many of them due to the predilections of Ferdinand III's brother Leopold Wilhelm and the Emperor's third wife Eleonora Gonzaga. Eleonora's *maestro di cappella* from 1657 through 1662 was Giuseppe Tricarico (1623-97), who in the 1640s and early 1650s had been active in Rome.³⁵ Particularly telling is a letter Eleonora wrote on 2 December 1661 to her brother, the Duke of Mantua: 'this advent I am passing my time at sermons and have introduced certain oratorios that were sent to me from Rome and are presented once a week with a sermon on the same subject, similar to an academy,'³⁶ thus again confirming the Roman origin not only of the genre but even of the compositions, at least for this advent.

The impetus for the introduction of the genre of the oratorio to the imperial court in the early 1660s – after sporadic precursors – was thus the combined influence of Eleonora Gonzaga and her brother-in-law Leopold Wilhelm, and it led to the sending of numerous oratorios from Rome, where the genre had been created and was already flourishing. The establishment of the oratorio in Vienna initially started with performances of works previously written for Rome, by Carissimi, Marco Marazzoli (c.1602/5-62), and Carlo Caproli (1615/20-1692/95), among others;³⁷ only gradually were imperial court poets and composers commissioned to produce their own oratorios after these models. The initial enthusiasm declined somewhat after Leopold Wilhelm's death in November 1662, though Eleonora still put on an oratorio every week during the subsequent advent season.

For 1679 and 1687 to 1689, there were six Lenten oratorios a year, for 1662 five oratorios during Lent plus the four in advent already mentioned, which actually resulted in weekly performances during these two ecclesiastical periods. On the other hand, for the years 1664 and 1669 to 1673 there is no evidence of even a single oratorio, in 1664 and 1673 not even the otherwise obligatory two *sepolcri* (see below). For Lent in 1664 the reason may have been that Leopold I and his court stayed at the imperial diet in Regensburg; for the five-year break after that the reason could have been a hitherto unknown idiosyncrasy of his wife Margarita Teresa of Spain, who between December 1666 and her death in March 1673 resided in Vienna. The reduction to only one oratorio in

35 Marko Deisinger, 'Giuseppe Tricarico – ein Kapellmeister auf Reisen: von Rom über Ferrara nach Wien', in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 48 (2006), 359-94.

36 'questo aduento mi uado pasando il tempo in prediche et ó introduto certe oratorie in musica uenutomi da Roma et le facio fare una uolta alla settimana con un sermone quasi academico sopra l'istesso suogetto che riese asai gustoso' (Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 670).

37 Marko Deisinger, 'Römische Oratorien am Hof der Habsburger in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Musicologica austriaca* 29 (2011), 89-114.

1676 is probably due to the fatal illness of the Emperor's second wife, Claudia Felicitas.

Otherwise, the number of known oratorio performances during Leopold's reign ranges between two and six per year. Afterwards, in the reign of Joseph I (1706–11), the frequency stabilized to three to five oratorios during Lent, and it remained constant at three during the reign of Charles VI (1712–40), after a brief reduction at the start of his reign. But in addition, these two rulers had a *sepolcro*-oratorio performed during Holy Week. Imports, which were still frequent under Leopold and Joseph with one to three per year, disappeared almost entirely from 1716; in the twenty-five years to 1740, only three oratorios were by composers who were not court musicians.

Until Eleonora's death in 1686, oratorios were always sung in her no longer existing chapel in the Hofburg and thereafter, until the end of the period under discussion, in the imperial *Burghkapelle*. The days of the performances are rarely mentioned in the seventeenth century; we have witnesses for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday before Holy Week and even Monday and Tuesday during Holy Week. Two compositions by Emperor Leopold I had a permanent place in the repertoire: *L'Amor della Redentione: Oratorio sopra li sette maggiori dolori della B[eatissi]ma Vergine* was given almost annually on Passion Friday (the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary before Palm Sunday) between 1677 and 1710 and repeated sporadically until 1733; *Il Transito di Giuseppe* from 1675 to 1706 not quite so regularly and probably in the days around the feast of St. Joseph on March 19. Under Charles VI, the performance days are mentioned in newspaper reports, where they are given as the Thursdays before Holy Week.

Therefore, at the imperial court in Vienna not only was Italian secular music drama taken up very soon after its creation, but so too were moral and sacred opera and oratorio. The Italian *sepolcro* developed from these and other roots as an original genre not in use elsewhere, and it continued for more than sixty years before it was amalgamated with the oratorio in the early eighteenth century.³⁸ The *sepolcro* existed in its characteristic form for about six and a half decades. The term used for it by musicologists is encountered in historical sources only twice; most of these works are called *rappresentazione sacra al Santissimo Sepolcro*. This genre is in one part (as opposed to the two-part oratorio) and is a through-composed scenic representation before the Holy Sepulchre. It was acted on Maundy Thursdays in Eleonora Gonzaga's chapel and on Good Fridays in that of the Emperor; after the death of the Dowager Empress

38 A recent study of the *sepolcro* at Leopold I's court is Robert L. Kendrick, *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna* (Berkeley, 2018).

only the second one was performed. Thus, between 1661 and 1686, two *sepolcri* were performed every Holy Week, with the above-mentioned exceptions in 1663-64 and 1673. Both performances were acted in costumes with a minimum of scenic action, and the performance in the larger imperial chapel occurred in front of a painted backdrop, which is described in the libretto. A separate group is formed by four *sepolcri* with German texts performed on Maundy Thursday of the years 1677-79 and 1682 in the chapel of the Emperor's daughter Maria Antonia (b. 1669), then as a child not yet proficient in Italian; the music for two of them was composed by her father, that of the rest by his deputy music director Johann Heinrich Schmelzer. The composition otherwise was the duty of the chapel masters of the Emperor or the Dowager Empress Eleonora or their deputies; the text was supplied by the court poet. There were no imports from Italy.

The subject matter consisted of reflections on the death of Christ with associated Biblical personages and/or allegorical personifications. The *sepolcri* also differed from the contemporaneous oratorios through the use of instruments: The oratorios usually were limited to violins and basso continuo, while the *sepolcri* used appropriately darker timbres, with a preference for violas, *cornetti muti*, trombones, and bassoons. The vocal forms of the oratorios were more focused on recitative and aria, whereas the *sepolcro* frequently also used arioso. Under Emperor Joseph I the *sepolcro* changed not only in name (to 'oratorio') but also in its means of performance, which is apparent from the absence in libretti of stage directions and descriptions of painted backdrops.

The Austrian Habsburgs were thus indebted to Italian models for dramatic musical entertainments at their courts: the *intermedii* and court operas of Florence and Mantua, the public operas of Venice, and the oratorios cultivated in Rome. Despite this indebtedness, the Habsburgs were not mere imitators who simply imported works that had been previously written and performed in Italy. In their quest to use Italian musical spectacles to stage their political power and promote their Catholic piety, they used the resources of their courts to commission new works unique to them; in the realm of the sacred they even went so far as to establish a new genre, the *sepolcro*, not found at any other court, either north or south of the Alps.

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Festivity and Spectacle at the Spanish Royal Court

Louise K. Stein

1 An Overview

In the early seventeenth century, the descendants of Emperor Charles V gradually moved the Spanish royal court to Madrid, thus transforming both the city and their previously itinerant courtly habits. From Madrid they presided over a vast Empire with territories in Lombardy and southern Italy as well as generous sections of the Americas. In cities as geographically distant as Madrid, Naples, and Lima, Spanish theatrical productions and other festivities reinforced political kinship and assuaged the cultural homesickness of diplomats and administrators posted far from the Iberian Peninsula. Theatrical performances became a widespread, commonly accessible, and influential vehicle of cultural transmission, in both court and public theatres across the Empire. A belief in the power of musical expression, already described and demonstrated in early seventeenth-century fiction (including texts by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra), shaped conventions for the use of music in the theatre and informed the ways in which different types of songs revealed the nature of the characters onstage. Court productions for the Spanish Habsburgs and their colonial representatives responded to a dual ceremonial: on the one hand, traces of the Burgundian inheritance they shared with the Austrian Habsburgs, and on the other, Castilian style and traditions. Given the Empire's size, not to mention the cultural diversity of the peoples it enclosed, the conventions of performance and the politics of production reveal a remarkable homogeneity.

In Madrid and other cities, theatres were vibrant sites of musical performance, though only a small percentage of the 10,000 or so plays performed in the capital over the course of the seventeenth century were highly musical. The principal Spanish dramatic genre was the *comedia nueva*, a three-act play in polymetric verse in which the tragic and the comic were mingled to recreate the natural balance of human existence with verisimilitude. Hybrid partly sung genres with more singing (among them, *zarzuelas*) were also performed publicly and privately across the Hispanic world and in the palaces and country villas of the Spanish representatives in Italy. A small number of highly dramatic, spectacular, partly sung mythological semi-operas in Spanish were produced at the royal court during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II.

During the final half-century of Spanish Habsburg rule, dynastic occasions such as weddings and royal birthdays were celebrated with musical theatre, whether partly sung entertainments (semi-operas and *zarzuelas*) or fully sung opera. This unfailing connection between specifically musical theatre and dynastic recognition is key to understanding the hierarchical deployment of genres in the Spanish Habsburg orbit.

2 Royal Entertainments and Courtly Decorum to c. 1650

Distinct ideas about royal entertainment and conventions for palace performances shaped the court entertainments of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, distinguishing them from the standard *comedias* that were performed publicly in open patios and in the new urban commercial theatres (such as Madrid's Teatro de la Cruz and Teatro del Príncipe) whose activity began in the 1580s. A variety of entertainments enlivened the social and family life of the Spanish court during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III, and through the early years of the reign of Philip IV. The royal family and their guests participated in private danced balls known as *saraos* and *máscaras*, supervised and planned by the dancing masters and accompanied by instrumental and vocal music. Courtly dances were performed by the ladies in waiting and women of the nobility, sometimes within the framework of theatrical narrations with scenery. These balls were also important at the courts of Spanish viceroys well into the seventeenth century; in Naples, for example, on special occasions the viceroys and their consorts invited the local nobility to the palace for just this kind of private, participatory event with refreshments.

Court festivities were shaped by concerns about royal and aristocratic decorum that affected the tone, character, and style of the music and dances. Some aspects of proper movement and behaviour were even specified in the written protocols designed to preserve noble decorum and royal ceremonial; both improvised dancing and rough-hewn popular dances known as *bailes* were excluded. In the early seventeenth century, Philip III's wife, Queen Margarita of Austria, discouraged the performance of theatrical music at court because such 'lewd songs, in their texts as in their music, induce indecency'.¹ At Habsburg courts within the Spanish dominions, courtly dancing reinforced social hierarchy and promoted unity among the feudal nobility. Of course, some of the same courtly dances were enjoyed at many other European courts as well,

1 Diego de Guzmán, *Vida y muerte de doña Margarita de Austria* (Madrid, 1617), fols. 70, 147-48.

although the standard dances (*pavana*, *gallarda*, *alta y baja*, *turdión*, *aria di fiorenza*, and *danza del hacha*, for example) took on local variants. The sovereigns and the nobility reserved exclusively for themselves the political power generated or consolidated by elegant balls, non-dramatic masques in the Renaissance *fêtes* tradition, *máscaras* (on foot or on horseback), mock tourneys, and privately produced theatricals performed by professional companies. But outdoor equestrian games, processions, fireworks, and bullfights allowed plebeian spectators to see the aristocracy in action and to be brought into the spirit of political celebrations.²

With the public theatres increasingly busy with almost daily performances of the new genre of the *comedia nueva*, it was important for the Habsburgs to create a separate category of court play, distinct from what was offered to a diverse paying public in the commercial theatres in peninsular cities. Increasingly, court plays favoured mythological subjects and idealized pastorals whose characters were endowed with superhuman or supernatural attributes. At first only the crown or the aristocracy could afford to produce plays that called for demonstrations of supernatural power with special, spectacular stage effects (magic mountains, revolving planets, onstage earthquakes, and dances among the signs of the zodiac). Just about all of the music for Spanish court entertainments before c. 1650 is lost, and extant descriptions focus not on music but on the excellence of the visual presentation. Royal decorum was preserved when court theatricals were distinctly elegant and thus exempted from the taint of the theatrical controversy. The birthday festivities offered to King Philip IV by his first wife Isabel of Valois at the royal site of Aranjuez in 1622 were performed in a specially constructed theatre situated on an island in the Tajo river. The description of these festivities, written by the courtier-poet and royal secretary Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza in 1623, explains that spectacle plays offered to

2 France and Italy produced published dance manuals with musical examples, choreographic notation, and instructions for both dance movements and proper social conduct in the late sixteenth century, bringing advice about how to dance courtly dances to the upwardly mobile lower aristocracy and the middle class that emulated it. Juan de Esquivel's *Discursos sobre el arte del danzado* of 1642 is the first such manual produced in Spain, but it does not offer choreographic notation or musical examples. The French *Orchésographie* by Thoinot Arbeau (1589) and the Italian treatises of Fabritio Caroso, *Il ballarino* (Venice, 1581) and *Nobilità di dame* (Venice, 1600), were, however, known in Spain. The latter includes *danzas* dedicated to Margarita of Austria, to the Duchess of Sessa, and to the Marquise of Montoro. Also known in Spain were the treatises of Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* and *Nuove inventioni di balli*; the former was published in 1602 in Milan (a Spanish territory) and dedicated to King Philip III, with a special dance as well for the 'Duca de Borchecho', probably the Duke of Albuquerque, a powerful aristocrat who may also have been an able dancer (for more on Negri's treatise, see Chapter 14 of this volume).

the sovereign (*La gloria de Niquea* by the Count of Villamediana and performed by court ladies, for example) were 'inventions' and not mere ordinary *comedias*.³ In *La gloria de Niquea*, musicians from the royal chapel played and sang from an upper gallery, hidden from the audience's view. Hurtado de Mendoza's remarks make sense against the backdrop of the early seventeenth-century debates about the legitimacy of theatre. But by mid-century even the royal court etiquette had relaxed. According to the chronicler Alonso de Carillo, 'since the time that the *saraos* have fallen out of use, the *comedias* or other theatrical spectacles are more frequent, and these are done with less solemnity.'⁴

3 Genres and Conventions after 1650

In part because of inherited notions of decorum, musical techniques were invested with meaning that transcended the moment and space of performance in the semi-operas and *zarzuelas* produced for the Madrid court beginning in the 1650s. The most distinctive of the Spanish musical-theatrical conventions calls for a separation of divine from mortal discourse. Within the partly sung genres, deities and supernatural characters generally sing their conversations in the heavens as dialogues in a Spanish kind of recitative called *recitado*, but their lyrical airs (*tonos* and *tonadas*) effectively influence, seduce, or persuade the earthbound mortals. Lacking supernatural powers and godly voice, the mortal characters speak and sing only appropriately mortal songs – common *romances* or musical settings of well-known poems of the day – in verisimilar situations, just as do ordinary characters in the standard *comedias*. This audible setting apart of gods from mortals distinguished the Spanish approach to musical theatre.⁵

Fully sung opera was an exceptional genre in the Spanish dominions (excepting Naples and Milan). In Madrid, only three fully sung operas were performed at court before 1700. The first, *La selva sin amor* of 1627 (music now lost), was a short pastoral eclogue with a prologue and seven scenes in Spanish

3 'Estas representaciones que no admiten el nombre vulgar de comedia, y se le da invención la decencia de palacio ...'; Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, *Fiesta que se hizo en Aranjuez a los años del Rey Nuestro Señor D. Felipe IIII* (Madrid, 1623), fol. 4.

4 'En el tiempo que se frecuentaban y usaban más los saraos, solían asistir los Grandes en lugares con las Damas ... Después que los saraos se han desusado, se frecuentan más las comedias, y estas fiestas, u otras semejantes se hacen con menos solemnidad.' Alonso Carillo, *Origen de la dignidad de Grande de Castilla: Preeminencia de que goza en los actos públicos, y palacio de los reyes de España* (Madrid, 1657), fol. 32v.

5 These conventions were first explained in Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

by Lope de Vega, written almost entirely in Italianate poetic meters. It was offered by members of the Florentine embassy in Madrid as a private entertainment for the royal family. These envoys from Medici Florence hoped to gain King Philip IV's favour, as well as a solid court appointment for Cosimo Lotti, a stage designer and engineer sent from the Tuscan court. For this tiny production, the Florentines drafted as their composer the King's favourite chamber musician, Filippo Piccinini, a lute and theorbo player from Bologna. Because Piccinini confessed that he was unfamiliar with the recitative the diplomats were urging him to compose, two important scenes were composed by Bernardo Monanni, an amateur musician and secretary to the Tuscan embassy. *La selva sin amor* had no lasting effect and was not followed by similar attempts to produce opera after the manner of the Florentine pastorals.⁶ In this case, opera came to Madrid thanks to the ambassadorial effort of a few socially and politically well-placed individuals whose experiment did not ignite a trend.⁷

The Madrid court later produced two fully sung operas in Spanish, created by the dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-81) and the harpist and composer Juan Hidalgo (1614-85) in 1659-61 to commemorate two momentous dynastic occasions: the signing of the Peace of the Pyrenees with France and the marriage of the Infanta Maria Teresa to Louis XIV of France. Hidalgo's score for the first of these operas, *La púrpura de la rosa* (a one-act pastoral on the story of Venus and Adonis) does not survive as such, but a few songs from it are extant in anthologies.⁸ It is all but certain that the manuscript score of *La púrpura de la rosa* compiled by the Spanish composer Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644-1728) and produced in Lima (Peru) in 1701 includes much music from Hidalgo's 1659-60 setting.⁹ The second Hidalgo opera, *Celos aun del aire matan*, is the earliest extant Spanish opera for which a complete score is preserved.¹⁰

6 Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 191-205; Louise K. Stein, 'Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda', in *Acta musicologica* 63 (1991), 125-27; Shirley B. Whitaker, 'Florentine Opera Comes to Spain: Lope de Vega's *La selva sin amor*', in *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 9 (1984), 43-66.

7 See Louise K. Stein, 'How Opera Traveled', in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen M. Greenwald (Oxford-New York, 2014), 843-61.

8 Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 205-57; Louise K. Stein, 'Three Paintings, a Double Lyre, Opera, and Eliche's Venus: Velázquez and Music at the Royal Court in Madrid', in *The Cambridge Companion to Velázquez*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Cambridge, 2002), 185-93, 226-35.

9 See Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Juan Hidalgo, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid, 1999), xxi-xxiv; the location of the Lima manuscript (now LimaNP C-149) was first reported in Andrés Sas, 'La púrpura de la rosa', in *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* 2, no. 5 (October 1944), 9.

10 See Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Louise K. Stein, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 187* (Middleton, WI, 2014), xxii,

Both of these operas and the partly sung mythological plays (among them, see below concerning *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* and *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*) were produced by an energetic young aristocrat, Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis de Heliche and seventh Marquis del Carpio.¹¹ His father, Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, was Philip IV's *valido* (or first minister) and represented the crown in the negotiations toward the Peace of the Pyrenees and the dynastic marriage between Spain and France. During the years in which his father was Philip IV's minister, Gaspar became the Madrid court's producer of entertainments. His creative activity began at a crucial moment around 1650, just after the reopening of Madrid's theatres following several years of national mourning (Philip IV's first wife, Isabel, died in 1644; his only male heir, Prince Baltasar Carlos, died in 1646 at the age of four).

Significantly, the musical plays and the two operas Heliche produced at court were designed to entertain and stimulate a barely nubile young queen, Mariana of Austria (1634–96), at a time when the monarchy was desperate for a male heir. Trusting in the fecundity of his young niece, Philip IV married Mariana, though she had been intended for his son Baltasar Carlos. With her entry into Madrid in 1649, the court was transformed in an effort to keep this Habsburg teenager cheerful. In her womb and her propensity for sexual activity lay the future of the kingdom, though she was married to a depressed older man. Mariana and Philip eventually produced one male heir who lived past childhood (Charles II, b. 1661), but the high infant mortality rate among the royal

with the list of the extensive bibliography generated by this opera since the early twentieth century.

- 11 He was third Marquis de Heliche and seventh Marquis del Carpio, but known as Heliche (Eliche, Liche, Licce) before the death of his father in November 1661. Concerning his musical and theatrical productions in Italy, see Louise K. Stein, 'A Viceroy behind the Scenes: Opera, Production, Politics, and Financing in 1680s Naples', in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, ed. Susan McClary (Toronto, 2013), 209–49; Louise K. Stein, 'Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias': The Marquis del Carpio, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Opera Revision in Naples', in *Fiesta y ceremonia en la corte virreinal de Nápoles (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. José-Luis Colomer, Giuseppe Galasso, and José Vicente Quirante (Madrid, 2013), 415–46; and Louise K. Stein, 'Three Spaniards Meet Italian Opera in the Age of Spanish Imperialism', in *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Margaret Murata and Dinko Fabris (Turnhout, 2015), 231–47. For the large bibliography concerning Carpio's activity as an art collector, see Leticia de Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama: Alegoría del marqués del Carpio* (Madrid, 2009), to be supplemented by Alessandra Anselmi, 'Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán VII Marchese del Carpio: "Confieso que debo al arte la Magestad con que hoy triumpho"', in *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 15 (2007), 187–253, and Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, 'The Politics of Art or the Art of Politics? The Marquis del Carpio in Rome and Naples (1677–1687)', in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy, Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (London, 2015), 199–248.

offspring was of constant concern. The musical plays on erotic mythological stories produced by Heliche were meant to inspire the royal couple or celebrate their procreative success, however temporary.¹²

4 Celebrations for the Birth of Felipe Próspero

When Mariana gave birth to her first son, Prince Felipe Próspero, on 28 November 1657, celebrations erupted across the Spanish Empire, as well as at European courts that projected themselves as Spain's allies. The count of Castrillo, Spanish Viceroy in Naples, supported months of lavish festivities of various kinds to unify the city and banish the spectre of the plague epidemic that had so diminished Naples in 1656.¹³ Castrillo was especially careful to include representatives of the city's various social strata in his planning. Singing of the Te Deum, Masses of thanksgiving in the major churches, fireworks, bell-ringing, and bullfights were all required by Spanish Habsburg ceremonial, though the Naples celebration included many additional events with music, designed for outdoor and indoor performances, to impress both the populace and the local Neapolitan elites. In front of the Viceroy's palace, seats for spectators and a staging area were erected for the outdoor games and equestrian displays to be performed publicly by teams of riders from among the nobility in response to the Viceroy's repeated call. One event provided a representation of the Empire that the new Prince would inherit, with four triumphal carriages bearing musicians and costumed figures for the four continents of the Spanish Empire: Europe, America (Figure 8.1), Asia, and Africa.¹⁴ Inside his palace, the Viceroy

¹² See Stein, 'Three Paintings', 170-293, 226-35 (especially 189-293 and notes).

¹³ These festivities and their primary-source documentation are elucidated in detail in Ida Mauro, "Pompe che sgombrarono gli orrori della passata peste et diedero lustro al presente secolo": Le cerimonie per la nascita di Filippo Prospero e il rinnovo della tradizione equestre napoletana', in *Fiesta y ceremonia en la corte virreinal de Nápoles (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. José-Luis Colomer, Giuseppe Galasso, and José Vicente Quirante (Madrid, 2013), 355-84; see also the brief summary in John A. Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore, 2010), 193-95. An insightful essay about festivals in Spanish Naples is Gabriel Guarino, 'Public Rituals and Festivals in Naples, 1503-1799', in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden, 2013), 257-79. A short but useful overview of dynastic celebrations in Naples can be found in Victor Minguez Cornelles, Pablo González Tornel, Juan Chiva Beltrán, and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La fiesta barroca: Los reinos de Nápoles y Sicilia (1535-1713)* (Castelló de la Plana, 2014), 47-58. An indispensable introduction to Neapolitan musical festivities is Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)* (Aldershot, 2007), 1-49.

¹⁴ Representations of the four continents were common in dramatic productions at Habsburg courts throughout the Empire; one example is *La Gara* (text by Alberto Vimina),



FIGURE 8.1 'Carro dell'America', engraving from Andrea Cirino, *Feste celebrate in Napoli per la nascita del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna* (Naples, 1659)
VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, 622.230-D, USED WITH PERMISSION

offered numerous evenings of dancing and theatre to entertain the nobility, along with copious refreshments to feed them.

Operas to celebrate the royal birth were staged in Naples with all available resources, though the genre was still relatively new there, and public performances had been suspended altogether during the epidemic of 1656. The Queen's birthday was commemorated with *Il Xerse*, performed on 21 December 1657 by order of the Viceroy at the palace for invited nobility. Most likely, this was the Venetian opera by Francesco Cavalli (1602-76), as revised by the Neapolitan composer Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704).¹⁵ 24 February 1658 saw the staging of *Il Trionfo della Pace*, '*Dramma musicale del dottor Giuseppe Castaldo*'; the crush of nobles in attendance at the palace overflowed the audience space, and some were forced to leave without seeing the performance. The production was praised for its many and varied sets and the velocity of its flights; it was revived in early March with new *intermedii* ordered by the Viceroy.¹⁶ Another opera (perhaps *La gara de' sette pianeti*) was performed at the royal palace on Wednesday evening 1 May, when the invited audience again exceeded the capacity of the theatre.

The Viceroy sponsored this opera at his palace so long after the end of carnival because the restless Neapolitan nobility and the *baroni* were still in the city. He had called many away from their lands to prepare for the official *cavalcata* (the obligatory act of obeisance for the male nobility and officials of the realm after the announcement of a royal marriage or birth). In the city, they were paying for room and board in costly temporary urban lodgings, so they needed to be entertained and brought under his watchful eye (the procession took place on 10 June, and the Viceroy released the nobility around 15 June). Two further opera performances were offered at the Viceroy's palace in autumn 1658, on 31 October and 28 November, Felipe Próspero's first birthday. The October opera was a shortened revival of *Il Trionfo della pace*, while the November opera was undoubtedly *Il Theseo overo L'incostanza trionfante* with

produced at the Viennese court in January 1652 to celebrate the birth of the Infanta Margarita Teresa. On this work, see Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 78-82, 253-54.

15 Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 156-59.

16 See Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlattis', in *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti, Würzburg 1975*, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff and Jutta Ruile-Dronke (Tutzing, 1979), 20-21, 50-52; Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro, 'L'opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670', in *Seicento napoletano: Arte, costume, ambiente*, ed. Roberto Pane (Milan, 1984), 420-21, 546-47.

music by Provenzale, according to a note in the printed libretto.¹⁷ As would become customary, the palace operas of 1657 and 1658 were produced within dynastic celebrations honouring the monarchy. Fully sung theatre was staged to reinforce the symbolic presence of the Spanish Habsburgs.

Details about the Neapolitan festivities promoted by the Count of Castrillo are known to historians thanks to elaborately illustrated printed descriptions that both circulated and were sent deliberately to the royal court.¹⁸ But private communication about the design for the celebrations surely took place in letters between the Marquis de Heliche in Madrid and the Count of Castrillo (the younger man's great uncle). Heliche organized his own cascade of celebrations in Madrid and likewise made sure that appropriate descriptions were published and circulated to his own credit.¹⁹ His fiercest critic, the diarist Jerónimo Barrionuevo, even contributed unwittingly to Heliche's fame by railing against the cost of his elaborate productions.²⁰ When the Prince was born, the King prayed in public and rode in solemn procession to the church of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, where the Te Deum was sung. Fireworks and celebratory bullfights followed, together with a series of outdoor equestrian competitions and displays – the traditional *máscaras* and *cañas* – performed by teams of elegantly attired aristocrats on fine horses. The fireworks, torch-lit processions, bullfights, and equestrian games in 1657–58 observed the protocol expected after the birth of a prince. Heliche's production of a big machine play, *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* by Antonio de Solís y Ribadeneyra, with songs composed by the court harpist Hidalgo, was the novel highlight amidst these Madrid festivities.²¹ It was produced beginning on 27 February 1658, with special visual effects designed by Baccio del Bianco (d. 1657) but engineered by his successor, Antonio Maria Antonozzi.²² In expectation of a royal heir, Heliche

17 Bianconi, 'Funktionen des Operntheaters', 52; Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 6 vols. (Cuneo, 1990–94), libretti 13, 068 and 23, 116.

18 See especially Mauro, "Pompe che sgombrarono gli orrori".

19 The principal *relación* is Luis de Ulloa, *Fiestas que se celebraron en la Corte por el nacimiento de Don Felipe Próspero, Príncipe de Asturias* (s.l., s.d.), no pagination; concerning Heliche's exploitation of the event and these publications for personal and political promotion, see Felipe Vidales del Castillo, 'El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras' (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2015), 205–14.

20 Antonio Paz y Meliá (ed.), *Avisos de Jerónimo de Barriouevo (1654–1658)*, 2 vols., Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 222 (Madrid, 1968–69), vol. 2, 120–21, 124, 149–150.

21 *Comedias de Don Antonio de Solís secretario del Rey...* (Madrid, 1681), 1–54; a description of the performance is in Ulloa, *Fiestas que se celebraron*. Concerning the music, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 282–85.

22 The staging is reviewed in Norman D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times to the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1967), 320–24, and María

had been planning an enormous production as early as 1654 to show off the Coliseo theatre in the Buen Retiro palace, whose renovations he had overseen with designs and decoration by artists such as Dionisio Mantuano, Francesco Rizzi, Agostino Mitelli, and Angelo Michele Colonna.²³

Visually, the Coliseo had much in common with Italian theatres. Indeed, work by some of the same artists decorated the faraway Palazzo Pitti in Medici Florence, where the Spanish royal birth was also commemorated a few months later when the noble Florentine *Accademia degli Immobili* produced Cavalli's opera *L'Ipermestra* to inaugurate the Teatro della Pergola on 18 June 1658. This production, conceived as early as 1650, had also been planned originally for 1654 but was delayed because of weakness in the stage machines.²⁴ News of the Florentine preparations surely reached Heliche in Madrid in advance. An elegant libretto by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia for *L'Ipermestra*, with a newly allusive prologue, was published and dedicated to Heliche's father, Luis de Haro.²⁵ The Spanish connection was important to the Medici: Cardinal-prince Giovanni Carlo supported Spanish interests and interceded for Philip IV at the papal court. *L'Ipermestra* weaves together interlocking stories of love and jealousy to bring Classical mythological deities into the lives of mortal characters with an impressive diversity of scenes, including combats, an earthquake, turbulent seas, and tempests. A dance with *castañetas* closed the opera and paid homage to the new-born Infante.

In Madrid, such Italian precedents were alluded to by the courtier-poet Luis de Ulloa, who suggested that Heliche's production of *Triunfos de amor y fortuna* might well 'cause envy' even in Italy.²⁶ Both the Spanish machine play and Cavalli's opera featured mythological gods consorting with mortals, and both invested heavily in visual spectacle. But *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* seems to

Teresa Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral en la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid, 2004), 269-77. Concerning Baccio del Bianco and the performance dates for this 'comedia grande', see also Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 282 n. 58.

23 Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 1980), 206.

24 Concerning the production in Florence, see Nicola Usula, 'Di verità alterate e complesse strategie: Giovan Carlo de' Medici e l' "Ipermestra" di Moniglia e Cavalli (Firenze 1654-58)', in *Le voci arcane: Palcoscenici del potere nel teatro e nell'opera*, ed. Tatiana Korneeva (Rome, 2018), 25-43, and Marco Catucci, 'Moniglia, Giovanni Andrea', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 75 (2011), <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-moniglia>> (accessed 25 June 2020). The primary description of the Florentine production is Orazio Ricasoli Rucellai, *Descrizione della presa d'Argo e degli amori di Linceo con Ipermestra* (Florence, 1658).

25 *L'Ipermestra: Festa teatrale rappresentata dal Sereniss. Principe Cardinale Gio. Carlo di Toscana per celebrare il Giorno Natalizio del Real Principe di Spagna* (Florence, 1658).

26 Ulloa, *Fiestas que se celebraron*.

have employed a much larger singing cast for its many ensemble songs and elaborate off-stage choruses. Heliche's productions (and later revivals) all featured professional actress-singers from the best among the Spanish theatrical troupes. He brought together some forty-two of them (drawn from multiple troupes) for *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna*, which forced companies beyond Madrid into a state of near collapse due to the prolonged period of rehearsal and performance. *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* thus exemplifies the radical nature of Heliche's musical-theatrical innovations in the context of the Spanish production system. A standard *comedia* that could be performed by a single theatrical troupe typically would feature isolated songs in verisimilar situations, many of them sung by the male musicians of the company. Heliche's new court productions, in contrast, loaded a great deal of supernatural music – singing (both solo and ensemble songs) by a cast of elegantly costumed actress-singers – into and onto the visual spectacle produced by stage machines.

The music of *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* had little in common with that of Cavalli's opera. Amor sang two persuasive, sequential solo songs to seduce Psiquis, but Hidalgo's surviving music for these does not display any special musical effects or devices that might be recognized as endowed with affective immediacy or supernatural power. Power resided instead in the mere fact that the god sang a lyrical strophic song to persuade the moral. Neither of Amor's songs resorts to an Italianate technique for the incorporation of music, but both draw from traditional Spanish musical practices to facilitate improvisatory performance by the young actress-singers Heliche recruited.²⁷

5 Spanish Semi-Opera: *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653)

The early *zarzuelas* produced by Heliche were partly sung mythological pastorals that gently burlesqued the deities. But in the rare genre of Spanish semi-opera, serious dramatic texts by Calderón call for spectacular visual effects, more stage machinery, and more music. The conventions of semi-opera are illustrated in an important manuscript for Calderón's *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, which offers the complete text of the play with illustrations, valuable descriptive rubrics, and vocal music, presumably by Hidalgo (see Figures 8.2 and 8.3).²⁸ This unusual presentation manuscript, sent to Vienna after the

²⁷ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 283–84 and passim.

²⁸ Cambri (Mass.) H 258 contains a unique text for the *loa* (prologue), the text of the play with descriptive rubrics, and eleven drawings for the stage designs by Baccio del Bianco, followed by unattributed vocal music notated inexpertly in an Italian hand; the manuscript was first brought to public notice in Phyllis Dearborn Massar, 'Scenes for a



FIGURE 8.2 Illustration of the loa (prologue) from *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, showing Atlas holding up the globe with the signs of the Zodiac on either side of him, drawing by Baccio del Bianco, 1653
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY, MS TYP 258, FOL. 8,
USED WITH PERMISSION



FIGURE 8.3 Illustration from *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, showing Perseus, Pallas Athena, and Mercury in a forest, drawing by Baccio del Bianco, 1653
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY, MS TYP 258, FOL. 70,
USED WITH PERMISSION

premiere, owes its very creation to the family ties between the Spanish Habsburgs and the imperial court. *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* reached the stage on 18 May 1653 in a production planned by Heliche as the highpoint of festivities at the Buen Retiro palace and sponsored by the Infanta Maria Teresa to celebrate the renewed health of her cousin and step-mother, Queen Mariana. The beautiful manuscript shows which sections of the play were sung and how musical forms and types were deployed for different aspects of the drama.²⁹ The semi-opera's explicit separation of gods from mortals through contrasting kinds of vocal music (romances sung as ensemble songs, dance-songs, strophic solo songs, and declamatory *recitado*) is described in the prologue by the character of Música herself. Addressing Pintura (painting), she explains that 'the deities that you introduce must have a different harmony in their voice from that of the mortals; for it is better that the gods do not speak as the mortals do.'³⁰ Mortal conversations are spoken, and mortal characters sing only verisimilar romances, whereas the deities tend to sing their dialogues from atop cloud machines and deploy aria-like strophic songs to persuade or seduce the mortals.³¹

6 Operas for the Marriage of the Century

When Heliche featured two fully sung operas at court in 1659-61, these featured both singing deities and singing mortals, so they required larger casts with more solo singers. They also involved a modification of the performance conventions tested previously in the *zarzuelas* and semi-operas. As mentioned above, the score to Hidalgo's one-act *La púrpura de la rosa*, composed in 1659 and staged to celebrate the Peace of the Pyrenees, appears to be lost; its sequel, the three-act *Celos aun del aire matan* (about Cephalus and Procris), was composed the next year on a grander scale. Calderón's libretti drew from classical

Calderón Play by Baccio del Bianco', in *Master Drawings* 15 (1977), 365-75. Concerning its music and the genre of semi-opera, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 144-69; the music is available in facsimile in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómeda y Perseo*, ed. Rafael Maestre (Almagro, 1994).

29 This source is especially valuable because seventeenth-century printed editions of Calderón's plays tend to be inaccurate in their designations for music; their printed stage directions fall short of indicating how much of a text was sung and whether a solo passage was set as recitative or air. See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 354-60 and passim, for basic information about the typology of the musical sources.

30 'Tú, advierte que, en las deidades / que introduces, ha de haver / otra armonía en la voz / que en los humanos; que es bien / que no hablen los dioses como los mortales' (Cambri (Mass.) H 258, fol. 6r).

31 Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 144-68.

myths, in keeping with the larger plan and iconography of the palace decoration and the ceremonies surrounding the dynastic alliance.³² Unfortunately, the *loa* (or prologue) for *Celos aun del aire matan* seems not to survive. The Spanish-French royal marriage sealed the Peace of the Pyrenees after nearly four decades of war. In June 1660 the Infanta Maria Teresa was given to Louis XIV at the border in the river Bidasoa in the Basque region, amidst generous ceremonial. Heliche's father, Luis de Haro, had negotiated the peace, and both father and son were present when the two sides met at the border. The final adjustment of the peace between Spain and France was not, however, announced widely until April 1661; *Celos aun del aire matan* was performed in June 1661 at the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro following this announcement, commemorating the anniversary of the royal wedding. Protocolled performances on 6 and 7 June 1661 initiated a long run of performances that subsequently opened the Coliseo to the public and continued until the feast of Corpus Christi. *Celos aun del aire matan* offered a fully sung dramatic epithalamium encouraging marital harmony and procreative activity to assure the fecundity of the Spanish bride. Just as *La púrpura de la rosa* had before it, the libretto treats one of Ovid's tales of love and jealousy with erotic emphasis.

7 *Celos aun del aire matan* beyond Madrid

Both Calderón-Hidalgo operas were revived in Madrid in the later seventeenth century to honour successive royal marriages, but *Celos aun del aire matan* also travelled at least as far as imperial Vienna and Spanish Naples. The opera's significance was heightened for contemporaries in proportion to the events for which it was first commissioned, particularly when the fecundity of Spanish brides and the future of the dynasty were encouraged through its affectively charged music. It is uncertain whether *Celos* was actually produced in Vienna, though it is mentioned several times in diplomatic exchanges during the time that the Infanta Margarita Teresa reigned as empress with Leopold I.³³ In the correspondence between the Emperor and Count Pötting, his ambassador in Madrid, there is ample evidence that the Spanish court regularly sent plays,

32 Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 212–20, explores the relationship between the libretti, the decoration of the palace, and paintings in Philip IV's collection.

33 J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold, 'Introducción', to Juan Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas* (London, 1970), cv-cviii; Alfred Francis Pribram and Moriz Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I an den Grafen F. E. Pötting: 1662–1673*, *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, Abteilung 11, *Diplomataria et acta* 56 (Vienna, 1903), 276, 293, 295, 300, 312, 354.

theatrical songs, and vernacular sacred *villancicos* to Vienna (*Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* is one example).³⁴ The Emperor requested the score of *Celos aun del aire matan*, probably because Margarita had heard Hidalgo's opera and attended its Madrid performances before her move to Vienna.³⁵ As far as is known, on 24 April 1667, only eleven days after one of Leopold's many requests for the music of *Celos aun del aire matan*, the first Spanish play was performed for Margarita by Spanish courtiers in her entourage. This play was Calderón's *Amado y aborrecido*, which, like *Celos aun del aire matan*, involves a pastoral love story framed as a conflict between love and neglect (or 'anti-love'), personified in the goddesses Venus and Diana. It is striking that this Calderón play, with its thematic similarity to *Celos aun del aire matan*, was presented in celebration of the anniversary of the signing of the marriage-by-proxy between Leopold and Margarita (his niece); naturally, the *loa* written in Vienna argues for dynastic union between Spain and the German-speaking lands in the Empire.

Another opera about Cephalus and Procris, Antonio Draghi's *GliAmori di Cefalo e Procri*, was produced in Italian in Vienna on 9 June 1668 for Leopold's birthday. Though the title refers to the same story from which Calderón drew for his *Celos* libretto, Draghi's opera seems to have been based on *Los amores de Céfaloy Procris* by Juan Silvestre Salvo (also Salva or Salvá), a mediocre Spanish poet attached to the imperial court.³⁶ Draghi's opera has little to do with Calderón's *Celos* libretto, but the fact that an opera about Cephalus and Procris was performed so soon after Leopold's requests for *Celos aun del aire matan* might indicate that Draghi's piece was put together as a practical alternative to

34 Although Pötting noted in his diary on Sunday 5 August 1660 that some of the royal musicians came to entertain him ('algunos músicos de la capilla real vinieron a divertirme con sus voces y instrumentos'), he seems not to have noted anything about the opera; I have consulted Miguel Nieto Nuño (ed.), *Diario del Conde de Pötting, Embajador del Sacro Imperio en Madrid (1664-1674)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1990), vol. 1, 401. See also Andrea Sommer-Mathis, 'Calderón y el teatro imperial de Viena', in *La Dinastía de los Austrias: Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, ed. José Martínez Millán and Rubén González Cuerva, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2011), vol. 3, 1965-89; Andrea Sommer-Mathis, 'Feste am Wiener Hof unter der Regierung von Kaiser Leopold I und seiner ersten Frau Margarita Teresa (1666-1673)', in *Arte Barroco e ideal clásico: Aspectos del arte cortesano en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Rome, 2003), 231-56; and Henry W. Sullivan, *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries: His Reception and Influence, 1654-1980* (Cambridge, 2009), 95-96.

35 The critical performing edition of the score is Hidalgo and Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Stein.

36 Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 25 (Tutzing, 1985), 463; Sommer-Mathis, 'Feste am Wiener Hof', 248-49.

Hidalgo's opera. Even if the music of *Celos aun del aire matan* did reach Vienna and Margarita wanted to hear it, Hidalgo's *fiesta cantada* might well have been too difficult to produce there, given the number of Spanish-singing soloists it required. In Vienna, Draghi's music was more likely to please, given the cultivation of Italian music in Vienna and judging by his long success in future years. Some songs with Spanish texts were composed in Vienna and heard in performances of other Spanish *comedias*, however, including Calderón's *Darlo todo y no dar nada* and *El secreto a voces*.³⁷ Spanish entertainments were offered annually to commemorate the birthday of Leopold's sister (and mother-in-law) Mariana of Austria.

8 Spanish Opera in Naples

Beyond Madrid and Vienna, but within the large aristocratic circle known as the 'Spanish family', Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan* served as an epithalamium yet again when it was performed in Naples in 1682 to crown the festivities surrounding the wedding of a Roman princess, Lavinia Ludovisi, and a Neapolitan aristocrat, the Duke of Atri. The libretto printed in Naples explains that the bride's older brother, Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino and Venosa, *General de las Galeras* in Naples, sponsored a January 1682 performance after the marriage of his sister to Gian Geronimo Acquaviva d'Aragona.³⁸ This dynastic marriage held strategic importance for the Spanish Habsburgs and their loyalists in Italy. By arranging ostentatious celebrations and staging the 'royal' wedding opera in Naples, Prince Ludovisi commemorated his family's fidelity to the Spanish cause. The Prince even risked the Viceroy's anger: Once his rehearsals had begun in October 1681, Viceroy Fernando Joaquín Fajardo de Requeséns y Zúñiga, sixth Marquis de los Vélez, was infuriated because Ludovisi had hired one of the singers already cast in the Viceroy's official opera for the King's 6 November birthday (*Mitilene, regina della Amazoni* by Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani [1638-after 1692], a composer who had earlier

37 Concerning the special luxury printing of *Darlo todo y no dar nada* for its performance in Vienna (1668), see Erik Coenen, 'Sobre el texto de *Darlo todo y no dar nada* y la transmisión textual de las comedias de Calderón', in *Criticón* 102 (2008), 195-209.

38 See Louise K. Stein, 'Opera and the Spanish Family: Private and Public Opera in Naples in the 1680s', in *España y Nápoles: Coleccionismo y mecenazgo artístico de los virreyes en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid, 2009), 223-43; Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*, xi, 269-76 and passim; and Dinko Fabris, 'Nápoles y España en la Ópera Napolitana del Siglo XVII', in *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, ed. Emilio Casares and Alvaro Torrente (Madrid, 2001), 126.

worked in Venice and for the Habsburgs in Innsbruck). Ludovisi offered the singer 'a kingly sum', so he deserted the rehearsals for *Mitilene* only weeks before its palace premiere.³⁹

In Naples, *Celos aun del aire matan* 'pleased the audience more for the beauty of the costumes and sets than for the quality of the musical performance and composition'; the costumes, the stage sets, and the new *intermedii* and *balletti* were appreciated, but the music was deemed tedious and 'in poor taste'.⁴⁰ Hidalgo's strophic *tonos* and *tonadas* must have sounded old-fashioned in Naples, but documents about the crisis enveloping the Ludovisi succession suggest that *Celos aun del aire matan*'s status as a royal opera flattered the reluctant bride and encouraged her to accept a nuptial contract designed to stabilize Habsburg claims in Italy. Not surprisingly, one of the diplomats who negotiated this local dynastic alliance was the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the seventh Marquis del Carpio – the very same Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis de Heliche, who had commissioned and organized the first production of *Celos aun del aire matan* at the royal court in Madrid.

Within the Habsburg Empire, Naples was the densely populated centre-piece of the Mediterranean region and hosted a long list of musical institutions, thanks to its heterogeneous population and multi-layered historical inheritance. Musical institutions included the Viceroy's Spanish royal chapel, the music of the Palazzo Arcivescovile, the Duomo, the Tesoro di San Gennaro, the churches of the many religious orders, and several conservatories specializing in musical education. Political hierarchies were musically recognized with public spectacle when different groups, 'nations', and neighbourhoods celebrated their special saints' days. Festivities included the processions of the *Misterij della Passione* and the *Battaglino*; the massive Easter procession to the *Madonna di Pugliano*; the citywide celebrations dedicated to the patron saint, St. Gennaro; the famous Spanish and Neapolitan devotion of the *Quarantore* in Lent; the lavish veneration of San Giovanni by the 'Spanish nation'; the street theatre, dances, and processions during the octave of Corpus Christi; the carnival displays; and the popular maritime festivals known as *spassi di Posillipo*.⁴¹

Opera was but one among many kinds of spectacle, religious or profane, private or public, whose proliferation enlivened civic life in the last decades of Spanish rule in Naples, where the frequency, nature, and location of opera

39 Stein, 'Opera and the Spanish Family', 426.

40 Stein, 'Opera and the Spanish Family', 426-27.

41 Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 1-49; Dinko Fabris, 'Musical Festivals at a Capital without a Court: Spanish Naples from Charles v (1535) to Philip v (1702)', in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot, 2004), 270-86.

performances were subject to local Neapolitan, Spanish, and Habsburg traditions. Following the Spanish Habsburg convention, Italian opera productions at the Palazzo Reale (most continuing at the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo) recognized the Spanish royal birthdays of Charles II on 6 November and the Queen Mother, Mariana of Austria, on 22 December. Though some viceroys did not favour opera or support public productions during the short Neapolitan carnival, operas were also planned to entertain visiting dignitaries or to recognize treaties, dynastic alliances, or other events important to the Habsburg agenda.

One example of the connection between Habsburg political concerns and Spanish-language opera is *El robo de Proserpina, y sentencia de Júpiter*, whose libretto was furnished by Manuel García Bustamante, a Spanish poet who served as a secretary to the Viceroy, Marquis de los Vélez. The manuscript musical score begins with a *loa* whose text honours Mariana of Austria, while the dedication to the libretto's first printing states that the opera was performed for her birthday in December 1677.⁴² Other documents explain, to the contrary, that the opera was still not completely ready even at the end of January 1678, after many months of preparation.⁴³ Viceroy de los Vélez commanded a private trial performance at his palace on 2 February, but another full performance for the invited nobility and officials took place on 22 February to honour the new Viceroy appointed to Sicily, Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga y Doria, who was en route to Sicily and had finally been received in Naples at the Palazzo Reale.

A favourable turn in political and military events for the Habsburgs in Sicily clearly affected *El robo de Proserpina*. Messina had been occupied by French forces in 1674; as late as August 1677, the possibility of a French victory there loomed ever closer, with consequent threat to Naples and other Habsburg areas. The port of Messina was strategically essential because from it the flow of commerce between the western and eastern Mediterranean could be controlled. The decline in French naval activity around Messina in November 1677, just as Vincenzo Gonzaga was appointed Viceroy of Sicily, was cause for

42 See the modern edition, *El robo de Proserpina y sentencia de Júpiter*, ed. Luis Antonio González Marín (Barcelona, 1996). The review by Jack Sage in *Il Saggiatore musicale* 5 (1998), 156 is useful, as is Dinko Fabris's review in *Revista de musicología* 19 (1996), 421-26; see also Bianconi, 'Funktion des Opertheaters', 25-27, 67-68.

43 The libretto was issued in two editions: The first, dedicated 22 December 1677 by the musicians of the royal chapel, states that the opera commemorated the Queen's birthday, but it was not performed until February 1678, according to the *avvisi*. Although this edition of the libretto also points to Filippo Coppola as the composer and the musicians of the royal chapel as performers, both assertions are suspect, as questioned in the review by Dinko Fabris in *Revista de musicología* 19 (1996), 421-26.

celebration in Naples.⁴⁴ *El robo de Proserpina*, set in mythical Trinacria (Sicily), probably had been commissioned earlier in 1677 for the Queen's December birthday and then revised after de los Vélez received some optimistic news about the Spanish forces around Messina. He seems to have withheld its premiere until success in Messina was assured and Gonzaga was received in Naples.

El robo de Proserpina, an opera in Spanish, was produced in Naples to celebrate the French withdrawal from Messina and the arrival of an important aristocrat, but its unwieldy nature surely also aggravated the production delays reported by the Neapolitan diarist who wrote as Innocenzo Fuidoro. Spanish performance conventions set it apart from the Italian (indeed Venetian) variety of opera usually heard in Naples in the 1670s. In particular, the Spanish libretto called for an especially large number of roles, including sung comic roles. Some of the singers were surely enlisted from the Spanish *compañía de comediantes* supported by the Viceroy and resident in Naples in the autumn of 1677 and winter of 1678, though these actors were prepared to perform *comedias* on a nightly basis, not fully sung opera. The libretto mentions the participation of musicians from the royal chapel, but it is unclear how they were incorporated. Given their customarily elevated sphere of activity, dedication to vocal polyphony, and their formal training, it is hard to imagine that the chapel musicians collaborated easily with itinerant Spanish actors and singers. Yet *El robo de Proserpina* required extensive coordination between singers, instrumental ensemble, and the moving stage machinery for its twelve scene changes and *apariencias* – hence the elaborate planning and the expectation it aroused. *El robo de Proserpina* nevertheless conformed to the Spanish politics of production: It was designed first to celebrate a dynastic occasion (the birthday of the Spanish Queen Mother), then revised and repurposed to celebrate renewed Habsburg control in the Straits of Messina, and it emulated the musical paradigm of Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*.

44 My understanding of this situation draws from the detailed consideration by Antonio Ramón Peña Izquierdo, 'El virrey de Sicilia Cardenal Portocarrero y la revuelta de Messina a través de la correspondencia con el plenipotenciario español en Venecia, marqués de Villagarcía (1677-1678)', in *Tiempos Modernos: Revista electrónica de historia moderna*, 2, no. 4 (2001), <<http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/14/26>> (accessed 25 June 2020).

9 Celebrations in Madrid and Naples for the Marriage of Charles II to Marie-Louise d'Orléans

The French retreat from Messina allowed negotiations toward the Treaties of Nijmegen and renewed peace among the European powers. The truce between Spain and France was sealed by the marriage of Charles II to Marie-Louise d'Orléans, arranged by proxy at the Palace of Fontainebleau on 30 August 1679. Celebrations in honour of this promising union were readied all across the Spanish dominions. The announcement promoted a revival of Hidalgo's much-revered *La púrpura de la rosa* at the Madrid court on 25 August 1679, after vigorous rehearsals 'both mornings and afternoons', which began before 11 August despite the hot weather.⁴⁵ The bride and groom met and were wed at Quintapalla, near Burgos, on 19 November 1679, but the bride's public entry into Madrid was delayed due to the official mourning after the 17 September death of Prince Juan José of Austria (Philip IV's illegitimate son, sovereign from 1677 until his death). Rehearsals for another revival of *La púrpura de la rosa* began on 6 January 1680, and the performance took place on 18 January, the birthday of the Habsburg Archduchess Maria Antonia, following the new Queen's formal entry on 13 January. These revival performances of *La púrpura de la rosa*, supervised by Calderón and Hidalgo, included a number of singers and musicians who had participated in the opera's 1660 premiere. It is significant that this fully-sung epithalamium on the amorous mythological story of Venus and Adonis was performed by a nearly all-female cast of professional actress-singers to welcome the new Queen, whereas some of the spoken plays performed amidst the general rejoicing treated chivalric and heroic themes, as in Calderón's chivalresque *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*, performed 3 March 1680.⁴⁶

In Naples, the royal marriage inspired an important cycle of festivities in 1679-80 designed to emphasize Neapolitan allegiance to the Spanish Habsburgs.⁴⁷ The cycle began with a solemn *Cappella Reale*, then fireworks and

45 N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1666-1687. Estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España 5 (London, 1974), 177-79.

46 Carmen Sanz Ayán has emphasized the political, instructional value of the revival performances of *La púrpura de la rosa* for the royal wedding of 1679, in *Pedagogía de reyes: El teatro palaciego en el reinado de Carlos II* (Madrid, 2006), 87-92. A detailed description of the performance of *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa* was prepared with the intention of sending it to the imperial court, as documented in N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas: 1603-1699. Estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España 1 (London, 1982), 35, 132.

47 The principal account is Giuseppe Castaldi, *Tributi ossequiosi della fedeliss. città di Napoli per gl' applausi festivi delle nozze reali del cattolico monarca Carlo Secondo re delle Spagne*

Spanish *comedias* produced at the Viceroy's palace. But it was through loud, colourful public events that the Viceroy reminded Neapolitans of his power. The dukes of Maddaloni, d'Atri, and others high in the traditional hierarchy were honoured by being asked to lead many events. An outdoor theatre was prepared for the expected bullfights in front of the Palazzo Reale, with boxes rented to those who could afford them and tickets for individual seats available at a lower price. Protocolled indoor palace ceremonies hosted by the Viceroy preceded outdoor public spectacles, such as the requisite torch-lit *cavalcata*, in which all the Neapolitan nobility were to ride. Many among the nobility and the *baroni* came from their country properties to equip and rehearse for the procession and other chivalresque displays.⁴⁸ The preparations entailed a substantial economic outlay from each noble family, thus signalling *a priori* support for the monarchy. In return, the Viceroy offered plays and musical events with refreshments at the Palazzo Reale, where a more intimate interaction unfolded in a protected space, out of view of the *popolo*.

On 21 November 1679, the procession crossed the heart of the city, proceeding up *Strada Toledo* with elaborately decorated horses and squadrons of riders. Among its groups, the Spanish captains were costumed as representatives of the four parts of the kingdom – Spaniards, Italians, Ethiopians, and American Indians – their uniforms and horses richly decorated with gold and silver ornament. At the end of January and beginning of February 1680, the nobility engaged in equestrian games and indoor dances, and they heard an opera at the Viceroy's palace. A *ballo* for thirty-six gentlemen on 22 February was preceded by a staged prologue and capped by the traditional closing dance, the *ballo della torcia*. The palace remained still 'sempre in festa' at the beginning of March, with plays and a final ball in the *Sala Grande*.

Italian operas sponsored by the Viceroy received their premieres at his palace to commemorate the King's birthday on 6 November (*Alessandro Magno in Sidone*)⁴⁹ and the 22 December birthday of the Queen Mother (*Candaule Re di*

con la serenissima signora Maria Luisa Borbone sotto la direzione dell'eccellentiss. signor marchese de Los Vélez, vicerè di Napoli (Naples, 1680); other primary sources are noted in Guarino, 'Public Rituals', 270–73.

48 The influx of nobles from the country was reported in *avvisi*, and by the Florentine agent in Naples: FlorAS 1597, fol. 339v, Naples 26 Dic. 1679, P. Berardi to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence.

49 The music was probably by Marc Antonio Ziani, who later became court chapel master to Leopold I in Vienna; his setting had been performed in Venice in January 1679, according to Bianconi, 'Funktionien des Operntheaters in Neapel', 70, and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres 1660–1760* (Stanford, 2007), 130–31.

Lidia).⁵⁰ The carnival operas in 1680 were also first produced at the palace, beginning with Giovanni Legrenzi's *Eteocle e Polinice* on 31 January.⁵¹ Special added palace performances of *Eteocle e Polinice* took place on 4 and 5 February to accommodate those excluded when the audience at the premiere had been much larger than expected, thanks to the attraction of a singing giant and the unveiling of a stage set painted by the famous Luca Giordano.⁵² An allegorical prologue highlighted the hoped-for fecundity of the new royal marriage: Apollo and the nine Muses on Mount Parnassus were joined by Imeneo and Amore, but contested by Lucina (the moon), before two triumphal carriages entered from opposite sides of the stage; one, drawn by vigorous, masculine lions, carried La Spagna, while the other, drawn by beautifully costumed nymphs, brought forth the emblematic Neapolitan siren, Partenope. All three palace performances drew crowds,⁵³ but the unexpected second and third ones followed a precedent set at the royal court in Madrid when the palace doors were opened to the public because this was a 'festivity celebrating His Majesty, the King and should thus be enjoyed by all of his subjects'.⁵⁴

Private theatrical patronage was traditional among the Neapolitan aristocracy, especially in times of conflict or tension with the Viceroy, though scholars know few details about these productions precisely because they happened

⁵⁰ The opera produced in Venice's Teatro San Cassiano in late November or early December was by Pietro Andrea Ziani (who had been appointed maestro of the royal chapel in Naples earlier in 1680), but that of the Neapolitan production was revised or composed by Francesco Provenza, according to Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 133-34, though Bianconi, 'Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel' does not mention Provenza.

⁵¹ The title in the Naples 1680 libretto printed by Salvatore Castaldi (BrusC 20193; Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, 9334) reads *Eteocle e Polinice Drama per le Feste delle Nozze Regali. Famosamente celebrate dall'Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese de los Vélez Vicerè di Napoli...*; it carries an undated dedication from 'Il Maestro, e Musici de la Real Cappella', an incorporated allegorical prologue, and a large number of poetic texts that called for closed-form musical setting. The opera had been staged previously in Venice, opening on 13 December 1674, according to Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 113-14; see also Bianconi, 'Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel', 71.

⁵² NapBN x.B.19, fols. 96-97, quoted in Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, ed. Giorgio Mancini [et al.], 3 vols. (Naples, 2002), vol. 3, 114; Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *Il Teatro di Corte del Real Palazzo di Napoli* (Naples, 1952), 34.

⁵³ The performance on 4 February lasted seven hours 'con belle scene et apparenze'; the people crowding in to see it exceeded the space available, so another performance was arranged for those who were pushed out, in spite of the 'disgust' of the musicians ('ancorché con repugnanza di musici'); FlorAS 1597, fol. 362, Naples 6 February 1680, sent to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence.

⁵⁴ 'essendo questo un festino della Maestà del Re N. S., a ragione dev'essere goduto da tutti'; Fuidoro, *Giornali*, NapBN x.B.19, fols. 96-97, quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *Il Teatro di Corte del Real Palazzo di Napoli*, 34, and *I Teatri di Napoli nel Secolo XVII*, vol. 3, 114 and 299.

behind closed doors. Domenico Carafa, Duke of Maddaloni, offered an opera at his palace on 2 and 5 March 1680 because the Viceroy had named him chief custodian for the entire cycle of festivities surrounding the royal marriage. Maddaloni produced Alessandro Scarlatti's *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante*, a light pastoral opera, for the Viceroy and the nobility as an essential demonstration of his personal elegance, social standing, and allegiance to the monarchy. The invited guests heard the opera and interacted with the Viceroy – the crown's sovereign representative – in Maddaloni's lavishly decorated palace. Copious refreshments conveyed the Duke's generosity, though the opera itself needed only modest resources in staging and cast (with only four characters). *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante* was nevertheless well chosen because of its royal associations: It had been championed by Queen Christina of Sweden in 1679 when first performed in Rome.⁵⁵ Maddaloni brought it to Naples as the jewel in the crown in a series of events that honoured a royal marriage and encouraged the fecundity of the Spanish succession.

10 The End of the Habsburg Epoch: Lima, 1701

Within the wider Habsburg network, Spanish aristocrats serving in far-flung postings were tied to each other not only by their own arranged marriages, but also by and to the royal court by shared political goals and cultural assumptions. Their shared loyalties and understandings about the power and usefulness of music spread Spanish culture beyond the borders of peninsular Spain. Conventions about how music might serve the politics of empire were fairly consistent across the Spanish dominions, but the attitudes of Church authorities and missionaries in the New World strongly conditioned musical life there.

The calendar of celebrations in Lima, administrative centre of the Spanish dominions in the Americas, included over three hundred annual *fiestas* between the expected dynastic celebrations and those forming part of the liturgy of state – funeral exequies, marriages, onomastic days, and birthdays of the royal family and the families of the viceroys; processions to welcome visitors and new viceroys; official proclamations – together with all the religious feasts.⁵⁶ But contemporary reports of public events and performances do not provide adequately detailed descriptions of the music performed. It is difficult

55 See Alessandro Scarlatti, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, ed. Frank D'Accone, The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti 7 (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 11–30.

56 Alessandra A. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York, 2008), 88.

to know precisely what kinds of music were heard in colonial festivities because descriptions point to unspecified 'music' and musical sources are scarce. Musicians in the Spanish colonies drew from a repertoire similar to what their colleagues played and sang in Spanish cities. Guitars, vihuelas, and harps were plentiful and played by people of all social classes, and both instruments and Spanish instruction books for them were among the items shipped to and sold in the Americas. Loud music (trumpet and drum corps or wind bands) accompanied every formal appearance of the Viceroy and was heard in the festivities surrounding the formal entry of each new viceroy, while colonial courts and cathedrals naturally had their complement of trained musicians and singers. But there is scarce written history for profane music in seventeenth-century Peru, though slightly later musical sources point to a continuing dialogue between colonial and peninsular Spanish practices. The recovery of the music ascribed to Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco for Lima's *La púrpura de la rosa* is thus especially significant, precisely because sources for secular song are so rare. Public musical life in colonial cities well into the eighteenth century was strictly controlled, organized primarily for and by ecclesiastics to serve the catechistic process.⁵⁷ Even the richly fascinating extant sacred repertoire from this period is incomplete, and little is known about just how it was performed (see Chapter 12). Musical activity of the public, festive, and ceremonial kind was generated within or around religious spaces, especially in Lima, with its many churches and convents. It is significant that the manuscript diary of Joseph and Francisco Mugarburu, compiled in Lima between 1640 and 1697, contains no mention of any music other than church music, beyond a few general references without descriptive detail for music in public events such as the arrival of successive new viceroys.⁵⁸ Sacred polyphony was the official music of both colonial administrations and public celebrations in the Americas.

57 Commenting on the relationship between social order and music in colonial Cuzco, Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham-London, 2008), 26, states: 'The propagation of a Spanish urban vision in the Americas might thus be seen as part of a broader program of imposing order in which music, in the hands of the first Spanish missionaries, participated from the very beginning, sonic harmony encouraging and reinforcing the formation of a regulated social and physical world. Music provided a distinctive set of tools for shaping society, adding a particular dimension to the urbanizing, as well as the evangelizing, mission. The order and precision of the Spanish urban grid plan was mirrored in the organization of urban space through civic processions, in the structuring of time through the sounding of church bells, even in the perfect intervals of a harmoniously constructed polyphonic work – harmony for both eyes and ears.'

58 Francisco Mugarburu and Josephe Mugarburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugarburu*, trans. and ed. Robert Ryal Miller (Norman, 1975).

The last of the Spanish Habsburg rulers, Charles II, died without the hoped-for heir on 1 November 1700 – the end of an era for Spain and its colonies. Philippe d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and Charles II's grand-nephew, was proclaimed King of Spain by Louis at Versailles on 16 November 1700. As Philip V, he became the first Bourbon monarch of Spain, to the dismay of the Habsburgs and their defeated candidate, Leopold I's son Archduke Charles (future Emperor Charles VI). Philip V entered Madrid in triumph on 18 February 1701. The official accounts of his coronation and the spectacles and processions offered in his honour in many cities were published across the geography of the Spanish Empire, though the War of the Spanish Succession still raged.

Notice of Philip V's coronation reached Lima, the new monarch's busiest administrative centre in his overseas dominions, on 9 September 1701, and Lima's official acclamation took place on 5 October with the ceremonial that had been customary for his Habsburg predecessors. The Viceroy, Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega (1636–1705, later third Count of Monclova), scheduled the acclamation so quickly because it was essential to convey Lima's loyalty and reflect 'general and public joy' at such 'happy news'.⁵⁹ The printed *relación* attributes enthusiasm and organizational zeal to Portocarrero as the patron of the festivities; more important, however, it documents how the city followed the appropriate protocol. Members of Lima's city council had been concerned that an appropriate description of their celebration should reach Madrid with all haste to be shared promptly with the new monarch.⁶⁰

59 'Reconociendo su Exc, el general alboroso [sic] y público regocijo conque ha sido recibida, y celebrada en la Ciudad de Lima, noticia de tanta felicidad, rebozando en los semblantes de la lealtad Española la alegría común por el ingreso a la Monarquía de España del Rey N. S. D. Felipe Quinto. ... ha determinado anticipar el público festivo obsequio, y fausta aclamación, sin esperar los caxones, donde vendrá el despacho, siguiendo el exemplar de la Coronada Villa de Madrid, que antes de ver a su Rey, y Señor en la Raya de sus Reynos, le juró, y aclamó' (*Relación de algunas noticias de Europa...*), quoted in José Antonio Rodríguez-Garrido, 'Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal de Lima (1672–1707)' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), 217; also quoted in Louise K. Stein, "'La música de dos orbes': A Context for the First Opera of the Americas', in *Opera Quarterly* 22 (2006), 436, 453. Concerning the bound volume containing these newsheets, see Maryellen Bresie, 'News-sheets Printed in Lima between 1700 and 1711 by José de Contreras y Alvarado, Royal Printer: A Descriptive Essay and Annotated List', in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 78 (1974), 7–68.

60 The printed *relación* of the ceremonies in Lima is the unsigned *Solemne proclamación y Cabalgata real que el día 5 de octubre de este año de 1701 hizo la muy noble ciudad de los Reyes ...* (Lima, 1701). But LimaPM 33, fol. 162, includes a manuscript draft prepared as ordered by the Cabildo; see 'Libro de Cédulas y provisiones de esa ciudad de los reyes, que comienza el año de 1700–1706', fols. 103v–106r; first cited and extracted in Stein, "'La música de dos orbes'", 436–38, 453–54.

Philip v's eighteenth birthday on 19 December 1701 provided the occasion for another festivity just months after news of his coronation had reached Lima and following the official period of mourning for Charles II.⁶¹ For the new King's birthday, Viceroy Portocarrero chose an opera, *La púrpura de la rosa*, rather than a spoken or partly-sung play, according to the official printed *relación* of the celebration:

The king's eighteen years, like the flowers of youth, are the first ones to be celebrated by the faithful recognition and truly Spanish loyalty of these dominions. On this day of public rejoicing, the City turned out in full-dress, and the nobility adorned the finery on its breasts with diamonds in gallant respect of its sovereign. His Excellency [the Viceroy], in whom the generous flame of adoration for his King burns most brightly, attended all the demonstrations of his most dedicated observance; in the morning, with the Royal *Audiencia*, Courts, and *Cabildo*, he attended the solemn Mass that was sung in the Cathedral for the health and life of our King. ... That night, in one of the patios of the palace, *La púrpura de la rosa* was performed, an elegant composition by D. Pedro Calderón, all in music, and performed with excellently skilled voices and rich display in the costumes, stage apparatus, perspective scenery, machines, and flights. ... His Excellency paid the greatly swollen expenses of this *fiesta*, as well as those of the bullfights, with his usual inexhaustible generosity.⁶²

61 Rodríguez-Garrido, 'Teatro y Poder', 189-95, explains the cycle of 'cape and sword' spoken plays (*comedias de enredo*) presented at the Viceroy's court in 1700, whose titles are provided in the printed newssheets now bound as *Diarios, y Memorias de los Sucessos principales, y noticias mas sobresalientes en esta Ciudad de Lima, Corte del Perú. Desde 17. del Mes de Mayo del Año de 1700 hasta fines de Diciembre de 1711...* (Lima, s.d.). Plans for the reopening of the public Coliseo theatre also commenced with the news of Philip v's accession; the *Cabildo* discussed repairs to the theatre in October 1701 and resolved to assign agents of public order to try to control the anticipated crowds. See, for example, LimaPM 33, fols. 130, 160, 160v, quoted and cited in Stein, "La música de dos orbes", 438, 454; see also Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid, 1945), 306-11, 315-16.

62 'Día de felicidad Pública, que comienza a contarse por los años felices de N. Rey, Señor D. Felipe v que prospere el cielo: que siendo 18. como flores de la edad, son los primeros que celebra el fiel reconocimiento, y lealtad Española en estos Reinos. Vistióse de gala la Ciudad, y la Nobleza esmaltó con Diamantes la fineza de los pechos en obsequio galante de su Señor. Su Excelencia, en quien arde más visible la llama generosa de la adoración a su Rey, pasó a todas las demostraciones de su maior culto; asistió la mañana con la Real Audiencia, Tribunales, y Cabildo a la solemne Misa, que se cantó en la Cathedral, por la salud, y vida de N. Rey y Señor, que Dios la continúe por dilatados años feliz. A la noche se celebró en uno de los patios de Palacio la Púrpura de la Rosa, composición elegante de D. Pedro Calderón, toda música, y executada con gran destreza de voces y riqueza de

Each night's performance was offered to a different audience, following the same protocol that had been observed when *Celos aun del aire matan* had received its premiere under Heliche's supervision in Madrid in 1661.⁶³ The 19 December performance of *La púrpura de la rosa* was for the Viceroy, his family, household, and invited guests from among the Spanish nobility in Lima. Subsequent evenings between 22 December and 6 January 1702 were for specific social or political groups (such as the Dean and *Cabildo* of Lima Cathedral together with high-ranking clerics, members of the principal religious orders from Lima's monasteries, the lower nobility, the 'Doctores y Maestros' from the university and the seminary, and so on). The final performance on 6 January 1702, Epiphany, *Día de los Reyes* (also the anniversary of the founding of the city of Lima, Ciudad de los Reyes, and Viceroy Melchor's name day) was offered to all the city. Opening the doors of the temporary royal theatre in his palace courtyard to the populace, Portocarrero followed a precedent set by Heliche at the royal court and observed by the sovereign's representatives across the Spanish dominions, even in Naples and Milan. The Lima *relación* explains that the Viceroy welcomed the public so that the 'loving vassals of His Majesty

galas, aparato de perspectivas, bastidores, tramoyas, y vuelos. La Loa fue también de música y representación, en que las Musas, y Deidades Coronaban a N. Invicto Filipo: costeano tan crecidos gastos en esta fiesta, como en la de los toros, la siempre in exhausta galantería de Su Excelencia.' *Diario de las noticias más sobresalientes en esta corte de Lima desde 20 de Octubre hasta 19 de Diciembre de este año de 1701* (Lima, 1701), in the bound volume of newssheets in NYorkP 76-235; quoted in Rodríguez-Garrido, 'Teatro y Poder', 235-36 and Stein, "La música de dos orbes", 438, 454. Bresie, 'News-sheets Printed in Lima', 30, summarizes this newssheet as item number 14.

- 63 'El festejo Real de Palacio en celebridad del feliz ingreso a la Corona de N. Rey y Señor Don Felipe v. [que Dios guarde] se repitió convidando su Exc. al v. Deán y Cabildo de esta S. Iglesia de Lima, y todo el numeroso Clero de esta Ciudad, cortejando su Exc. en su quarto a los Capitulares, antes de bajar a la Comedia, con regaladas bebidas, y después bajando a asistirles al teatro, mostrando en todo su Exc. la gran veneración, que professa al estado Ecclesiástico. Tercera vez convidó a todos los Cavalleros de Lima. Quarto día a las dos Religiones de S. Domingo y S. Francisco. Quinta vez a las de S. Agustín, N. Señora de la Merced y S. Iuan de Dios, agasajando siempre su Exc. a los Prelados actuales, y Padres de Provincia, con regalados refrescos en su quarto; y acompañándolos personalmente todo el tiempo de la representación música. Sexta vez convidó a la Real Universidad, que asistió en numeroso concurso de Doctores, y Maestros con los tres Colegios el Real, y Maior de S. Felipe, el Real de S. Martín, y el Seminario de S. Toribio. Séptima, y última vez se representó el día de Reyes a toda la Ciudad, queriendo su Exc. que en tan festiva demostración del regocijo público, y celebridad de N. Rey, y Señor, tuviessen parte en la común alegría y festejo los amantes Vasallos de su Magestad.' *Diario de las noticias*, quoted first in Rodríguez-Garrido, 'Teatro y Poder', 240-41; Stein "La música de dos orbes", 440-41, 454. Bresie, 'News-sheets Printed in Lima', 30, summarizes this newssheet as item number 15.

should thus participate in the shared joy and festivity' of the King's birthday (a rationale strikingly similar to that for the opening of the Viceroy's palace in Naples for *Eteocle e Polinice* in January 1680).⁶⁴

The staging of a fully sung opera surely made a strong impression on all who attended or merely heard about it in Lima. Though plays with music had been staged before, Portocarrero was the first to sponsor opera in the Americas. By 1701 he had lived for twenty-two years in the colonies, most of them in a Lima he himself termed 'la contera del mundo' (the end of the earth).⁶⁵ He was the longest-serving among all Spanish viceroys and had lived through the reigns of three Habsburg sovereigns (Philip IV, Juan José of Austria, and Charles II), but his appointments in the Americas were tantamount to political exile; he had fallen from favour after the death of Juan José, his former commander, in 1679. Portocarrero first served as Viceroy in New Spain (Mexico) for nearly two years before his reassignment to the viceroyalty of Peru. Lima was mostly still in ruins after the 1687 earthquake when Portocarrero arrived in August 1689. Only a few months later, however, an elaborate partly sung *zarzuela*, *También se vengan los dioses* (with *loa* and *sainete*), was produced for him in December 1689 after the birth of his son Francisco Javier. The manuscript text of this *zarzuela* by the Peruvian poet Lorenzo de las Llamosas calls for a profusion of the same musical types, songs, and dances heard in the *zarzuelas* produced at the royal court in Madrid by Heliche, productions that Portocarrero probably experienced in his youth.⁶⁶ Llamosas had not yet travelled to Spain, but clearly he had read plays by Calderón and other late seventeenth-century Spanish dramatists. His text of *También se vengan los dioses* specifies changes in lighting and stage movement via machines, suggesting that resources for these effects must have been available to the production team in 1689 and thus also in 1701 for *La*

64 On designated occasions (often the last performance and following those for the royal family, court officials, and important personages), even the court productions at the Coliseo theatre in the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid (fitted with a special external door for this purpose) were opened to the public. The Palazzo Reale in Naples did not have a permanent theatre for opera, even in the later seventeenth century; protocolled performances sponsored by the viceroys there were staged in a dismountable theatre in the Sala Grande and were sometimes opened to the public, though most operas completed their runs in the commercial Teatro di San Bartolomeo. On *Eteocle e Polinice*, see above, n. 51.

65 Quoted from a letter dated 1 August 1692 from Portocarrero to Gregorio de Silva y Mendoza (ToleAHN 75/2); see Louise K. Stein, 'De la contera del mundo: Las navegaciones de la ópera entre dos mundos y varias culturas', in *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, ed. Emilio Casares and Alvaro Torrente (Madrid, 2001), 93.

66 The autograph manuscript (whose dedication is dated 15 December 1689) is MadN 14842; a modern edition of Llamosas's texts (without critical apparatus) is Lorenzo de las Llamosas, *Obra completa y apéndice*, ed. César A. Debarbieri (Lima, 2000).

púrpura de la rosa.⁶⁷ In a further connection to theatrical practice at other Spanish courts, special productions at the Viceroy's palace were staged with a dismountable theatre of the sort employed in the *Salón Dorado* at the royal Alcázar in Madrid and the *Sala Grande* of the Palazzo Reale in Naples prior to its renovation.⁶⁸

Portocarrero's selection of *La púrpura de la rosa* for the royal birthday was surely guided by the opera's history: Hidalgo's setting, as discussed above, had been commissioned to mark the Peace of the Pyrenees and the betrothal of Philip v's grandparents. It is just possible that Portocarrero attended the Madrid premiere, and he almost certainly attended the opera's revival in Madrid in 1679-80 when the nobility were invited to court for the entrance of Marie-Louise d'Orléans and celebrations following the royal marriage. Portocarrero's protracted service in the Americas filled him with nostalgic longing for the court culture of Madrid. His personal letters from Lima are infused with a weariness born of colonial distance. He had spent his youth as a soldier fighting against the French for the Habsburg cause in Sicily, Flanders, Catalonia, and Portugal, but as Viceroy in Lima in 1701 he nevertheless demonstrated allegiance to the new Bourbon monarchy (though the protocols he followed had been developed for the Spanish Habsburgs). In the newly composed *loa* for *La púrpura de la rosa* by the Lima cathedral chapel master Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, the muses Calíope and Tersícore lead a brilliantly concordant choral acclamation, singing to pay festive homage in a universe changed by the

67 On the politics and staging of courtly theatre in Lima, see José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, 'El teatro cortesano en la Lima colonial: Recepción y prácticas escénicas', in *Histórica* 22 (2008), 115-43. See also José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, 'Lorenzo de las Llamosas y el pensamiento criollo en el Perú a fines del siglo xvii', in *La formación de la cultura virreinal, 11: El siglo xvii*, ed. Karl Kohut and Sonia v. Rose (Frankfurt, 2004), 455-72; Susana Hernández-Araico, 'Festejos teatrales mitológicos de 1689 en la Nueva España y el Perú de Sor Juana y Llamosas: Una aproximación crítica', in *La cultura literaria en la América virreinal: Concurrencias y diferencias*, ed. J. Pascual Buxó and Alejandrina Alcántara Ramírez (Mexico, 1996), 317-26, and in the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/festejos-teatrales-mitolgicos-de-1689-en-la-nueva-espa-a-y-el-per-de-sor-juana-y-lorenzo-de-las-llamosas---una-aproximacin-crtica-0/html/8f0df721-7bd7-4864-83db-bb14a01c3e08_5.html> (accessed 25 June 2020).

68 Concerning the decoration and protocol of performances in the *salón dorado*, see J. E. Varey, 'L'Auditoire du Salón dorado de l'Alcázar de Madrid au xvii^e siècle', in *Dramaturgie et Société*, ed. Jean Jacquot, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968) vol. 1, 77-91, and the illustrated introduction by Varey and Shergold to Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, lv-lxxi. Fernando Checa provides a list of documents about 'arming' and 'disarming' the temporary theatre for the *salón dorado*; see *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos Siglos de Arquitectura y Coleccionismo en la Corte de los Reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Madrid, 1994), 35.

superior presence of the new King, Philip v, the 'fifth planet' who rules over two worlds.⁶⁹

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69 That the *loa* contributed an homage and Portocarrero's assurance of political fidelity is even specifically reported in the printed description of the performance: 'La Loa fue también de música y representación, en que las Musas, y Deidades Coronaban a N. Invicto Filipo: costeano tan crecidos gastos en esta fiesta, como en la de los toros, la siempre in exhausta galantería de Su Excelencia' (*Diario de las noticias*). See Rodríguez-Garrido, 'Teatro y Poder', 235-36, and Stein, "La música de dos orbes", 438-39, 454.

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Contexts for and Functions of Instrumental Music in Central Europe

Charles E. Brewer

1 The *Triumph* of Maximilian I

As the Habsburgs sought to consolidate their political, religious, and cultural influence over Central Europe during the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they explored ways to broadcast their power. Maximilian I conceived of a series of artistic works that could be engraved on woodblocks, printed, and bestowed upon the nobility throughout the region.¹ Though he could not build an actual *Ehrenpforte* (triumphal arch) or even a fanciful large *Triumphwagen* (triumphal carriage), Maximilian described an elaborate triumphal procession that would accompany the arch and carriage.² This procession or *Triumphzug* was to portray the comprehensiveness of his court and his accomplishments and was filled with illustrations of his court musicians, from the corps of trumpeters, mounted players of shawms and trombones, the royal chapel, and the instrumentalists for more intimate performances. As realized, the twenty-third woodcut of this series was to portray a little boy on a camel carrying a banner with the following verse:

I carry the sweet melody,
Indeed from many string instruments,
Gitterns, lutes, tabors,

- 1 Linda S. Stiber, Elmer Eusman, and Sylvia Albro, 'The Triumphal Arch and the Large Triumphal Carriage of Maximilian I: Two Oversized, Multi-Block, 16th-Century Woodcuts from the Studio of Albrecht Durer', in *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 14 (1995), 63-85. Keith Moxey has indicated that it was considered illegal to sell these woodcuts; see *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago-London, 1989), 22.
- 2 Stanley Appelbaum (ed.), *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others* (New York, 1964) is a complete edition of the plates, reproduced from *Triumph des Kaisers Maximilian I, Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Beilage to vol. 1 (Vienna, 1883-84); Appelbaum also provides English translations of the texts found in the various manuscript descriptions and miniature prints from Franz Schestag (ed.), 'Kaiser Maximilian I. Triumph', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1 (1883), 154-81.

All these according to the Emperor's intention,
 Moreover, reed pipes, both large and small,
 With the harps included.³

The poem referred to the musicians that were to be represented on the following cart (Plate 24; see Figure 9.1).

With the exception of the court chapel's cart (Figure 2.2), which holds both singers and two players with a cornetto and trombone, many of the carts, including that with the 'sweet melody', contain only instrumentalists, lutes, harps, gambas, crumhorns, and trombones, including the fifer Anthony of Dornstädt (Plate 3), 'Artus, master player of the lute' (Plate 18), 'Neyschl, trombone master' (Plate 20), and the organist and composer Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537) (Plate 22).⁴ The instrumental ensembles match the three basic groups common in Central European courts, each of which fulfilled different functions: *bas* (or soft), mostly fiddles or lutes plus a harp for musical entertainments and dances at court; *haut* (or loud), two or three shawms plus a slide trumpet or trombone for use in large assemblies and halls or outdoors; and the trumpets for both military signals and courtly display.⁵ These visual representations of

3 'Ich hab die suessen Melodey, / von Saitenspill gar manicherlay, / Quintern, Lautten, Tammerlin, / das alles nach des Kaisers Sin, / Rauschpfeiffen gross dartzue auch klein, / die Harpfen mit getzogen ein.' Text from Schestag, 'Kaiser Maximilian I. Triumph', 159, with a new English translation by the author. See also the discussion of Plate 24 in Herbert Meyers, 'The Musical Miniatures of the "Triumphzug" of Maximilian I', in *The Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007), 17-19. Meyers, 102, also includes a colour reproduction from ViennB Min. 77, fol. 10r, a later copy of the original miniature for this plate. Concerning the problems of interpreting the *Triumph*, see Keith Polk, 'Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperor's Musical Retinue: On the Road with Maximilian I', in *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Walter Salman (Innsbruck, 1992), 79-88.

4 Attributions from Schestag, 'Kaiser Maximilian I. Triumph', 155, 158-59. Concerning Hans Neuschel and other members of his family, see John Kmetz, 'Blowing Your Own Horn in the New Economy, ca. 1550', in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series 5 (Hillsdale, NY, 2005), 133-41. Concerning Hofhaimer, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Hildesheim, 1966); a critical edition of his works is Paul Hofhaimer, *Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, 3 vols., ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Clemens Panagl, Gerold Hayer, Johannes Strobl, and Grantley McDonald, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg 15* (Salzburg-Munich, 2004-14).

5 Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons, and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992); music at the imperial court is examined on 87-93. See also Keith Polk, 'Susato and Instrumental Music in Flanders in the Sixteenth Century', in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series

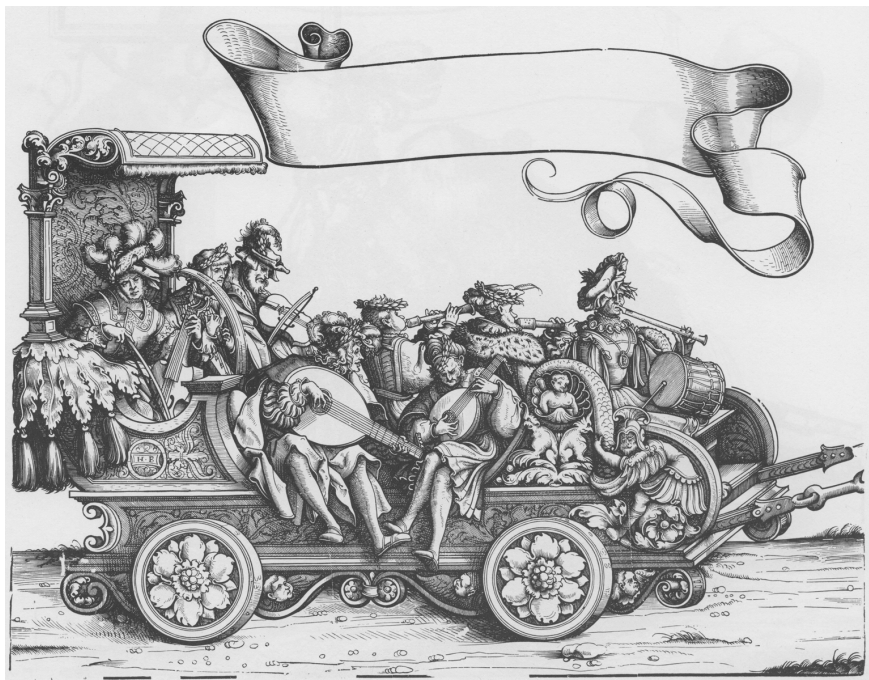


FIGURE 9.1 'Die suessen Melodey', plate 24 of the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I, woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, begun 1512, published 1526. From *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Beilage to vol. 1 (Vienna, 1883-84) PUBLIC DOMAIN. COURTESY FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

instrumental music, conceived by Maximilian I, exemplify the significant role that different genres of instrumental music fulfilled throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in both the courts and cities of Central Europe, where they formed the sonic foundation for many musical functions and entertainments, especially the church services, balls, concerts, and table music that refreshed both body and spirit.

2 Dances and Songs without Words

Dancing and dance music were central to all levels of society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The musical activities of the lower classes are

5 (Hillsdale, NY, 2005), 63, which discusses these three basic groups; and Polk, 'Patronage, Imperial Image,' 80-81 and 84-88, for further documentation.

known only through silent descriptions and representations, as in Pieter Breugel the Elder's 'Wedding Dance' (c. 1566) and 'Peasant Dance' (c. 1568), in which the elaborate gestures of the dancers are frequently accompanied by pipers, often used as symbols with allegorical meanings.⁶

The court dances are much better preserved. One of the earliest documents is a luxurious manuscript of *basse dances* copied on dyed parchment with gold and silver ink for Margaret of Austria (1480–1530).⁷ Since this collection begins with a preface describing the choreography for the dances (similar to that published c. 1490 in Paris), it may have been intended for the instruction of the young Margaret while she was in Paris during her engagement to Charles, later King of France. The manuscript contains, in addition to the choreography, the foundation melodies of the *basse dances* that would serve for the improvisations of instrumentalists. This repertoire of tunes, along with other popular songs, was soon appropriated into the more elaborate music of the period, as in the arrangement of the *basse danse* tune *La Spagna*, attributed in some late Central European sources to Josquin des Prez, which was copied into a set of partbooks in Copenhagen around 1540.⁸

The repertoire of *basse dances* would have been performed by an *alta capella*, often an ensemble of two or three shawms and trombone, either outdoors or in larger rooms at court.⁹ A typical example of the musicians who may have performed this music is Hans Nagel, a trombonist who held positions in Leipzig, at court in England, with Archduke Philip the Fair by 1506, and later with Margaret of Austria.¹⁰ Nagel, who also functioned as a spy for Henry VIII, seems to have moved freely between municipal and courtly positions while at

6 *Wedding Dance* (c. 1566), Detria 30.374, and *Peasant Dance* (c. 1569), VienKHM GG_1059. Concerning the meaning of these works, see Robert Quist, 'The Theme of Music in Northern Renaissance Banquet Scenes' (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2004), 155–78.

7 BrusBR 9085; facsimile: *Les Basses Danses de Marguerite d'Autriche*, ed. Claudine Lemaire, Claude Thiry, and Victor Gavenda, Codices Selecti 87, Musica manuscripta 5 (Graz, 1988); see also David Wilson and Véronique Daniels, *The Basse Dance Handbook: Text and Context*, The Wendy Hilton Dance and Music Series 16 (Hillsdale, NY, 2012), 74–112.

8 CopKB 1872; see Henrik Glahn (ed.), *Music from the Time of Christian III, Dania Sonans IV and Dania Sonans V*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1978 and 1986). Josquin des Prez, *La Spagna*, ed. Bernard Thomas, The Renaissance Band 3 (London, 1973); see also David Fallows, 'Alamire as a Composer', in *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 5 (2003), 256–58, which discusses the problem of attributions.

9 See Keith Polk, 'Flemish Wind Bands in the Late Middle Ages: A Study of Improvisatory Instrumental Practices' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1968), and Patrick Tröster, *Das Alta-Ensemble und seine Instrumente von der Spätgotik bis zur Hochrenaissance (1300–1550): Eine musikikonografische Studie* (Tübingen, 2001).

10 Keith Polk, 'Instrumental Music in Brussels in the Early 16th Century', in *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 55 (2001), 94–95.

Margaret's court.¹¹ Other records support the fluidity of court employment by musicians who were often drawn from local ensembles as the court travelled from place to place.¹² Philip the Fair borrowed instrumentalists from the imperial court, and during the governorship of Margaret of Austria, many moved freely between the continent and England.¹³

In addition to dances, both sacred chant and secular tunes were developed into new polyphonic instrumental repertoires, such as the *Salve Regina* by Hofhaimer.¹⁴ One popular tune, *Tandernaken*, was apparently well-liked by Margaret of Austria, and in addition to a number of elaborate instrumental arrangements, basically 'songs without words', Pierre de la Rue (d. 1518) even used the tune for a mass setting.¹⁵ Many freely composed instrumental pieces at this time were merely titled 'carmen' (song), including those by Maximilian's chapel master, Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450/55-1517).¹⁶ The free movement of musicians and composers within the Habsburg realm, such as Nagel and Isaac, promoted the creation of an international repertoire of popular instrumental pieces throughout Central Europe.

While both dance music and 'songs without words' were performed at court by professional musicians, they most likely were also used as musical pastimes for the nobility, since viols were taught at court in the early sixteenth century. For example, Charles V as a young man and his sisters had received instruction on the viol in 1512 from Henry Bredemers while at the court of their aunt, Margaret of Austria:

To master Henry Bredemers, etc., nineteen *livres* ... for various expenses which he has paid and disbursed, for having tuned, kept, and maintained

11 Bruno Bouckaert and Eugene Schreurs, 'Hans Nagel, Performer and Spy in England and Flanders (ca. 1490-1531)', in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series 5 (Hillsdale, NY, 2005), 101-15.

12 Polk, 'Instrumental Music in Brussels', 95.

13 Concerning Philip the Fair, see Polk, 'Susato and Instrumental Music', 65.

14 SGallS 461, fols. 22v-24v; edited in Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer*, 'Anhang: Noten', 8-16, and Hofhaimer, *Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, vol. 2, 3-8.

15 Warwick Edwards, 'Songs without Words by Josquin and His Contemporaries', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Text*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 79-92. See also, Richard Taruskin (ed.), *T'Andernaken: Ten Settings in Three, Four, and Five Parts*, Ogni Sorte Editions 7 (Coconut Grove, 1981).

16 In a copy of Plate 26 from the *Triumph* from Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett, the second figure from the left has been labelled in a contemporary hand, 'isaac'. Reproduced in Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, Publikationen des Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie 11, 28, 3 vols. (Bern-Stuttgart, 1977), vol. 2, Plates 3f and 3f^c.

the large viols, for the delight and pastimes of my said lord and my said lady, until August 28th, 15 *douze*, and that, beyond and above his payment, which he has to teach my said lord and ladies, his sisters, and other gifts, which he had for the services made according to the act, by this here, etc., nineteen *livres*.¹⁷

Both Charles and his sister Mary of Hungary continued to maintain viol consorts in their own households. Charles seems to have consistently employed four viol players, and while specific performers are not evident in the archival records of Mary of Hungary, an inventory from 1559 indicates that she owned 20 *vihuelas de arco*.¹⁸ While specific documentation of musicking by the nobility is difficult to find, contemporary paintings depict both professional musicians and noble amateurs.¹⁹

3 Changing Styles at Mid-Century

During most of the earlier part of the sixteenth century, string players (both professional and amateur) became prevalent.²⁰ Also, a new and fashionable repertory of music from Italy was influencing Central European musicians.²¹ While still expensive, the increasing publication of instrumental music and

17 'A maistre Henry Bredemers, etc., dix neuf livres ... pour diverses parties qu'il a payées et desboursées, pour avoir fait mectre à point, gardé et entretenu les grandes violes, pour le desuit et passetemps de mondit s^r et de madite dame, jusques au xxviii^e d'aoust xv^e douze, et ce, oultre et pardessus sa pencion qu'il a pour apprendre à jouer mondit seigneur et mesdames, ses seurs, et autres dons qu'il a euz pour services pour loy faiz, par ce icy, etc., xix liv[re]s.' Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1867-88), vol. 7, 202. See also Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), 196-98.

18 Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 197.

19 See, for example, the reproduction of the sixteenth-century painting titled 'Adelige Lustbarkeiten' from Schloß Freiling (Oö. Landesmuseum Linz, Inv. Nr. G 57), reproduced as Abbildung 15 in Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber (eds.), *Musikgeschichte Österreichs, vol. 1: Von den Anfängen zum Barock* (Graz, 1977), following p. 176, which depicts both professional musicians playing trumpets and timpani, most likely accompanying the tournament activities (jousting, fencing, etc.) and a pipe and tabor pair, and three smaller groups of nobles: one with possibly two singers and a harp, a recorder duet, and a lute/viol duo.

20 Polk, 'Susato and Instrumental Music', 67.

21 Polk, 'Susato and Instrumental Music', 93-94.

books about instruments, such as Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, is also evidence of a strong market for music without words.²²

In dance music, this was marked by the introduction of new forms, such as pavaues, galliards, branles, etc. While many professional musicians may have still improvised their performances, the newly published collections of dance music may have fulfilled a desire for amateurs to play these works for private or social entertainment.²³ Court ceremonial instructions from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries consistently indicate that there was to be instruction for the court ladies in reading and writing, languages, geography and history, handwork, and also dancing and music. Members of the court chapel were used as instructors not only for the ladies but also for the younger children.²⁴ The contents of the published dance collections, such as those by Tielman Susato (1551) and Giorgio Mainerio (1578), which did not require extensive technical skill, would have been suitable for the use of amateurs at court and introduced the newest dance styles.²⁵

Secular songs, especially the newer styles of French chansons and even early Italian madrigals, as well as Latin motets, were also adapted for instrumental performance in Central Europe.²⁶ While the musical repertoires of the Habsburg courts respected and continued to use older compositions, especially in ecclesiastical contexts, there was also a fascination with the new and fashionable.

22 Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 1528 und 1545, ed. Robert Eitner, Publikation aelterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke 20 (Leipzig, 1896; reprint, New York, 1966), and Martin Agricola, *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch' of Martin Agricola: A Treatise on Musical Instruments, 1529 and 1545*, trans. and ed. William E. Hettrick (Cambridge, 1994).

23 Tielman Susato, *Danserye (Het derde musyck boexken)*, 1551, ed. Bernard Thomas, 4 vols. (Brighton, 1993), vol. 1, preface.

24 Katin Keller, *Hofdamen: Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 2005), 34. See also Lynne Heller and Karl Vocelka, *Die private Welt der Habsburger: Leben und Alltag einer Familie* (Graz, 1998), 268-69.

25 Tielman Susato, *Het derde musyck boexken: Alderhande danserye*, ed. Herman Baeten (Peer, 1987); modern edition, *Danserye*, ed. Thomas. Giorgio Mainerio, *Il primo libro de balli accomodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de instrumeti* (Venice, 1578); modern edition, ed. Manfred Schuler, *Musikalische Denkmäler* 5 (Mainz, 1961); the concordances are listed on 13*-14*. Arrangements of Mainerio's dances are found in Pierre Phalèse (ed.), *Chorearum Molliorum Collectanea* (Antwerp, 1583), facsimile ed. H. Vanhulst, 4 vols. (Peer, 1991); modern edition, *Antwerpener Tanzbuch*, ed. Helmut Mönkmeyer, 2 vols. (Wilhelmshaven, 1962). Jakob Paix's *Pass'e mezzo antico* is printed in Mainerio, *Il primo libro de balli*, ed. Schuler, 50-57.

26 Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte* 4, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1998).

Archdukes Ferdinand II of Tyrol and Charles II of Inner Austria attended the wedding of Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Renata of Lorraine, which took place in Munich on March 1568, as the Habsburg representatives. While three descriptions were published, that written by the musician and poet Massimo Troiano is filled with rich musical details. His lavish description of the wedding banquet, written as a dialogue, listed the different performers who played for each of the nine courses, which can be illustrated by this excerpt:²⁷

Fortunio: They enjoyed themselves for the short space of an hour with the aforementioned salads along with the sound of various wind instruments, who made music together.

Marinio: What instruments were played?

Fortunio: A *Battaglia* in eight parts by the organist Aniballe [Padovano] with trombones, high cornetti, and other works also in eight parts. Then the four stewards appeared from the kitchen to the sound of vigorous and high trumpets and the booming timpani, Count Heinrich von Schwarzenberg, Count Arco the Elder, Count Ulrich von Montfort and Count Friedrich von Otting.²⁸

Though most of the music for the wedding festivities was selected by Orlando di Lasso (1530/32-94), Annibale Padovano (1527-75) was also in attendance at the wedding in Archduke Charles's retinue, and his *Battaglia* may have been a diplomatic selection.²⁹ Troiano's account of the daily table music at the

27 Concerning the wedding, see also Astrid Pajur, 'Spectacular Marriages: Early Modern Festival Books and the 1568 Wedding of Wilhelm V of Bavaria and Renata of Lorraine' (B.A. diss., Univ. of Edinburgh, 2012), and the descriptions in Massimo Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano: Dialoge, italienisch, deutsch*, ed. and trans. Horst Leuchtmann (Munich-Salzburg, 1980); the music at the wedding feast is described on pp. 134-63. A summary with selective translations is in Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420-1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016), 169-71.

28 'Fortunio: Intertenuti che furono poco spatio d'hora, con le sopradette insalate, con armonia di varii strumenti, di fiato, concertati insieme. Marinio: Che strumenti furono sonati? Fortunio: Una Battaglia ad otto, di Messere Aniballe Organista, con bromboni, e cornetti alti, & altre opere pure ad otto. Poscia al suono di gagliarde & alte trombe, e tintinnanti bacini, dalla cucina uscirono li quattro scalchi, il Conte Henrico, di Sebarzemburgh: Il Conte d'Arco, il vecchio, Il Conte Olorico, di Monforte: Et il conte Federico, Etting ...' (Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit*, 134-36).

29 Concerning Padovano, see Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564-1619)* (Mainz, 1967), 103-10. The *Battaglia* is printed in Giacomo Benvenuti (ed.), *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli e la musica strumentale in San Marco: Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana*, 7 vols. (Milan, 1931-41), vol. 1, 177-202.

Munich court also demonstrates that instrumental performance of madrigals, chansons, and motets was common in Central Europe:

Fortunio: After the first course was brought and everyone seated at the table, and the first tumult [of trumpets] has died down, with which the food was announced as usual, the wind instruments, sometimes crumhorns, sometimes flutes, sometimes fifes, and sometimes trombones and cornetti, fulfil their duty until the second course with French chansons and other cheerful works. Afterwards, with celestial harmony, Antonio Morari and his companions with violas di braccio (as well as sometimes with violas di gamba, and with various other instruments) play sometimes artful motets and sometimes charming madrigals until the last service.³⁰

Other indications of this fashion for instrumental vocal music are found in musical collections, such as the set of five partbooks compiled between 1552 and 1560 by Wolfgang Küffer (c. 1530-66), which contains, in addition to Latin motets, some dance music ('Ein beurisch tantz', 'Welscher tantz'), German Lieder (by Hermann Finck and Johannes Keutzenhoff), copies without text of French chansons (by Thomas Crecquillon, Claudin de Sermisy, and Clément Janequin), and a few madrigals (by Jacques Arcadelt and Francesco Corteccia).³¹ Another set of partbooks, mostly copied without words, which also includes indications for instrumental performance by cornetti, shawms, and trombones, reflects the practices at Archduke Charles's court at Graz and includes motets by Lasso and Padovano, and madrigals by Alessandro Striggio and Philippe de Monte, among other works.³² Just as in Italy, where the new French

30 'Fortunio: Dopo portato le prime vivande e sentati tutti a tavola, quietato il primo tumulto, che col sentire far si suole. Li strumenti di fiato, hor con corno muse, hora con flauti, hora con fifferi, & hora con tromboni, e cornetti insino alle seconde: con canzoni Franzese, & altre allegre opere, fanno il loro ufficio. Dopo Antonio Morari, e suoi compagni, con le viole di Braccio (ben che alcuna volta, con viole di gamba, e con altri vari strumenti) hor con artificiosi Mottetti, & hor con vaghi Madrigali, con celeste harmonia, suonano insino a l'ultimo servitio' (Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit*, 104).

31 RegB 940/41; selections in Wilfried Brennecke (ed.), *Carmina Germanica et Gallica*, Hortus Musicus 137-38 (Kassel, 1955-56). See also Wilfried Brennecke, *Die Handschrift A.R. 940/41 der Proske-Bibliothek zu Regensburg: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte im zweiten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung, Kiel 1 (Kassel, 1953).

32 RegB 775-777; see Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, vol. 1, 110-28; Eric F. Fiedler, 'Zingen, Pumat, Pusaun: The Manuscript Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, ms A.R. 775-777 as a Source of Information about Wind-Band Performing Practice in Late Sixteenth-Century Southern Germany', in *Festschrift für Winfried Kirsch zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Ackermann, Ulrike Kienzle, and Adolf Nowak (Tutzing,

chanson gave rise to the instrumental canzona, there was clearly a taste in Central Europe for this modern vocal music, although devoid of its original words.³³

The significance of counterpoint in both sacred and secular repertoires also led to the expanding repertoire of instrumental *ricercars*, including those by imperial organists such as Jacques Buus (c. 1500-65) and later Carl Luython (1557/58-1620).³⁴ The copying and publication of these contrapuntal works made them suitable for performance either by a soloist or an ensemble, and though they resemble sacred motets, it seems likely that they functioned as chamber music during the hours of recreation and conversation at court and, later, even for table music.³⁵

There is increasing evidence that all types of instrumental music were being used not only for court or domestic entertainments and table music, but also in public baths and bordellos.³⁶ For example, at Schloß Ambras in Innsbruck there is a bathroom complex traditionally associated with Philippine Welser, the morganatic wife of Archduke Ferdinand II.³⁷ The changing room was re-decorated in 1567 with wood panelling and a fresco based on contemporary engravings and woodcuts owned by the Archduke. Though now much deteriorated, part of this fresco was based on Hans Sebald Beham's engraving

1996), 34-48; and Douglas Kirk, David Klausner, and Daniel Stillman (eds.), *Music for an Archduke: Selections from the Manuscript Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A.R. 775-777* (Arlington, MA, 2014). A recent study by Franz Körndle, 'Hofkapelle versus Stadtpfeiferei: Die Stimmbücher A. R. 775-777 der Bischöflichen Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg', in *Musikalische Schätze in Regensburger Bibliotheken*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz (Regensburg, 2019), 167-88, casts serious doubts on the Graz provenance of this source.

33 On the role of these instrumental anthologies and the changing musical tastes of this period, see Ludwig Finscher, 'Lied and Madrigal, 1580-1600', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1994), 185-89.

34 For a discussion of the new *ricercar* style and the Habsburg connections for some of its earliest composers, see Gordon Sutherland, 'The Ricercari of Jacques Buus', in *Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945), 448-63, and Milton A. Swenson (ed.), *Ensemble Ricercars*, Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance 27 (Madison, 1978), vii-xxi. Concerning Luython, see Carmelo Peter Comberiat, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II, 1576-1612*, Musicology Series 4 (New York, 1987), 62-77, and Coloman Sass, 'Charles Luython: Ses madrigaux et œuvres instrumentales' (Ph.D. diss., University of Leuven, 1958).

35 Keller, *Hofdamen*, 125. See also Jacob Paix, *Intavolierungen von Motetten von Orlando di Lasso (um 1532-1594) für Orgel (Cembalo)*, ed. E. Kraus (Regensburg, 2001).

36 See the illustrations and commentary in Walter Salmen, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 3, Lieferung 9 (Leipzig, 1976), 82-83 (bordellos) and 102-3 (baths).

37 See Sabine Haag (ed.), with Margot Rauch, Katharina Seidl, and Andreas Winkler, *Splash! Das Bad der Philippine Welser: Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien im Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, 30. März bis 30. Juni 2012* (Vienna, 2012). On Philippine Welser, see Chapter 6 of this volume.

Fountain of Youth-Bathhouse (c. 1530/31), which includes nude depictions of a musician playing a recorder or shawm behind a group of nude spectators above the bath and another playing a fiddle on the edge of the bath (Figure 9.2).³⁸ Another section of the fresco depicts a *Tafelmusik*, with a lutenist entertaining three gentleman and two ladies (possibly courtesans, one of whom is holding a wine goblet), though the blue colour in the background may indicate that this also derived from an earlier bathhouse image. The combination of bathing with feasting and music has been connected with Welser's interest in natural medicine and a general concept of good health.³⁹ As to bordellos, many genre paintings from the early seventeenth century on the theme of the prodigal son, now in Central European collections, include musical instruments to illustrate the topos of lust and passion, often played by the courtesans themselves.⁴⁰ Though the private lives of the nobility are difficult to document, as early as the fifteenth century Oswald von Wolkenstein wrote about a bordello kerfuffle in his song, 'Fröleich geschrai'.⁴¹ As noted in contemporary documents, prostitution, bordellos, and bathhouses were both supported and utilized by the nobility and clergy.⁴²

4 *L'uso moderno in Central Europe*

By the end of the sixteenth century, there was a decided shift of taste to the new musical genres associated with the *stile moderno*. While Habsburg musical

38 For further discussion of this engraving, see Alison G. Stewart, 'Sebald Beham's *Fountain of Youth-Bathhouse* Woodcut: Popular Entertainment and Large Prints by the Little Masters', in *Register of the Spencer Art Museum* 6, no. 6 (1989), 64-88. On p. 67, Stewart also notes that 'geigen spielen' and 'geigen machen' carry erotic connotations; see Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 16 volumes in 32 parts (Leipzig, 1854-1961), vol. 5, cols. 2567-79, 'geige, 4.'

39 For discussions of Welser's medical recipes, see the following two works by Sigrid-Maria Grössing: *Kaufmannstochter im Kaiserhaus: Philippine Welser und ihre Heilkunst* ([Vienna], 1992) and *Die Heilkunst der Philippine Welser: Aussenseiterin im Hause Habsburg* (Augsburg, 1998).

40 See for example Gerrit van Honthorst, 'The Prodigal Son' (1622, Munich, Alte Pinakothek); Dirck van Baburen, 'Concert (The prodigal son among the prostitutes)' (1623, Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum); and Johannes Baeck, 'The Prodigal Son' (1637, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

41 Oswald von Wolkenstein, *Geistliche und Weltliche Lieder*, ed. Josef Schatz and Oswald Koller, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 18 (Vienna, 1902; reprint, Graz, 1959), 187-88.

42 Concerning the Habsburg lands, see Peter Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus: Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350-1600)* (Paderborn, 1992). For the situation in Vienna, see Josef Schrank, *Geschichte der Prostitution in Wien* (Vienna, 1886), 50-151.



FIGURE 9.2 Detail of *The Fountain of Youth* depicting a bathhouse, woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham, c. 1536

PHOTO CREDIT: BPK BILDAGENTUR / KUPFERSTICKKABINETT, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN / JÖRG P. ANDERS / ART RESOURCE, NY, USED WITH PERMISSION

attention had mostly been directed towards Spain, Flanders, and Bavaria, Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria had already begun to employ a number of musicians from northern Italy, including Padovano, and had established connections with Italian composers such as Andrea Gabrieli.⁴³ These connections were continued by his son Emperor Ferdinand II, who even employed Giovanni Gabrieli as an agent in Venice.⁴⁴ The presence of Italian musicians increased with the arrival of Ferdinand II's second wife, Eleonora Gonzaga, and were further strengthened under his son Ferdinand III, whose third wife was also named Eleonora Gonzaga. Both Eleanoras included many Italian musicians in their retinues, and they exerted a lasting influence on the fashion for Italian music at court.⁴⁵ While the strongest influence on the musical repertoire of the Habsburgs was from northern Italy, there were some connections to Rome, primarily through the Jesuits, as seen in the many manuscripts of works by Giacomo Carissimi (1605-74) in Central Europe; in addition, the imperial organist Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-67) studied in Rome with Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643).⁴⁶ Through Habsburg employment of foreign musicians, especially Italians (though other nationalities were also represented), their patronage of publications, and their obtaining prints or manuscripts of the newest compositions, all aspects of these new styles and genres became available throughout the whole region.

The modern style of independent instrumental sonatas was created by combining virtuoso diminutions with a unique mixture of differing textures, tempos, and meters, and it quickly spread from Italy throughout Central Europe in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁷ In many respects, Dario Castello's two books of *Sonate concertate in stil moderno* (Venice, 1621 and 1629) [RISM C1459 and C1462] had a great influence in Central and East-Central Europe; he dedicated his second collection to Emperor Ferdinand II.⁴⁸

43 See Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 234.

44 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 235-37.

45 Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2013), 142. See also Herbert Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Elenora Gonzaga', in *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Anerer et al. (Tutzing, 1982), 527-54, reprinted in Herbert Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 633-64; and Chapter 5 of this volume.

46 For the sources of Carissimi, see Iva M. Buff, *A Thematic Catalog of the Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi*, Music Indexes and Bibliographies 15 (Clifton, NJ, 1979). Concerning Froberger's studies in Rome, see Claudio Annibaldi, 'Froberger in Rome: From Frescobaldi's Craftsmanship to Kircher's Compositional Secrets', in *Current Musicology* 58 (1995), 5-27.

47 Peter Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata: From Its Origins Until Corelli* (Oxford, 1992), 90-91.

48 Basic discussions of Castello are found in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York, 1994), 132-38; Willi Apel, *Italian Violin Music of*

The modern-style sonata was quickly imitated by both Italians resident north of the Alps and those seeking to gain Habsburg patronage, such as Giovanni Martino Cesare (c. 1590-1667), Giuseppe Scarani (fl. 1628-42), Tarquinio Merula (1594-1665), Carlo Farina (c. 1604-39), and Biagio Marini (1594-1663).⁴⁹ For example, Marini constantly shifted his positions between Italy and Central Europe, including a long period at the Wittelsbach court in Neuburg on the Danube, and at some point before Ferdinand II's death in 1637, Marini may have been in Habsburg service.⁵⁰ The dedication of his *Sonate, symphonie, canzoni, pass'emezzi, baletti, corenti, gagliarde, & retornelli*, Op. 8 (Venice, 1629) [RISM M663] to Archduchess Isabella, Regent of the Netherlands, dated 1 October 1626, refers to Marini's presence in Brussels, where he probably performed some of its contents in a private concert at court.⁵¹ The idiomatic and virtuosic instrumental writing by these Italians indicates that this music was no longer for amateurs but for professionals.

the Seventeenth Century, ed. Thomas Binkley (Bloomington, 1990), 34-39; William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (New York, 1983), 106-8; and especially the various references to 'The Stil Moderno Sonata' in Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, 85-95. Information about Castello's dedication is provided in Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1952-68), vol. 2, 95. Facsimile editions of both prints are ed. Marcello Castellani, *Archivum Musicum* 15 and 44 (Florence, 1981).

49 For Cesare, see Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 140-41; Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 91-97; and Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, 115-16. Concerning Merula, see Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 62-71, and Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, 126-36. For a complete study of Farina, see Aurelio Bianco, *Vie et œuvre de Carlo Farina* (Turnhout, 2010), which includes the complete works in transcription on the accompanying CD-rom.

50 For a general biographical summary, somewhat outdated, see Willene Clark, 'The Vocal Music of Biagio Marini (c. 1598-1665)', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1966), vol. 1, 1-51. The dedication to Biagio Marini, *Concerto Terzo delle musiche da camera*, Op. 16 (Milan, 1649) [RISM M667] is in Sartori, *Bibliografia*, vol. 1, 404; an English translation is in the booklet notes by Angela Voss that accompany the recording by The Consort of Musicke, *Biagio Marini: Concerto Terzo delle Musiche da Camera-1649* (Compact Disc, Musica Oscura 070994, 1993), 7. Clark, 'Vocal Music', vol. 1, 44-45, suggests that 'Servitore' means 'just a performance or two before the Emperor'; however, it would seem that 'attuale Servitore' could imply a more permanent relationship. See also Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1615-1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 22; Saunders also lists Marini in Appendix A: 'Personnel of the Imperial Music Chapel under Ferdinand II (1619-1637)', 230.

51 Clark, 'The Vocal Music', vol. 1, 243, and Sartori, *Bibliografia*, vol. 2, 85 (1626m). Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) was the daughter of King Philip II of Spain and married Archduke Albrecht VII of Austria (1559-1621) in 1599, so she had been widowed for five years when Marini's dedication was written.

5 Canzonas and Sonatas in the Imperial Music Chapel

Over the first few decades of the seventeenth century, composers in Central Europe created from these Italian roots what could be called an 'imperial style' for their instrumental music.⁵² As characterized by Michael Grant Vaillancourt, the combination of imitative procedures and the polychoral disposition of voices and instruments, evocative of a church style, with dance-like homophonic textures, evocative of court and theatre styles, could be 'a symbol of the ideal of imperial absolutism' that 'reflects a musical manifestation of one of Sedlmayr's main points on the *Kaiserstil*; namely, that the style was meant to represent the union between universal Kaiser and universal church through a mixture of previously exclusive styles'.⁵³ By the reign of Leopold I, most sonatas were published in collections intended generically for 'church or court' use (at a time when a distinction between these genres was becoming more important in Italy), and this 'imperial style' came to influence many composers throughout Central Europe.⁵⁴

This is also the basic conceptual premise for the definition of the *stylus phantasticus* by Athanasius Kircher (1601-80), whose principal work on music, the *Musurgia universalis*, was dedicated to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, and whose writings were a significant influence on the Habsburgs.⁵⁵ Kircher de-

52 The concept of an 'imperial style' unique to Austria is still a matter of some scholarly debate. For a recent discussion of the concept, see three essays in *Die Wiener Hofmusik-kapelle 111: Gibt es einen Stil der Hofmusik-kapelle?*, ed. Harmut Krones, Theophil Antonicek, and Elizabeth Theresia Fritz-Hilscher (Vienna, 2011): Dagmar Glüxam, 'Gibt es einen Stil der Hofkapelle?', 195-210; Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, 'Kaiserliche Musik', 211-32; and Herbert Karner, 'Reichsstil, Kaiserstil oder die Kunst des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation', 233-52. Examples of Monteverdi's influences on composers at the Habsburg court are discussed in Steven Saunders, 'New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals', in *Music & Letters* 77 (1996), 183-93.

53 Michael Grant Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental Ensemble Music at the Court of Leopold I (1658-1705)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991), 203-4, and 223-25 for a more detailed description of the *Kaiserstil*, referencing Hans Sedlmayr, 'Die politische Bedeutung des deutschen Barock (Der Reichsstil)', in *Gesamtdeutsche Vergangenheit: Festgabe für Heinrich Ritter von Sbrk am 10. November 1938* (Munich, 1938), 126-40; reprinted in *Epochen und Werke*, 3 vols. (Mittenwald-Munich, 1982-85), vol. 2, 140-56.

54 Tassilo Erhardt discusses the limited dissemination of the Habsburg repertoire outside of the inner court circles in '"Senza che il Maestro di Capella ne sappia cosa alcuna": Some New Light on Imperial Court Repertory in the Collection of Karl Von Liechtenstein-Castelcorno At Kroměříž', in *Early Music* 40 (2012): 593-604.

55 The influence of Kircher on the intellectual culture of the Habsburgs during the seventeenth century is developed in R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979), 311-446. The connections between Kircher and

scribes the ordered development of instrumental composition from the fantasy of the composer as part of an intellectual process:

The *Stylus phantasticus* is appropriate to instruments. It is the most free and unfettered method of composition, bound to nothing, neither to words, nor to a harmonious subject. It is organized with regard to manifest invention, the hidden reason of harmony, and an ingenious, skilled connection of harmonic phrases and fugues. And it is divided into those pieces which are commonly called *Phantasias*, *Ricercatas*, *Toccatas*, and *Sonatas*.⁵⁶

This approach probably also meant that works in the *stylus phantasticus* could not be limited to a single type of affect but could freely move the listener as the composer's fantasy directed.

The foundations of this imperial style can be seen in compositions by Giovanni Priuli (c. 1575-1626), Giovanni Battista Buonamente (d. 1642), and Giovanni Valentini (1582/83-1649).⁵⁷ Priuli's style was basically conservative in the tradition of Giovanni Gabrieli, but Buonamente, in formal design, counterpoint, and creative instrumentation, appears to have exerted a strong influence on the development of a Viennese style of instrumental music. Many of these same stylistic elements are found in the works of other Italians who either worked for the imperial court or dedicated works they hoped would match the Habsburg tastes in instrumental music, including Marco Antonio Ferro (d.

the Habsburgs are discussed at length in Eric Bianchi, 'Prodigious Sounds: Music and Learning in the World of Athanasius Kircher' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011).

56 'Phantasticus stylus aptus instrumentis, est liberrima, & solutissima componendi methodus, nullis nec verbis, nec subiecto harmonico adstrictus ad ostentandum ingenium, & abditam harmoniae rationem, ingeniosumque harmonicarum clausularum, fugarumque contextum docendum institutus, dividiturque in eas, quas *Phantasias*, *Ricercatas*, *Toccatas*, *Sonatas* vulgò vocant.' Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1650); facsimile ed. Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim, 1970), vol. 1, 585. Kircher's influence on Central European music and concepts of musical style are discussed in Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzter, Biber, Muffat and Their Contemporaries* (Farnham, 2011), especially 18-33.

57 For short biographies of Priuli, see Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 108-10 and Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 199-202. Peter Allsop, *Cavalier Giovanni Battista Buonamente: Franciscan Violinist* (Aldershot, 2005) provides a detailed study of this composer, and the earlier study by Paul Nettl, 'Giovanni Battista Buonamente', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926-27), 528-42, is partly based on sources no longer available. Concerning Valentini's biography, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 219-25, and for a re-examination of his career, especially at the imperial court, see Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 64-67, 93-105, 120-26, 152-59, 178-84, and 200-3.

1662), Massimiliano Neri (c. 1621-1666/70), and Pietro Antonio Ziani (c. 1616-84).⁵⁸

Valentini was encouraged by both Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III to engage in musical experimentation.⁵⁹ For example, the *Sonata à 4. di Giov. Valentini* in G minor was written with five specific parts (*Violino, Cornettino, Trombone, Fagotto, Organo*), after the manner of the *sonate concertate*.⁶⁰ This specific mixture of instruments, with its roots in Venetian practice, later become very popular in Central Europe and is also found in sonatas by Matthias Weckmann (c. 1616-74) and in a number of visual representations.⁶¹

Valentini's harmonic experimentation was taken to an extreme in the *Sonata à 5. del Sigr. Giov. Valentini* in G minor, which was titled on its first publication in the nineteenth century the 'enharmonischen Sonate'.⁶² The compositional fantasy of this work is introduced in the first section (bb. 1-13), which contains two interlocking cadential phrases, alternating between G minor and B minor, an alternation that is present throughout the remainder of the sonata

58 For summary discussions of Buonamente's instrumental music, see Allsop, *Cavalier Giovanni Battista Buonamente*, 93-177; Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 113-15; Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 75-86; Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, 111-14, and the discussions and analyses in Stanley E. Romanstein, 'Giovanni Battista Buonamente and Instrumental Music of the Early Baroque', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1991). See the short discussions of Ferro's sonatas in Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 205-6, and Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 146-48. Neri is discussed in Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 108-9, and with greater detail in Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 146-52; Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 136-41; and for the pieces à 3, Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, 212-14. Concerning Ziani, see Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 176-77.

59 For a summary of sources for Valentini's instrumental works, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 223-24 and Ernst Hermann Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa*, Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 11 (Kassel, 1934), 62-64 and 253. Peter Wollny has also prepared an unpublished study of the sources for Valentini's instrumental compositions.

60 See Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 223, and Michael Collver and Bruce Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett* (Bloomington, 1996), 71. Different authors have given different *sigla* for this sonata from the Kassel Landesbibliothek: MS 2°, 60q (in Collver and Dickey, *A Catalog*), MS 2°, 60 R (in Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik*), and MS 2°, 60 R₂ (in Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*). According to Federhofer, the same copyist prepared KasL 60 R₁.

61 Matthias Weckmann, 'Sonata a 3 e 4 istromenti', in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Gerhard Ilgner, Das Erbe deutscher Musik, Zweite Reihe: Landschaftsbenkmale, Schleswig-Holstein und Hansestädte 4 (Leipzig, 1942), 3-54, which includes ten sonatas from LüneR 207, Heft 14.

62 KasL 60 R₁; modern edition, Giovanni Valentini, *Sonata enharmonica: Für 4 Viole da Gamba und Basso continuo*, ed. Konrad Ruhland, Musica pretiosa Reihe 3 (Stuttgart, 1997), previously published with changes by Hugo Riemann, *Old Chamber Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1898), vol. 3. A score from the 1640s for this sonata is found in a manuscript formerly owned by Johann Jakob Löwe von Eisenach, LüneR 28, fols. 99-106.

(see Example 9.1). Valentini's creativity links the earlier Venetian canzona tradition with the later sonata traditions of Central Europe, and his inventiveness in both harmony and formal construction seems to have set a pattern that was not only followed by his contemporaries but was also a continuing influence on those musicians who copied, studied, and performed his works in the 1660s, 1670s, and 1680s.⁶³

Works as experimental as Valentini's, or even Leopold I's conservative 'Sonata à 4 viole', which he wrote 'in the months of April and May 1656', seem to have been meant for chamber performance at court or perhaps at meetings of the *Accademia de Crescenti*, whose promoter was Leopold's uncle, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.⁶⁴ Music was certainly performed at meetings of the *Accademia degli Illustrati*, founded by the widowed Empress Eleonora in 1678: 'Here fifteen gentlemen of the court made a bit of sound on twelve guitars, two violins, and viola da gamba, which finished, the following poems accordingly were read.'⁶⁵ The importance of music and literary games within Leopold's circle was noted by the Venetian ambassador, Alvise Molin, in his report from 27 September 1661:

His particular inclination is to music. He composes perfectly, understands music, and he especially enjoys it when employing those hours within the church and the chamber and, also including the time at table, whole days in music. He told me several times, he never tires of it. His Majesty spends 60,000 florins and maintains a flourishing chapel of voices and instruments. The free hours which His Majesty enjoys, which are few, he employs for the most part in composing music, and to writing poetry in the Italian language, which he masters perfectly, and very often in domestic conversation with the Empress and Archduke Leopold [Wilhelm], making sonnets by alternating verses, and vying with each other

63 This was discussed in Charles E. Brewer, 'Echos of Valentini', paper presented at the 16th International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Music and Dramatic Arts, Mozarteum, Salzburg, 9-13 July 2014.

64 Ulrike Hofmann, 'Die Accademia am Wiener Kaiserhof unter der Regierung Kaiser Leopold I.', in *Musicologica austriaca* 2 (1979), 79. Leopold's sonata is number 68 in Günter Brosche, 'Die musikalischen Werke Kaiser Leopolds 1.: Ein systematisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Kompositionen', in *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Franz Grasberger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Brosche (Tutzing, 1975), 27-82. It survives in ViennNB Mus. 18831, Mus A/Leopold I; modern edition: Emperor Leopold I, *Sonata for 4 Viols*, ed. Derek McCulloch (St. Albans, 1993).

65 'Qui fecero poco di suono quindici Cavaglieri alla Corte sopra dodeci Ghtarre, duoi Violini e una Viola di Gamba quale finito furono lette le Poesie conforme sequano' (Hofmann, 'Die Accademia,' 80). This quote implies that not all of the musicians in imperial circles were professionals.

EXAMPLE 9.1 Giovanni Valentini, *Sonata à 5* (Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS 2^o, 6o R₁), bb. 1-4

Violin I

Violin II

Viola I

Viola II

[Basso]

p *pp* *p* *pp* *p* *pp*

in a sweet concert of virtue and loving kindness. They give the world a holy example and draw the blessing of the people and heaven.⁶⁶

It is unfortunate that there is little documentation of the performance of music in the more private settings at court, which probably also included those by visiting virtuosi, such as when Heinrich Biber (1644-1704) played for Leopold in 1677 and was rewarded with a gold chain and 'Gnaden Bildnus' (a medal with the Emperor's likeness). When Biber petitioned Leopold a second time for a knighthood in 1690, the Emperor granted it and could remember his personal impressions about Biber's 'many accomplished artful compositions' (*Verschiedentlichen gethane künstliche compositiones*).⁶⁷

66 'Sua particular inclinazione è alla Musica. Compone perfettamente, l'intende, e la gusta à segno, che tal hora trà la Chiesa, e la Stanza, compresovi il tempo della tavola ancora, impiegando in essa giornate intiere, m'hà più volte detto, non stancarsi mai d'essa. Spende Sua Mtà. pur in questa 60/m fiorini, e tiene di voci, e stromenti una floridissima Capella. L'hore, che gode Sua Mtà. libere, le quali son poche l'impiega per il più in componer di Musica, e far poesie in lingua Italiana, la qual perfettamente possede, e ben spesso in domestica conversazione con l'Imperatrice, e con Arciduca Leopoldo, fanno Sonetti un verso per uno, e trà loro gareggiando con un dolce concerto di virtù, e d'amore volezza, rendono un sant' esempio al Mondo, e traggono le benedittioni degl'huomini, e da Cielo.' Joseph Fiedler (ed.), *Die Relationen der Botschfter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im 17. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1866-67), vol. 2, 48-49.

67 Eric Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber*, Studies in Musicology 95 (Ann Arbor, 1987), 17, 18, 21, and 159.

The imperial style is fully present in the instrumental compositions of Antonio Bertali (1605–69), whose service for the Habsburgs began in about 1624 and who advanced to *Hofkapellmeister* in 1649.⁶⁸ His sonatas include an extensive patchwork of sections with contrasting instrumentation, compositional textures, meters, and tempos. Bertali's music exerted a significant influence on imperial musicians, especially Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620/23–80), and his reputation spread through all of Europe, reaching as far from Vienna as Sweden and Great Britain.⁶⁹

In a contemporary catalogue of compositions prepared for the Habsburg court, titled *Distinta specificatione, dell'archivio musicale per il servizio della capella, e camera cesarea* ('detailed list of the musical archive for the service of the imperial chapel and chamber'), Bertali's sonatas are divided into four categories: *Sonate con trombe sollenni* ('solemn sonatas with trumpets'; fols. 13v–14r), *Sonate ordinario chiesa* ('ordinary church sonatas'; fol. 14v), *Sonate a 3* (fol. 29r), and *Sonate camera* ('chamber sonatas'; fol. 29v).⁷⁰ The solemn sonatas with trumpets included those works meant for either important church feasts (such as Christmas, 'S[onata] di Natale à 13') or significant court events (for example, weddings, 'S[onata] p[er] le Nozze a Neustad à 13'). The inclusion of trumpets added to their solemnity. The records of the Habsburg court indicate almost daily participation in church services, and the imperial musicians often accompanied the Emperor as he attended other churches or ceremonies, such as the consecration at the *Königin-Kloster* of Cæcilia Brennerin as a nun on 18 April 1660:

At the entrance, the commencement was made with trumpets and timpani, and immediately afterwards by the imperial and archducal musicians, both in chant and polyphony, and among other music, a sonata was performed that the current Emperor himself allegedly composed.⁷¹

68 Tassilo Erhardt, "Der ehrsam undt khunstreich Antonius Bertalli": Eine biographische Skizze', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 57 (2013), 93–115.

69 See Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 343–59.

70 The *Distinta specificatione* (ViennB Sup. Mus. 2451) is discussed in Gary Zink, 'The Large-Ensemble Sonatas of Antonio Bertali and Their Relationship to the Ensemble Sonata Traditions of the Seventeenth Century', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1989), vol. 1, 20–23. Only about twenty-six sonatas by Bertali are still extant; this number is based on my own research, Zink, 'The Large-Ensemble Sonatas', and Niels Martin Jensen, 'The Instrumental Music for Small Ensemble of Antonio Bertali: The Sources', in *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning* 20 (1992), 25–43.

71 '...im hineingehen wurde der Anfang mit Trompeten und Heerpauken gemacht / hernacher von denen Kayserl. und Erz-Herzogl. Musicanten / so wohl *choraliter* als *figuraliter*, und unter anderen eine *Sonate*, so der ietziige Käyser selbst *componiret* haben soll / musiciret /...'; Johann Joachim Müller, 'Reisediarium bey Kayserlicher Belehnung des Chur- und Fürstliche Hauses Sachsen', in *Entdecktes Staats-Cabinet* (Jena, 1714), 153.

The only sonic difference in the ordinary church sonatas was the lack of trumpets. The vast majority of sonatas by composers in the imperial style are of this type, generally only for strings, with the occasional addition of cornetti and trombones. Johann Joachim Müller reported on a performance in the imperial chapel on 25 April 1660 (Cantate Sunday) of what was probably an ordinary church sonata involving a large number of musicians:

From there [the Jesuit Church], they took themselves to the castle and the imperial chapel located there, in which the divine service would be offered, all the musicians, about forty strong, sat and stood all crowded together down in the choir, and had shortly before performed a sonata with twenty string players, as it was reported by the famous and practically the foremost violinist in all Europe, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer.⁷²

Since no preserved sonata by Bertali or Schmelzer for strings alone, printed or in manuscript, has more than seven parts, it would have been necessary for some parts to be doubled, adding solemnity to whatever liturgical event was being celebrated that day.

What characterized the Sonatas à 3 is not clear in the *Distinta specificatione*, though their smaller instrumentation most likely meant that they were intended for smaller venues, perhaps private chapels or antechambers in the Hofburg, where the gentlemen and ladies of the court could meet between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m. for conversation and recreation.⁷³ Instrumentation also distinguished the chamber sonatas; in one entry recorders are included, and in two others, guitars. Three chamber sonatas by Bertali were most likely used at meetings of the *Accademia de Crescenti*: '3. Sonate per la Accademia à 5'.

The variety and inventiveness of the imperial musicians within what Kircher called the *stylus phantasticus* was also found in works by composers associated with Innsbruck. These included the Englishman William Young (d. 1662), whose only publication contains both dances and sonatas; Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli, whose two collections of solo violin sonatas 'per

While the relations between the Habsburgs and the institutions of women religious during the seventeenth century is yet to be examined, see the contextual study provided by Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge, 2014).

72 'Von dar auf die Burg und die darinn liegende Kayserl. Capelle, worinnen der Gottesdienst noch gewähret, sich begeben, allwo unten im Chor die Musicanten, auf die 40 stark, gegen einander über sassen und stunden, hatten kurz vorher, wie hernach der berühmte und fast vornehmste Violist in ganz Europa Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer berichtete, eine Sonate mit 20 Violen musicieret' (Müller, 'Reisediarium', 178).

73 Keller, *Hofdamen*, 125.

Chiesa e Camera' appeared in 1660; and Giovanni Buonaventura Viviani (1638-92).⁷⁴ Pandolfi Mealli's sonatas stand at the beginning of a rich and distinct repertoire of music for solo violin in Central Europe, including Schmelzer's *Sonatae unarum fidium seu a violino solo* (1664), Muffat's 'Sonata violino solo' (2 July 1677, his only work for solo violin), and Biber's *Sonatae violino solo* (1681) and the unique manuscript of his fifteen so-called Mystery or Rosary Sonatas, each written in a different tuning (*scordatura*).⁷⁵

6 'Hiernachst aestimirte er auch das tantzen'

The first published dance music directly associated with the Habsburg court in the seventeenth century is contained in Buonamente's Books 4 and 5 (1626 and 1629) [RISM B4941, B4942] and reflects the court's Italian tastes. It seems this was part of his responsibilities at court, as seen in a letter he wrote to Cesare Gonzaga from Prague in 1627 on the occasion of Ferdinand III's coronation as King of Bohemia: 'No other cause is there for my tardiness in writing to Your Highness, only the occasion of the coronation: dance rehearsals, opera rehearsals, and going hunting at the villa with His Imperial Majesty. God willing, we have already furnished the tournaments, the operas, and the dances'⁷⁶

74 William Young, *Sonate a 3. 4. e 5.* (Innsbruck, 1653) [RISM Y137]; modern edition, ed. Helene Wessely, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 135 (Graz, 1983). Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli, *Sonate à Violino solo, per chiesa e camera*, Opp. 3 and 4 (Innsbruck, 1660) [RISM P832 and P833]; facsimile, ed. Enrico Gatti and Fabrizio Longo (Magdeburg, 2011). For a detailed study of Pandolfi Mealli and his two sets of solo sonatas, see Ernst Kubitschek, 'Die 1660 in Innsbruck erschienenen Violinsonaten von Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli', in *Jakob Stainer und seine Zeit: Bericht über die Jakob-Stainer-Tagung Innsbruck 1983*, ed. Walter Salmen, *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 10 (Innsbruck, 1984), 117-22; and briefly Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 169-73. For a full study of Viviani see Herbert Seifert, *Giovanni Buonaventura Viviani: Leben, instrumental Werke, vokale Kammermusik*, *Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft* 21 (Tutzing, 1982), especially 31-72 for a stylistic summary of these works; see also Apel, *Italian Violin Music*, 217-20.

75 These four sources have appeared in facsimile editions: Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Sonatae unarum fidium*, ed. Marc Strümper (Magdeburg, 2009); Georg Muffat, *Sonata violino solo*, ed. Jiří Sehnal, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg, Faksimile-Ausgaben* 4 (Bad Reichenhall, 1992); Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, *Sonate Violino Solo, Salzburg 1681*, ed. Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg, Faksimile-Ausgaben* 3 (Bad Reichenhall, 1991); and Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber, *Rosenkranz-Sonaten*, ed. Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg, Faksimile-Ausgaben* 14 (Munich, 2008).

76 The original Italian text can be found in Nettl, 'Giovanni Battista Buonamente', 528-29: 'Non ho causato altro la mia tardanza nel scrivere a v.A., solo l'occasione della

Buonamente's use of a trio texture for his sinfonias and dances is similar to Salamone Rossi, though it probably means that these were intended not for the court balls but for the private dancing within the smaller rooms at court.⁷⁷ William Young's collection of 1653 is also in trio texture and included 'alcune Allemand, Correnti e Balletti à 3', clearly organized into three groups by key. Though they may have served as actual dance music, Young's unusual and irregular phrase structures probably indicate that these dances were used by the more advanced dance students or at court as performance pieces rather than social dances. In contrast, the simpler style of the dances published by Marini were probably meant for practical use.

In the later part of the century, most of Central Europe was heavily influenced by French dance styles, and many composers followed the model of Jean-Baptiste Lully, though this was not to Emperor Leopold I's taste:

In accordance with this, he also esteemed dance, not only because he observed well-practiced masters in that art with pleasure, but he also frequently had the habit of dancing himself at the court and chamber festivities with the Empress and the other noble ladies. This was however never in the French manner, but rather a style of German movement which was in accordance with the gravity of this highest leader.⁷⁸

Because of tensions between France and the Holy Roman Empire, it appears that Leopold took a dislike to dances in the French style, to the point that it

incoronatione. Prove di balletti, prove di commedie e l'andar fuori in villa con S.M.C. alla caccia. Piacendo Iddio abbiamo già fornito le giostre, le commedie ed i balli....' The translation is adapted from Romanstein, 'Giovanni Battista Buonamente', vol. 1, 8-9.

77 For a summary of the style of Rossi's sinfonias and dances, see Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi, Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua* (Oxford, 1999), 121-28 and 136-46. Concerning Buonamente's Books 4 and 5, see Romanstein, 'Giovanni Battista Buonamente', vol. 1, 53-79 and 86-118.

78 Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen ... wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1709), vol. 1, 94; cited in Paul Nettl, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1921), 53: 'Hiernächst aestimierte er auch das tantzen, nicht allein dass er darinne wohlgeübte meister mit Vergnügung sahe, sondern er pflegte auch bey hof – und kammerfesten öftters selbst mit der kayserin und anderen hohen dames zu tantzen. Dieses war doch niemals auf frantzösische manier, sondern vielmehr eine art von teutschen führungen, welche der gravität dieses höchsten oberhauptes gemäss war.' Though the exact nature of the 'German movement' is unclear and deserves further study, the contrast between the Italian and French dance styles is discussed in Arianna Fabbriatore, 'Semiotic Elements of the Grotesque "Italian" Practice' (<<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01552341>>, accessed 27 June 2020), 2-5. I presume that Leopold I enjoyed a less intricate dance style than was associated with French court dance.

became a minor diplomatic incident, as he noted with his typical multi-lingual vocabulary in a letter to Count Franz Eusebius von Pötting, the imperial ambassador to Spain, on 27 September 1666:

The previous Sunday Santillier *finally* (*at last*) had his wedding with the Lady Drautitschin. After the luncheon, [Jacques] Grénonville [the French Ambassador to Vienna] had allowed a ballet danced by several Frenchmen. I wanted to write you about it, because Don Diego and others made a big ruckus about the fact that I have watched a French ballet. I however am of the opinion if one can watch a charlatan and conjurer, so one can certainly also watch a French fool and dancer; *besides it was an affair so cold* that it is not worth the trouble to make such a big ruckus over it. But the people just have no *occupations*, they make *an elephant from a fly*, *that is* they make the greatest *affair* from a prank.⁷⁹

Outside of Vienna, however, composers such as Georg Bleyer (1647-after 1694) and Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660-1727) were already writing ouvertures followed by typical French dances, and in spite of imperial displeasure, even court composers in Vienna, including Wolfgang Ebner (1612-65), Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683), and Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, wrote collections of French-style dances, though these may have been for patrons outside immediate court circles.⁸⁰

As *Hofballetkomponist* from 1665 through the early 1670s, Schmelzer was commissioned to compose dances for the court operas, often performed on important name days and birthdays of the Habsburg nobility. There were, however, many other festivities, generically referred to as 'Wirtschaften' throughout the Viennese calendar, for which Schmelzer provided music.⁸¹ These

79 'Vergangnen Sonntag hat tandem aliquando der Santillier sein Hochzeit gehabt mit der Fräule Drautitschin. Post prandium hat Grenonville ein Ballett tanzen lassen, durch etliche Franzosen. Habe es darummen Euch schreiben wollen, weilen (Don Diego) et alii ein grosse duido gemacht haben, dass ich ein französischen Ballett zugeschaut habe. Ich vermein aber, wenn man ein Gaukler und Taschenspieler zueschauen kann, so könne man woll auch ein französischen Narren und Tanzer zuschauen; oltre che era una cosa si fredda, dass gar der Mühe nit wert ist, so viel ruido daraus zu machen. Aber die Leut so keine negotia haben, die machen ex mosca elephantem, id est aus einer Narretei das grösste negotium'; A. F. Pribram and M. L. von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold 1. an den Grafen F. E. Pötting, 1662-1673*, *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, Second Series, 56-57 (Vienna, 1903-4), vol. 56, 249; cited in Nettel, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition', 53.

80 The French dances in Vienna are examined in Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 90-95.

81 Concerning these Habsburg festivities see Jakob Zeidler, 'Über Feste und Wirtschaften am Wiener Hofe während des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft vom Weißen Kreuze* 20 (1890), 1-17; Claudia Schnitzer, 'Königreiche

traditions were already well established by the time Schmelzer first entered the employ of St. Stephen's in 1643. Some of these, such as the 'Schlittenfahrt' (sleigh ride) were seasonal outings that often included eating and dancing at some point in the journey.⁸² But foremost among the court festivities were the celebrations associated with carnival (*Fasching*). Especially during late January and throughout February, there were many balls and other festivities planned, such as the annual 'Cavalieri Balletto' and the separate 'Balletto der Dame' [sic], for which Schmelzer frequently provided dances, some recycled from earlier opera performances.⁸³ A description of carnival celebrations from 1651 indicates that these festivities included elaborate masquerades and processions through the city.⁸⁴ One of the strongest carnival masquerade traditions at court appears to have been the 'Landschaft', during which the nobility dressed as peasants, including such nationalities as Poles, Venetians, Croats, Swiss, and Moscovites, among others. Perhaps the longest standing type of *Landschaft* was the *Bauernhochzeit* (peasants' wedding), which can be documented in court sources as early as 1573.⁸⁵ Wenzel Cunibert von Wenzelsberg, the *Generalquartiermeister* at Vienna, sent Prince-Bishop Carl Lichtenstein-Castelcorn of Olomouc an undated extensive description of a peasants' wedding whose participants included a chaplain (Count Wilhelm Pötting), the bridegroom's father and mother, the bride's parents, the best man, the bridesmaid, the village judge and his wife, various male and female peasants in different national costumes (including Spanish, Welsh, French, English, Beguine, Swabian, Croatian, and Hana-kian), the district soldiers, the village Jew and his wife, and Gypsies, among

– Wirtschaften – Bauernhochzeiten: Zeremonielltragende und unterwandernde Spielformen höfischer Maskerade', in *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn (Tübingen, 1995), 280–331; and Christina Schmücker, 'Im Wirtshaus "Zum Schwarzen Adler": Die Wirtschaften in den Zeremonialprotokollen (1652–1800)', in *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokolle, 1652–1800*, ed. Irmgard Pangerl, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Innsbruck, 2007), 435–62. Eighteenth-century engravings of both the sleigh ride and peasants' wedding are in Walter Salman, *Tanz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 4, Lieferung 4 (Leipzig, 1988), 178–81.

82 Stefan Seitschek, 'Karussell und Schlittenfahrt im Spiegel der Zeremonialprotokolle: Nicht mehr als höfische Belustigungen?', in *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokolle, 1652–1800*, ed. Irmgard Pangerl, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Innsbruck, 2007), 385–409 and 421–25.

83 See the summary calendar of these in Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 85.

84 Nettl, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition', 47.

85 Zeidler, 'Über Feste und Wirtschaften', 16.

others.⁸⁶ It included two ballets, one for Emperor Leopold I (who represented the groom) and his retinue, and the other for the Empress (his bride) and her ladies.⁸⁷ Though Schmelzer does not seem to have composed music specifically for this type of masquerade, as did Biber in Salzburg, many of his dances attempt to reflect national characteristics and thus may have been used for these festivities.⁸⁸

Schmelzer's involvement in carnival activities is evident in a letter he wrote from Vienna to Prince-Bishop Liechtenstein-Castelcorn, dated 20 February 1676:

As I doubted in the foregoing [letter] that some of the celebrations should take place this *Fasching*, nonetheless it has happened. The most gracious nobility have passed the three last *Fasching*-days in this manner: Sunday His Imperial Majesty the Emperor attended the comedy by himself in the *Profeshaus*. In the evening, however, a masquerade was arranged by the court ladies, and they presented it themselves in the sleeping chamber before Her Majesty the Empress, who mostly lay in bed. It was a fashionable parade; a genuine absurdity among others, a large lady, a young lady von Fürstenberg, was Cupid. My daughter, who serves as a chamber servant for Her Majesty because she can play some violin, had costumed herself as a wandering musician in a leather girdle, as one portrays St. Wildefortis.⁸⁹ In sum, the absurdities were well ordered, whose inventors were the young ladies von Liechtenstein. So much I understand from His Majesty the Emperor, praising his high discernment.

86 Paraphrased in Nettel, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition', 50. The correspondence between the court and Liechtenstein-Castelcorn offers a treasure trove of information about music at the imperial court. See the letters published in Nettel, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition', 166-75, and Paul Nettel, 'Zur Geschichte der Musikkapelle des Fürstbischofs Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelcorn von Olmütz', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1921-22), 485-96. This correspondence, along with information from other unpublished archival documents, is used throughout Jiří Sehnal, *Pavel Vejvanovský and the Kroměříž Music Collection* (Olomouc, 2008).

87 This list is apparently without date, so it is difficult to identify the exact Empress who participated: Margarita Teresa of Spain (Empress from 1666 to 1673), Claudia Felicitas of Tyrol (Empress from 1673 to 1676), or Eleonora Magdalena of Pfalz Neuburg (Empress from 1676 to 1705, died in 1720).

88 Biber's autograph of the *Sonata à 6 die pauern Kirchfahrtr genandt* is preserved at Kroměříž, A872/XIV:162. It has been edited by Jiří Sehnal in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 151, 1-10 (Graz, 1997), and by Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Diletto musicale* 358 (Vienna, 1971).

89 The legendary St. Wildefortis (Kümmernis) grew a beard to protect her virginity; see David Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Baltimore, 1965), 341.

Monday there was in the evening again a chamber service, at which I again had to lead forth 'the Animals', since Her Majesty the Empress never before heard such [a work], which I also once would like to perform for Your Royal Highness I beg most humbly pardon, that I annoy Your Royal Highness with these almost immature [stories]; the pen has led me there. But besides this, I thank you obediently for the diverse princely blessings, now just recently received.⁹⁰

He refers indirectly to the illness of Empress Claudia Felicitas, which might have limited the carnival celebrations but did allow for private performances within her chambers with her servants. The mention of Schmelzer's daughter, probably Johanna Christina, provides a personal glimpse and indicates that the official 'male' instrumentalists were not the only musicians at court. This letter is a rare description of music within the private chambers of the Habsburg court.

Another significant activity of the court, either outdoors or in large indoor arenas, were the carousels, elaborate choreographed demonstrations of equestrian skill, which were generally accompanied by mounted trumpeters and kettle drums.⁹¹ When a scenario was added, these developed into the *Rossballet* (horse ballet), perhaps the most famous of which was performed on 24

90 'Gleich wie ich in dem vorigen in zweifel gestellt, dasz etwas von den festen disen fasching soll gehalten werden, also ists auch geschehen; haben also die allergnedigsten herrschaften die 3 letzten faschingsdäg auf solche weis passiert: Sontags haben Ihre Mt. der Kaiser allein der Comoedi im profeshaus beygewohnet, abends aber ist von den hofdamen ein Mascara eingestellt worden, und haben sich mit solcher vor Ihro Mt. der Kaiserin welche merers teils zu beth ligen, in der schlafcamer pesentirt, es waren ardliche aufzüg, lauter spropositi under anderen eine von persohn grosse dama, ein freyle von Fürstenberg war Cupido, mein tochter, die als eine Camerdienerin bey Ihro Mt. dient, weil sie etwas geigen kan, hat sich als ein spilman in ein ledern götterl gekleidet, gleich man St. Kumerus malt, in summa die spropositi waren wol ordiniert, dessen Inventrice ware die freyle von Liechtenstein, so vil ich mit ruhm ihrer hohen vernunft von Ihro Mt. dem Kaiser selbst verstanden. Montag war abends widerumb Camerdienst, bey welchem ich die Animalien widerumb hab hervorziehen müssen, weilen solche Ihro Mt. die kaiserin noch nie gehört, welche ich auch gern einmal möchte producieren vor Ew. hf. Gn... Bitte underthenigst umb Verzeihung, dasz ich mit diesen fast ungereimten Ew. hf. gn. belästige. Die feder hat mich also hineingefiert. Beynebends aber bedankhe ich mich gehorsambst der unterschiedlichen ieczo erst in kurzem empfangenen fürstl. gnaden' (Nettl, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition', 172). A summary of this letter is in Paul Nettl, *The Story of Dance Music* (New York, 1947), 141.

91 Seitschek, 'Karussell und Schlittenfahrt', 357-85 and 412-20, and Robert Lindell, 'Helden-Musik bei kaiserlichen Festen', in *Wir sind Helden: Habsburgische Feste der Renaissance*, ed. Wilfried Seipel (Vienna, 2005), 15-19.

January 1667 during the wedding of Leopold I and Margarita Teresa of Spain.⁹² Entitled *La contesa dell'aria e dell'acqua, festa a cavallo* (or *Sieg-Streit deß Lufft und Wassers, Freuden-Fest zu Pferd* [Battle of Wind and Water, a Joyful Festival on Horse]), it was performed in a courtyard at the Hofburg and included costumed riders, elaborate allegorical wagons, songs and choruses, and a final ballet on horseback for the Emperor, his courtiers, and a large musical ensemble.⁹³ Three of the dances composed by Schmelzer for this occasion, though published for six-part trumpet ensemble, were actually performed by twenty-four trumpets and two pairs of timpani.⁹⁴ Two of the dances included a string ensemble, but the number of performers was significantly increased because it was outdoors:

With this [choreography for the *Corrente*] the accompanying trumpet sounds ended, which a full harmony of an until-now unheard number (namely a hundred and a few more) of string instruments along with four *clarini* continued immediately on both sides of the specially built open and high stages with no less strength and passion of pleasure.⁹⁵

92 The many performances surrounding this wedding are briefly examined in Herbert Seifert, 'Die Festlichkeiten zur ersten Hochzeit Kaiser Leopolds I.', in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 29 (1974), 6-16; reprinted in Seifert, *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 413-24.

93 Two versions of the description were published, one in Italian, *La contesa dell'aria e dell'acqua, festa a cavallo rappresentata nelle...nozee...dell'Imperatore Leopoldo e dell'Infanta martherita delle Spagne* (Vienna, 1667), and one in German, *Sieg-Streit deß Lufft und Wassers Freuden-Fest zu Pferd zu dem Glorwürdigisten Beyläger Beyder Kayserlichen Majestäten Leopoldi deß Ersten Römischen Kayzers auch Hungarn und Böheim König Ertzhertzogens zu Oesterreich etc. und Margarita Gebornher Königlich Infantin auß Hispanien Dargestellet in dero Kayserlichen Residentz Statt Wienn* (Vienna, 1667). In addition to the verbal description, this commemorative print includes elaborate engravings of each of the allegorical wagons and Schmelzer's music, which was all reprinted in the *Diarium europæum* (Theil xv.2. 1667). See also Herbert Seifert, *Der Sig-prangende Hochzeit-Gott: Hochzeitsfeste am Wiener Hof der Habsburger und ihre Allegorik, 1622-1699*, *Dramma per musica* 2 (Vienna, 1988), 23-40, and the discussion in Kristiaan Aercke, *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse* (Albany, 1994), 221-52.

94 Schmelzer actually composed the dances around July and August 1666; the complete set is published in Egon Wellesz, *Die Ballett-Suiten von Johann Heinrich und Anton Andreas Schmelzer*, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 176, *Abhandlung* 5 (Vienna, 1914), 74-84. The festivities are briefly discussed in Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 49-50.

95 'Mit disem endete der bißhero gehörte Trombeten-schall / welchen ein vollkumene Zusamstimmung von einer bisshero unerhörten Anzahl / nemblich Hundert und etlich Geigen neben vier Clarinen auff beederseits des Platzes hierzu auffgerichten offenen hohen Bühnen mit nit minderer Ermueth – und Belustigugen des Gemüets alsobalden vortsetzte...' (*Sieg-Streit deß Lufft und Wassers*, fol. I2[v]).

Though this was clearly an exceptional occasion in an exceptional venue, these descriptions indicate that when resources were made available, it was acceptable to increase the sonority beyond the minimum apparent requirements of the preserved musical parts.

7 The *Stylus phantasticus* in the Later Seventeenth Century

Both through their publications and the dissemination of manuscript copies, the composers associated with the imperial court in Vienna helped spread the imperial style throughout northern Europe. Schmelzer's reputation was such that other composers felt free to contact him or send music that they thought would be appreciated by Emperor Leopold I. Upon receiving a set of sonatas from Johann Theile (1646-1724), Schmelzer acknowledged their receipt with a kind response that also speaks to Leopold's taste:

Concerning the despatched sonatas, almost all have been performed for His Imperial Majesty at table, and let me assure you that His Majesty heard them with particular satisfaction, especially since His Majesty understands counterpoint very well and highly values these well-fugued sonatas.⁹⁶

Müller, during his visit to Vienna in 1660, provided more specific information about the imperial table music, which seems to indicate that a much smaller group of performers was typical on these occasions:

The Imperial Table. The musicians, ten of whom had before now served daily, first performed with two violins, two violas da gamba, one theorbo, and harpsichord, then they performed a vocal piece in Italian with an alto and two castrati, in which a theorbo and viola da gamba played.⁹⁷

96 'Anlangend die übergeschickten Sonaten, sind solche fast schon alle bey Ihro Kaiserliche Majestät unter der Tafel produciret worden, und versichre meinen Herrn, daß es Ihro Majestät mit absonderlichem Contento angehöret haben; zumahlen Ihro Majestät den Contrapunct gar wohl verstehen, und die wohlfugierten Sonaten sehr aestimiren.' The excerpt from Schmelzer's letter was printed in Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740; reprint, Berlin, 1910), 370.

97 'Die Kaiserliche Tafel. Die Musicanten deren vor jetzo in die 10 aufgewartet, musicierten erstlich mit 2 Violinen, 2 Violen da gamba, 1 Teorbe und Clave cymbal, dann ein Stück vocaliter in italienischer Sprache von einem Altisten und zwei Capaunen, worin die Teorbe und eine Viol de gambe gespielet wurde' (Müller, 'Reisediarium', 179). The

There were indications, however, that musical styles were changing. As in his *Florilegia* [RISM M8130], collections of French-style dances partly written for the courts in Salzburg and Passau, other instrumental works by Georg Muffat (1653-1704) demonstrated a new freedom to move away from the traditional imperial style.⁹⁸ In his *Armonico tributo* (Salzburg, 1682) [RISM M8126], partly written while studying in Rome, he was probably the first imperial composer to publish works in a concerto grosso texture, alternating soloists with a *ripieno*, a larger ensemble.⁹⁹ As in his later dance collections, and due to the unfamiliar style of his music, Muffat provided detailed performance instructions.¹⁰⁰ He was apparently dissatisfied with these works and rearranged and augmented them in his later collection, *Außerlesener mit Ernst- und Lust-gemengter Instrumental-Music* (Passau, 1701) [RISM M8132]. His later preface made clear how these works, like his dances, represented a new mixed style and were clearly concert works:

These works are suited neither to the majesty of a sonata for the church, because of the *balletti*, nor for dancing, because of other interwoven conceits, now slow and serious, now fast and fantastic, and composed only for the express refreshment of the ear. They may be performed most appropriately in connection with entertainments given by great princes and lords, for receptions of distinguished guests, and at state banquets, serenades, and academies of [musical amateurs and] virtuosi.¹⁰¹

performance of *Tafelmusik* in Vienna is also discussed in Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental Ensemble Music', 162-97.

98 Georg Muffat, *Florilegium primum* (Augsburg, 1695), ed. Heinrich Rietsch, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 2 (Vienna, 1894; reprint, Graz, 1959), 136-37; Georg Muffat, *Florilegium secundum* (Passau, 1698), ed. Heinrich Rietsch, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 4 (Vienna, 1895; reprint, Graz, 1959). See also Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 321-23 and 336.

99 Georg Muffat, *Armonico tributo*, ed. Erich Schenk, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 89 (Vienna, 1953; reprint, Graz-Vienna, 1970). See also Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 284-96, and Inka Stampfl, *Georg Muffat: Orchesterkompositionen: Ein musikhistorischer Vergleich der Orchestermusik 1670-1710* (Passau, 1984), esp. 66-75.

100 See Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 288-91.

101 'La qual Opera, non convenendo alla Maestà delle sonate di chiesa, per i Balletti; ne menò ai Balli per gl'altri concetti dell' Arie, horà gravi e mesti, horà allegri, e bizzari, che ci contiene; composta per il solo diletto dell'Udito, converrà massimamente ai nobili divertimenti de'i Principi, e Grandi, per ricettione, di Persone sublimi, per servitij di Tavola, serenade, ed Academie di Virtuosi'; Georg Muffat, *Außerlesener mit Ernst- und Lust-gemengter Instrumental-Music* (Passau, 1701); modern edition, ed. Erwin Luntz, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 23 (Vienna, 1904; reprint, Graz, 1959), 12. Translation in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), 449, altered. The conclusion of this excerpt in the Italian mentions only the 'Academie di Virtuosi', but

The venues for instrumental performance listed by Muffat were still within the long traditions of *Tafelmusik*, evening entertainments (serenades), and meetings of cognoscenti and musicians who understood and debated the subtleties of music, though music for the church was notably missing from among his extant compositions. What was changing were any restrictions of musical function, and sonatas 'apt for church or chamber' and dances for court balls were being replaced by music 'for the express refreshment of the ear'.

The Central European Habsburg courts during the two centuries bounded by the reigns of Emperors Maximilian I and Leopold I maintained the same traditional contexts for music mentioned by Muffat. Within the Habsburg understanding of instrumental music, its significance over these two centuries also remained consistent, even as the musical styles of court composers changed. As Schmelzer wrote in the preface to his *Sacro-Profanus Conventus Musicus* (Nuremberg, 1662) [RISM S1658], 'it would be able to serve both to the pious worship of the saints and the honest pleasure of mankind, both to arousing piety in church and outside the church by refreshing the human spirit.'¹⁰² Whether the table was in a banquet hall or a bordello, whether dances were promoting good health or sensuality, or whether *ricercars* and sonatas were producing introspection and reflection, the purity of music without words continued to provide necessary diversions and spiritual solace throughout the Habsburg lands.

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the German ('*Music-Liebhaber*') and French ('*Amateurs*') clearly include other music lovers; the Latin text in this instance, '*eruditos Muso-philorum Conventus*', is ambiguous.

102 'ut tam pio Divorum cultui, quàm honestæ hominum voluptati, tam excercendæ in Ecclesia pietati, quàm extra eam humano animo recreandò' (Brewer, *The Instrumental Music*, 65).

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Manuscript Culture: The Habsburg-Burgundian Scriptorium and Some Successors

Honey Meconi

In 1500, manuscripts were essentially the only way to transmit polyphonic music.¹ One year later, everything changed. Petrucci's revolutionary *Odhecaton* [RISM 1501¹] opened a new world for the dissemination of music. For the Habsburgs, as for everyone else, printed music became an option – sometimes the preferred option – for performance, for preservation of a repertoire, for honouring a dedicatee or patron. But manuscripts never went away; they remained in use throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² Our understanding of their precise function, though, is limited by what survives and what has been studied.

For many sixteenth-century music manuscripts, scholars can rely on the invaluable *Census-Catalogue of Polyphonic Music*,³ a five-volume undertaking that aimed to include every surviving manuscript containing music composed between 1400 and 1550, even if the manuscript itself originated after that date. But for music written after 1550 and for music of the seventeenth century, no comparable research tool exists. A useful resource is the Online Catalogue of Musical Sources curated by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM, available at <<http://opac.rism.info>> [accessed 27 June 2020]), but our knowledge of manuscripts of post-1550 music is still dependent on individual studies rather than comprehensive surveys. And manuscripts of post-1550 music have not elicited scholarly attention to the same degree that manuscripts from earlier periods have, for many reasons.⁴ Sources for music are generally

1 Chant manuscripts will not be discussed in this chapter; although ubiquitous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and sometimes extremely elaborate, they have received far less scholarly attention than other music manuscripts.

2 See, for example, Magnus Williamson, 'The Fate of Choirbooks in Protestant Europe', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 7 (2015), 117–131, 135.

3 *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols., ed. Herbert Kellman and Charles Hamm, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979–88). Manuscript sigla throughout this essay are taken (or derived) from the *Census-Catalogue*.

4 See, for example, the lists in Doctoral Dissertations in Musicology, currently maintained by the American Musicological Society (<<https://www.ams-net.org/ddm>>, consulted 26 October

rarer before 1550, and for much music no printed version exists to rival a manuscript's reading; this specialness has invited attention. An earlier manuscript is typically an anthology (rather than a single composer offering) with an inherent complexity of content, a puzzle to be solved. Further, few later manuscripts are of the luxury presentation type that command our attention. Many later manuscripts are performing copies, a format that survives only rarely with earlier music.⁵ All of these reasons combine to explain why earlier manuscripts have received more attention as individual entities than later ones.

As it happens, the Habsburgs, or more specifically the Burgundian branch of the family, are directly linked to one of the most spectacular collections of music manuscripts from the entire Renaissance. Beginning in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, a scriptorium associated with the Low Countries court of Habsburg-Burgundy produced a very extensive series of manuscripts that were distributed across Europe over a period of some three decades.⁶ The term 'scriptorium' is used here in a general manner; it does not refer to a physical place, as was the case with the monastic scriptoria of the Middle Ages. Instead, it refers to the probably informal and regularly shifting team of scribes, likely working in fairly close proximity, who were involved in the manuscripts' production. Many of these manuscripts are closely related to the Habsburg-Burgundian court through either repertoire or recipient, and the one scribe of the

2019). Manuscript dissertations for the Renaissance number ninety-six (with an additional sixty-three for the Middle Ages); those for the Baroque number fifty-four.

5 On individual performing parts see John Milsom, 'The Culture of Partleaves: Peterhouse and Beyond', in *Music, Politics and Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Milsom for sharing his essay prior to publication.

6 The standard reference work on this manuscript complex is Herbert Kellman (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535* (Ghent-Amsterdam, 1999), hereafter *Treasury*. The considerable bibliography on the complex since the publication of *Treasury* includes Bruno Bouckaert and Eugene Schreurs (eds.), *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire*, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 5 (Leuven-Neerpelt, 2003), hereafter *BHCC*; Hannah Hutchens Mowrey, 'The Alamire Manuscripts of Frederick the Wise: Intersections of Music, Art, and Theology' (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 2010); Zoe Saunders, 'Anonymity and Ascription in the Alamire Manuscripts', in *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 67 (2013), 247-81; David J. Burn (ed.), *Meerstemmigheid in Beeld: Zeven Meesterwerken uit het Atelier van Petrus Alamire / Polyphony in the Picture: Seven Masterpieces from the Workshop of Petrus Alamire* (Leuven, 2015); and Honey Meconi, 'Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production in the Time of Charles v', in *'Qui musicam in se habet': Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman, *Miscellanea* 9 (Middleton, WI, 2015), 575-613.

lot who can be firmly identified, Petrus Alamire (c. 1470-1536), was employed by the court as a member of the musical chapel in precisely that capacity.⁷ The presumption is that for shared scribal work, Alamire drew on his musical colleagues at court or others close to home – thus, capable figures likely in Mechelen and Brussels (where the court was frequently based) or Antwerp (where Alamire had a home). Unfortunately, we lack documentation for any of these shadowy figures and thus have no knowledge of just what they copied, what expectations were, or even how they were compensated (directly from Alamire as subcontractors? no extra compensation because scribal work was an expected part of a chapel member's duties?). Common use of the term 'court scriptorium', then, comes from Alamire's documented connection with the court as the chapel's scribe and the frequent reliance in the manuscripts on music by the court's composers, even though, as we shall see, donor/recipient connections to the court are not always direct. The various manuscripts of this crucial complex are divided below into broadly chronological groups.

1 Scribe B

The earliest group of extant manuscripts, consisting of six full surviving collections, one lost manuscript, and one fragment, are sometimes referred to as the 'Scribe B' manuscripts, in reference to Martin Bourgeois, the individual once thought to have copied all of them (see Table 10.1).⁸ Scholars now accept that multiple scribes were involved, but they continue to use the term 'Scribe B' for convenience.⁹ The manuscripts were copied either in the early sixteenth century or, possibly in one case, the late fifteenth century; all are on the luxury material of parchment, and all are attractively and expensively decorated.

Three manuscripts are clearly linked to Archduke Philip the Fair (1478-1506), son of Emperor Maximilian I and ruler of the Low Countries from 1494 to his death. The elaborate BrusBR 9126 includes numerous features pointing to Philip's ownership of the volume: donor portraits of Philip and his wife Juana

7 In deference to Alamire's official role as scribe and his presumed role as supervisor of production, the manuscripts are often referred to as the 'Alamire' manuscripts even though he was only one of multiple individuals involved. Martin Ham has tentatively suggested that 'Susato was trained within the Alamire circle, and thus may have been one of Alamire's scribes.' See Martin Ham, 'Joining the Dots: Tylman Susato and Manuscript Production after Alamire', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 11 (2019), 150.

8 Herbert Kellman, 'Production, Distribution, and Symbolism of the Manuscripts – A Synopsis', in *Treasury*, 11. Much disagreement exists about the dating of these manuscripts, and the dates given in Table 10.1 are correspondingly conservative.

9 See, for example, Kellman, 'Production, Distribution, and Symbolism', 11.

TABLE 10.1 Scribe B manuscripts, extant or documented

Ba	commissioned 1500; final payment 1502 masses, motets, and 'other things'; parchment; decorated for Maximilian I donor: Philip the Fair
BrusBR 9126	before 1506 sacred music; parchment; decorated for Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile
VienNB 1783	before 1506 mass music; parchment; decorated for Emanuel I of Portugal and Maria of Spain donor: Philip the Fair
JenaU 22	before 1509; before 1506? mass music; parchment; decorated intended for England? donor: Philip the Fair?
VatC 234 (Chigi Codex)	before 1509; before 1506? sacred music; parchment; decorated for Philippe Bouton
FlorC 2439 (Basevi Codex)	before 1509 chansonnier; parchment; decorated for Agostini-Ciardi family of Siena
VerBC 756	before 1509 11 masses; parchment; decorated
OxfBA 831	before 1509 chansonnier fragment; parchment; decorated

of Castile (see Figure 2.4), their initials P and I (I and J being interchangeable at the time), their arms, Philip's mottoes, and so on. Scribes renamed Josquin des Prez's *Missa Ercole dux ferrarie* as *Missa Philippus rex Castillie*, marking Philip's new title as King of Castile after the death of his mother-in-law Isabella of Castile in November 1504, and the collection is filled mostly with music by court composers: Pierre de la Rue, Alexander Agricola, and Marbriano de Orto. A second attractive manuscript, VienNB 1783, was evidently intended as a gift from Philip to Emanuel I of Portugal and his wife Maria of Spain (Philip's sister-in-law), containing as it does Emanuel's portrait (see Figure 10.1, upper right) and the arms of Portugal and Spain, as well as, once again, Philip's mottoes



FIGURE 10.1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 1783, fols. 1v-2r.
USED WITH PERMISSION

and a repertoire drawing heavily on the music of current or erstwhile court composers (La Rue, Agricola, de Orto, Gaspar van Weerbeke). The third manuscript linked with Philip, Manuscript Ba,¹⁰ is now lost and known only through archival references. These indicate that Philip commissioned Martin Bourgeois to prepare a large and costly collection of music as a gift for his father, Maximilian I.¹¹

Two other manuscripts, though lacking any direct connection to Philip, are codicologically similar to BrusBR 9126 and VienNB 1783 and were created at the same workshop. JenaU 22 was eventually sent to the Saxon Elector Frederick the Wise, an important Habsburg ally.¹² But it may have been intended initially as a diplomatic gift to the royal family of England, as its decorations include a Tudor rose and a daisy, the latter ‘marguerite’ in French, a likely reference to Margaret of Austria, who was considered a possible bride first to Prince Arthur and later to Henry VII.¹³ Also present are a portrait of an unidentified royal male (accompanied by the Tudor rose) and a blank shield awaiting a coat of arms. Again the repertoire draws heavily on Habsburg court composers Agricola and especially La Rue. The so-called ‘Chigi Codex’, meanwhile, was owned by the important courtier Philippe Bouton, who was in the service of not only Philip the Fair but also his grandfather and great-grandfather, the last two dukes of Burgundy.¹⁴ It is not surprising that the artists who constructed Bouton’s collection – even more elaborate than the other three – were responsible for the other volumes we can connect to the court.

In September 1506 Archduke Philip the Fair died in Spain where he had been asserting his title of King of Castile. His six-year-old son and heir, the future Charles V, was back in the Low Countries. Almost six months later, Philip’s sister Margaret of Austria was assigned by her father to govern the Low

10 The siglum is an addition to the alphabet list of manuscripts known only through archival references given in Honey Meconi, ‘The Unknown Alamire: Lost Manuscripts Reclaimed’, in *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 71 (2017), 33–84.

11 The three documents concerning the manuscript are given in Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1867–88; reprint, New York, 1969), vol. 7, 150. Georges van Doorslaer mistakenly read the three documents as referring to three separate manuscripts, the first a gift from Margaret of Austria to Maximilian; see his ‘Calligraphes de Musique, à Malines, au XVI^e siècle’, in *Bulletin du Cercle Archéologique Littéraire et Artistique de Malines* 33 (1928), 93. Herbert Kellman correctly understood the citations as referring to a single manuscript, noted in ‘The Origins of the Chigi Codex’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11 (1958), 11.

12 JenaU 22 is closest in structure to VienNB 1783.

13 After the death of Margaret’s husband Philibert of Savoy in 1504, her father and brother attempted to negotiate a marriage with Henry VII, a widower since 1503; Margaret refused the match.

14 VatC 234. The Chigi Codex is closest in structure to BrusBR 9126.

Countries in Charles's stead and to look after the underage Archduke and three of his sisters.¹⁵ Two manuscripts from the Scribe B production circle may come from this period of transition and the early years of Margaret's regency. Perhaps significantly, each was likely a commission. The chansonnier known as the 'Basevi Codex' (FlorC 2439) was prepared for a member of the Agostini Ciardi family of Siena, and the mass collection VerBC 756 was likely intended for an Italian family as well. These Italian connections are not surprising; Italian merchants were a regular presence in Flemish cities, and in any event, artisans from the Low Countries were known internationally as producers of fine luxury goods, of which illuminated parchment manuscripts were one kind.¹⁶ Again, both of these late Scribe B manuscripts, especially the Basevi Codex, draw on repertoire of court composers.

A final music manuscript emanating from this same circle is more mysterious. The illuminated fragment OxfBA 831 today consists of a mere two parchment folios of what was likely a lavish chansonnier in the manner of the Basevi Codex, again drawing on music known at court. Its original owner remains unknown.

Scribe B manuscripts, then, though stemming from the court either physically or in terms of repertoire, ended up in a variety of hands – ruler, relative, peer, ally, courtier, commissioner – a pattern we will see replayed with the Alamire group of production. Music manuscripts at this level of production were in demand, even after the introduction of music printing.

2 Petrus Alamire

Records concerning music at the court are sparse for the earliest period of Margaret's regency, with the first surviving chapel pay list appearing only in 1509. On this pay list, and on most of those that survive through 1517, we find the name Petrus Alamire, the working name of Petrus Imhoff (Petrus van den Hove), one of the more colourful characters of the time.¹⁷ Alamire's pen name is a musical one, hexachordally inspired, that refers to the pitch A and its three

15 Charles's brother and his youngest sister were born and raised in Spain.

16 On the production of fine manuscripts, see Honey Meconi, 'Power, Prestige, and Polyphony: The Use of Parchment in Music Manuscripts c. 1450-1600', in *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners, and Users of Music Sources before 1600*, ed. Lisa Colton and Tim Shephard (Turnhout, 2017), 169-208; the essay discusses the Habsburg-Burgundian court scriptorium as the leader within the Low Countries (and Europe overall) in the production of luxury music manuscripts of polyphony.

17 On Alamire, see Eugeen Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy', in *Treasury*, 15-27, as well as corrections and pay list information in Meconi, 'Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production'.

possible solmization syllables: la in the natural hexachord, mi in the soft hexachord, and re in the hard hexachord. The musical emphasis is an appropriate one, for Alamire's is the name associated with the bulk of the manuscripts discussed below, and he was likely a composer as well.¹⁸

Before formally joining the court chapel, Alamire (then living in Antwerp) had produced at least one manuscript for Philip in 1503, a large volume of twenty-six parchment gatherings containing masses and other service music.¹⁹ The volume (identified in Table 10.2 as manuscript C) no longer survives, but the quality of Alamire's work was evidently sufficient for him to be hired by Margaret to serve as 'escripvain' (scribe) and 'garde de livres' (keeper of the books) within the chapel, the first time a chapel member was designated for these functions. Because we have no chapel records between the time that Margaret assumed governorship of the Low Countries in 1507 and the pay record of 1509, though, we do not know exactly when Alamire joined the chapel. He remained connected to the court for the rest of his working life, first as a member of the chapel until the young Charles embarked for Spain in September 1517, and thereafter without a precisely defined role but of sufficient connection to the court to be awarded a pension from at least 1533 until his death in June 1536.²⁰

During his twenty-six odd years of service for the court he produced an extensive series of manuscripts for its rulers and their relatives, as well as manuscripts that served the purpose of 'illuminated bribery' for those whom the rulers wished to flatter and influence.²¹ He also fulfilled independent commissions, not hesitating to draw on the repertoire of the court for those collections. Each manuscript was typically a team effort coordinated by Alamire: music scribes, text scribes (with possible overlap between those two functions), calligraphers, miniature painters, binders.²² Most of the manuscripts that survive are difficult to pin down precisely in terms of production date. The order of manuscripts in Table 10.2 draws primarily on the scribal chronology developed by Flynn Warmington.²³

18 See David Fallows, 'Alamire as a Composer', in *BHCC*, 247-58.

19 Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire', 23, item 3.

20 On Alamire's ongoing connection with the court, see Meconi, 'Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production'.

21 On 'illuminated bribery', see Honey Meconi, 'Foundation for an Empire: The Musical Inheritance of Charles v', in *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles v*, ed. Francis Maes (Leuven, 1999), 24-34.

22 For an overview of production see Kellman, 'Production, Distribution, and Symbolism', as well as Jacobijn Kiel, 'An Introduction to the Scribes and Their Methods', in *Treasury*, 38-40, and Flynn Warmington, 'A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts', in *Treasury*, 41-52.

23 Warmington, 'A Survey of Scribal Hands'.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented^a

A1-3	by August 1496 3 books of polyphony; paper; LOST for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch
B	1498/1499 book of sacred music; unspecified material; LOST for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp
C	1503 book of sacred music; parchment; LOST for the chapel of Philip the Fair
VienNB Mus. 15495	1508-10; likely between February 1508 and April 1509 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Maximilian I and Bianca Maria Sforza
D1-2	1511 2 large books of masses; parchment; LOST for Maximilian I and for Margaret of Austria
E1-2	1512/1513 2 books; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
F	January 1514 'expensive' book of five-voice motets begun; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
G	1514/1515 'Virgo' book; parchment; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
H1-2	by May 1515 6 small partbooks and a five-voice composition; LOST for Henry VIII
I	by December 1515 Marian Matins book; LOST commissioned by Jan van Reth

^a Alphabet sigla from Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire'.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

VienNB Mus. 15497	before 1516 mass music; parchment; decorated for Ulrich Pfinzing
BrusBR 228	after 1508; before March 1516 chansonnier; parchment; decorated for Margaret of Austria
BrusBR 215-16	before March 1516 sacred music; parchment; decorated for Charles le Clerc
JenaU 2	before March 1516 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise
JenaU 7	before March 1516 sacred music; parchment; decorated for Maximilian I?
JenaU 9	before March 1516 incomplete?; sacred music; parchment; decorated for Henry VIII
MontsM 773	before March 1516 sacred music; parchment; decorated for Margaret of Austria?
MechAS s.s.	between January 1515 and March 1516 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Maximilian I? ^b
VatS 34	between January 1515 and March 1516 mass music; parchment; decorated presumably for Leo x
VatS 160	between January 1515 and March 1516 mass music; parchment; decorated for Leo x donor: Margaret of Austria? Archduke Charles?

b On Maximilian I as the intended owner of MechAS s.s., see Meconi, 'Range, Repertoire, and Recipient', 107-9.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

VienNB Mus. 15496	between July 1515 and March 1516 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Archduke Charles donor: Maximilian I?
BrusBR IV.922 (Occo Codex)	before March 1516? sacred music; parchment; decorated for Pompeius Occo
AntP B948 IV & AntP M18.13/1	before March 1516? fragments of 5 masses; parchment
BrugRA Aanw. 756	before March 1516? fragment of a mass; parchment
OxfBLL a.8	before March 1516? fragments of motets; parchment for Margaret of Austria?
TongerenSA 183	before March 1516? fragment of a mass; parchment
UtreC 47/1 & 2	before March 1516? fragments of a mass; parchment
JenaU 8	likely after March 1516; before September 1517? mass music; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise
VatS 36	probably soon after March 1516 sacred music; parchment; decorated for Leo x donor: probably Margaret of Austria
JenaU 4	between March and November 1516 mass music; parchment; decorated for Maximilian I?
MunBS 7	after March 1516; before September 1517? 7 masses; paper; decorated
J	1516 polyphony; parchment; LOST for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

K1-6 ^c	1517 6 music books; one is parchment; LOST for Henry VIII
L	1517 polyphony, including four masses; LOST for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp
JenaU 5	before September 1517? 6 masses; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise
JenaU 20	before September 1517? 19 Magnificats; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise
AntP R43.13	before September 1517? fragment of a motet; parchment
BrusSG 9423	before September 1517? fragments of a Credo; parchment
BrusSG 9424 & BrusCPAS H1135 ^d	before September 1517? fragments of sacred music; parchment
Büdingen ^e	before September 1517? fragments of 5 masses; parchment
GhentR D 3360b	before September 1517? fragment of a mass; parchment
M	by February 1518 music book; LOST for Maximilian I
JenaU 3	c. 1518-25 8 masses; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise
JenaU 12	c. 1518-25 8 masses; parchment; decorated for Frederick the Wise

c See Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises'. I am grateful to Ms. Beck for kindly sharing her article prior to its publication.

d On these fragments see Vanhulst, 'Le manuscrit H1135'.

e On these fragments see Brinzing, *Fragmente mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts*.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

Ma ^f	1519 composition? LOST for Nuremberg Town Council
N	1519/1520 music book; parchment, LOST for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp
VienNB 9814	c. 1519-25 motets + chanson; paper performing parts for use at court of Charles v
VienNB Mus. 18825	c. 1519-25 motets; paper partbooks; decorated for the Fugger family
O (= N?)	1520 6 ½ fascicles of polyphony; LOST for the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp
P	1520 4 fascicles of polyphony for Lof; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
Q	1520 book of 7 Requiem masses; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
R	1520 12 folios of parchment; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
S (= R?)	1520 songbook; LOST for Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Antwerp
MunBS F	c. 1520-25 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon
AntP M18.13/2	c. 1520-35 fragments of 2 masses; parchment

f See Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises'. Beck first brought the Nuremberg material to musicological attention in Beck, 'Petrus Alamire'.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

BrusBR 6428	c. 1520-35 (by 1530 if for Margaret) 7 masses; parchment; decorated for Margaret of Austria?
MunBS 6	c. 1520-35 mass music; paper; decorated for Wilhelm IV of Bavaria
VienNB 11883	c. 1520-35 sacred music; paper fascicle manuscript
LonBLR 8 G.vii	c. 1521-22 ^g motets; parchment; decorated for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon
JenaU 21	c. 1521-25 8 masses; paper; decorated
SubA 248	c. 1521-25 7 masses; paper
VienNB 4809	c. 1521-25 7 masses; paper; decorated for Fugger family
VienNB 4810	c. 1521-25 6 masses; paper
VienNB 11778	c. 1521-25 mass music; paper; decorated
VienNB Mus. 18832	c. 1521-25 89 bicinia; paper partbooks; decorated for Fugger family
MunBS 34	c. 1521-35 29 Salve Regina settings; paper; decorated for Wilhelm IV of Bavaria
VienNB Mus. 15941	c. 1521-35 32 motets; paper partbooks; decorated for Raimund Fugger the Elder
VienNB Mus. 18746	1523 chansonnier; paper partbooks

^g On this date, see James, 'Transforming the Motet', 256-59.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

T	1523 several music books; LOST for Charles v
MontsM 766 (= part of T?)	1523? mass music; mostly paper; decorated for Charles v?
U/D2?	1523/1524 sacred music; LOST for Margaret of Austria gift of the Emperor (Maximilian I? Charles v?)
Ua ^h	1524 5 little music books; LOST for Nuremberg Town Council
BrusBR 15075	1524+ 7 masses; parchment; decorated for John III of Portugal and Catherine of Austria donor: Margaret of Austria?
V	1525/1526 sacred music; large book; LOST for Charles v
Va ⁱ	between 1527 and 1531 songbook; LOST for Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, 's-Hertogenbosch
VatP 1976-79	c. 1527-35 motets; parchment partbooks; decorated for Ferdinand and Anna of Bohemia and Hungary
W	1529 chapel books; LOST for Margaret of Austria
X	1530 sacred music; LOST for Charles v paid for by Margaret of Austria
Xa ^j	1530 several 'musica'; LOST for Nuremberg Town Council

h See Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises'.

i See Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises'.

j See Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises'. It is unclear whether 'musica' refers to manuscripts.

TABLE 10.2 Alamire manuscripts, extant or documented (*cont.*)

's-HerAB 72A	1530/1531 7 masses; paper; decorated for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch
's-HerAB 72B	1530/1531 8 masses; paper; decorated for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch
's-HerAB 72C	1530/1531 sacred music; paper; decorated for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch
Z	1531 8 masses; LOST for Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch ^k
AA	1533-35 choirbooks ('a good number of beautiful music books'); ^l LOST for Mary of Hungary's chapel
BB	1535 'a beautiful music book'; ^m LOST for Mary of Hungary's court

k Archival references from 1530 and January 1531 (Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire', 25, #20) are widely considered to refer to 's-HerAB 72A-C; Manuscript Z is lost.

l Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire', 25, #22 and 23.

m Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire', 25, #23.

In Alamire's early years with the court, he most likely drew on his colleagues in the chapel for the scribal roles. A general change in the scribal team, however, was likely prompted by the departure of Charles for Spain in September 1517. As was normal for rulers of the time, Charles took his chapel with him, and the departing singers had probably done a good bit of Alamire's earlier scribal work. Confronted with a diminished pool of workers, Alamire gradually built up a newer team for manuscript production.²⁴ Within the earlier manuscripts, the difference between pre- and post-March 1516 dates of construction is tied to the public proclamation in that month of Charles as the King of Spain, with a consequent heraldic change that Flynn Warmington has used as a touchstone in constructing a scribal chronology.²⁵ Finally, chances are strong that some now-lost manuscripts with no formal archival connection to Alamire

²⁴ Meconi, 'Alamire, Pierre de la Rue, and Manuscript Production'.

²⁵ Warmington, 'A Survey of Scribal Hands'.

or Scribe B originated in fact at the court of Habsburg-Burgundy.²⁶ These will be noted at various points below, including the discussions of manuscripts owned by Mary of Hungary and Philip II.

The first Habsburg-Burgundian family member to acquire an Alamire manuscript was Philip the Fair, for whose chapel the scribe provided the now lost parchment manuscript C (described above) in 1503. As indicated above, Margaret hired Alamire specifically as the chapel's scribe some years later, but it is worth speculating as to whether he may have been playing a significant role in the court's manuscript production even before that. Could he have been the mastermind behind the Scribe B manuscripts? The hands of those manuscripts are demonstrably different from those we can connect more clearly to Alamire, but then so are the hands in the last set of his manuscripts, the 'later' Alamire collections. While that later change in hands was surely prompted by the significant event of the departure of Charles and his chapel for Spain in 1517, a similarly disruptive change occurred between the Scribe B manuscripts and those of Alamire: the departure of Philip for Spain in early 1506 and his death there the following September. If, hypothetically, Alamire had produced the Scribe B manuscripts by relying primarily on scribes in the court chapel, the departure of that chapel to Spain and the subsequent disappearance of many of its members would have prompted a search for a new team of scribes.

This is clearly all speculation, and one could well argue that the change in overall style between the Scribe B manuscripts and the earlier Alamire ones is too great for the same individual to be behind them. The earlier manuscripts tend to contain many more pieces and mix more genres than the later ones, which are more 'boutique' productions of fewer pieces more unified in nature. One could then counter this with the recognition that the Scribe B manuscripts match the norm for manuscript collections in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and that the Alamire manuscripts reflect the influence of Petrucci's mass prints, which began publication only in 1502 and doubtless took at least a little while to reach the Low Countries. In any event, the only Alamire manuscript we can firmly connect to Philip the Fair is now lost – and it is one that matches the Scribe B manuscripts in dimension, i.e., a large number of gatherings that likely held a wide variety of compositions.

Maximilian I provides a different case from Philip the Fair. The beautiful VienaNB Mus. 15495 (see Figure 2.1) was unquestionably his, as were the now-lost D1 and M manuscripts. Three other extremely luxurious manuscripts may have been originally intended for him as well: JenaU 7, whose decorations include his motto and his arms; MechAS s.s. (see Figure 2.5); and the truly spectacular

26 Details in Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire'.

JenaU 4, the largest choirbook surviving from the Renaissance. Figure 10.2 shows the beginning of Pierre de la Rue's *Missa Conceptio tua* in JenaU 4, with a miniature of Mary, Eve, Maximilian, and Charles on the left and images of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon (important Habsburg allies at the time the manuscript was created) on the right. Scattered over this manuscript opening are portraits of John Duns Scotus and four popes who supported the concept of the Immaculate Conception along with their texts asserting that idea. Music, text, and image all combine to send a sophisticated message of politics and theology.

MechAS s.s. may never have left Mechelen, where it was probably copied in the first place; the two Jena manuscripts eventually made their way to Frederick the Wise. Possibly they were two of three manuscripts Maximilian promised the Elector in 1518, 'the like of which have not been seen in any library or anywhere else'.²⁷ This sort of manuscript diversion supports the idea that a luxury good such as an illuminated music manuscript could play a role in the elaborate dance of diplomacy and international relations that dominated the life of any Habsburg ruler.

Margaret of Austria had her own set of Alamire books. Manuscripts D2, U, and W are now lost; the first two might in fact be the same manuscript. Surviving today is an elegant chansonnier (BrusBR 228), deeply imbued with personal symbols and significance such as her portrait, pictures of daisies ('marguerite' in French), music written for her or set to her poetry, and so on.²⁸ Margaret is likely to have been the intended recipient as well of the now heavily mutilated books MontsM 773 and BrusBR 6428, as well as the fragmentary motet collection OxfBLL a.8.

Alamire's creations extended to the next generation, to Charles and three of his siblings. VienNB Mus. 15496 was created for Charles in his early days as declared ruler of the Low Countries,²⁹ with manuscripts T, V, and X arriving after he became Holy Roman Emperor. MontsM 766 might be one of the T manuscripts; the others are lost. Charles's brother and two of his sisters also were slated for Alamire manuscripts. BrusBR 15075 was intended for Charles's

27 Herbert Kellman, 'Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek MS 2', in *Treasury*, 84. The first to suggest specific manuscripts as those given by Maximilian was Karl Erich Roediger, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena: Notenverzeichnis*, 2 vols., Claves Jenenses: Veröffentlichungen der Universitätsbibliothek Jena 3 (Jena, 1935), vol. 1, 11, 62.

28 For the most recent discussion of this manuscript, see Honey Meconi, 'Margaret of Austria, Visual Representation, and Brussels, Royal Library, Ms. 228', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (2010): 11-36, 129-30.

29 However, it ended up in Maximilian's library; see Eric Jas, 'Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 15495', in *Treasury*, 153.



FIGURE 10.2 Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 4, fols. 29v-30r.
USED WITH PERMISSION

youngest sister Catherine and her husband King John III of Portugal; whether she ever actually received it remains unknown. The parchment motet part-books VatP 1976-79, meanwhile, had Ferdinand and his wife Anna of Hungary as their recipients (with a special emphasis on Anna in the opening of the collection). Books for Charles's sister Mary are documented as books AA and BB; more will be said below about Mary's extensive music library, for which an inventory survives.

The manuscripts named so far – at least the extant ones – have been fancy ones, mostly of parchment with fine decoration. Even if they were put to use and not merely for show, they presented a visible display of the court's wealth. These were not the only sorts of manuscripts in use at the court, however. The paper performing parts VienNB 9814, plainly written with no decoration (yet signed by Alamire), present a series of motets and a chanson that speak directly to the young Charles and his assumption of power.³⁰ Examples of these individual sheets are rare today, but they doubtless represented an extremely common format for performance at the time.³¹ The very ordinariness of their use and appearance made them prime candidates for discarding once they had outlived their usefulness, so we are fortunate that these have survived.

Another 'ordinary' type of manuscript is found in the collection VienNB 11883 (see Figure 10.3).³² Notice the strong contrast between this slap-dash, unadorned manuscript (cramped music and text, no indentations for initials) and JenaU 4 (shown in Figure 10.2). VienNB 11883 binds together a series of casually copied fascicles that were originally separate, each of which contains a complete mass or another piece of sacred music. Scholars have shown that the fascicles were very likely used as exemplars for preparing other copies; given that Alamire's hand is found on several of them, the conclusion is that these are remnants of the court scriptorium's collection. Again, this sort of manuscript was typically thrown out once the repertoire had fallen out of favour, so their conservation is remarkable.

These three types of manuscript, then, represent the components of the court's manuscripts for polyphonic music: plain fascicles serving as a repository for repertoire (VienNB 11883), clearly written single voice parts for performance (VienNB 9814), and elegant choirbooks and partbooks, with the

30 Honey Meconi, 'Plus outre, Pierre de la Rue, and the Emperor's Music', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2014), 12-32.

31 Milsom, 'The Culture of Partleaves'.

32 Previously considered to have arrived in Vienna through the purchase by Emperor Ferdinand III of the vast musical holdings of the wealthy Fugger family, VienNB 11883 may instead have come via Emperor Matthias II; see Meconi, 'Plus outre', 24.



FIGURE 10.3 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. n883, fol. 30v.
USED WITH PERMISSION

potential for performance, that served as manifestations of wealth and cultural capital.

This last type of manuscript, of course, was the perfect gift to send to those one wished to impress and influence, and Habsburg-Burgundian rulers did not hesitate to use manuscripts as such.³³ Pope Leo X received three attractive choirbooks: VatS 34, VatS 36, and VatS 160, filled with masses and individual mass movements. The first two books were devoted almost exclusively to masses by La Rue; the third was more varied (Barbireau, Obrecht, Josquin, La Rue, etc.). The volumes are gorgeously decorated, with miniatures, borders, painted initials, coats of arms, and so on. All the books have had pages torn out, suggesting that the complete manuscript was even more impressive than what survives. Various aspects of the decoration, such as Margaret's arms in VatS 36 and the arms of Habsburg territories in VatS 160, place the manuscripts in the category of gifts rather than commissions.

Manuscripts connected with Henry VIII of England are much more problematic in terms of the 'gift vs. commission' question. Henry's relationship with Habsburg-Burgundy was a complex one. The two were natural allies against France, and matrimonial unions were proposed at various times – initially between Margaret of Austria and first Prince Arthur and then Henry VII, and later between Charles and Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor, then between Charles and Henry's daughter Mary. These potential alliances came to naught, and relations between the two powers waxed and waned over the years, with 1525 marking a serious and long-lasting break. Alamire, though, had his own relationship with the English, serving for some time as Henry's spy.³⁴ We know, too, that Alamire prepared manuscripts not only on commission but also on speculation. These various threads make it difficult to posit the impetus behind the multiple manuscripts intended for Henry: H1 and 2, K 1-6, JenaU 9, MunBS F, and LonBLR 8 G.vii. H2, the single composition, was most likely Alamire's own 'gift' to Henry; the more substantial lost manuscripts may have been commissions. JenaU 9 and MunBS F are both very problematic. The arms and emblems of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in the former, and the use of Henry's livery colours green and silver therein, indicate a strong connection with the English ruler. The manuscript, though, ended up with Frederick the

33 This practice is found decades later: Martin Ham has made a strong case that WhalleyS 23, where music associated with the Habsburgs is prominently displayed, was a gift from the Habsburgs to Edward VI in 1552, at a time when both sides were trying to improve relations. See Martin Ham, 'The Stonyhurst College Partbooks, the Madrigal Society, and a Diplomatic Gift to Edward VI', in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 63 (2013), 3-64.

34 Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire'.

Wise. Was it originally intended for Henry but never delivered because of the ongoing up-and-down relationship between England and Habsburg-Burgundy, and was it one of the three manuscripts sent from Maximilian to Frederick in 1518? Did Henry receive it but then pass it on to Frederick? Or did Henry commission it specifically as a gift to Frederick? That all these scenarios are possible indicates again the importance of a valuable manuscript as an emblem of unspoken negotiation.

MunBS F, a luxurious parchment choirbook of seven masses (mostly by French court composers) was another Alamire manuscript that ended up somewhere other than with Henry. Like all too many manuscripts, the folio most likely to contain the coat of arms and miniature of the intended owner was torn out, but the choirbook still contains the heraldic emblems of Henry and Catherine: pomegranate, greyhound, and dragon. The manuscript's current home in Munich suggests that perhaps Wilhelm IV, Duke of Bavaria, was the eventual recipient. That it never reached Henry is even more curious because it seems to have been prepared at the same time as the motet choirbook LonBLR 8 G.vii, a clear gift from the Habsburg-Burgundian court, which did make it to England – unless, again, Henry received MunBS F and passed it on to someone else, perhaps Wilhelm.³⁵

Wilhelm is another interesting and complex figure here. He was Maximilian's nephew, he was present in July 1515 (at Maximilian's invitation) at the double wedding of the Emperor's grandchildren, and he even travelled with Maximilian to the Low Countries in January 1517. His Bavarian court represented a reliable Catholic presence and natural ally in Charles's long battle against the encroachment of Protestant sympathies across Germany. Yet various political clashes eventually soured Wilhelm's relations with the Habsburgs,³⁶ and the chapel he set up in 1523 is now thought to have been created as 'a potent political tool' as he developed a court to rival that of his relatives.³⁷

35 As with certain other manuscripts, MunBS F had various detours on the way to its eventual home; in 1717 it was given to the Benedictine convent Weihestephan near Freising by a 'ceremonialist and musician of the palace'. See Eric Jas, 'Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Handschriften-Inkunabelsammlung, Musica MS F' in *Treasury*, 119.

36 For a summary of these, see Meconi, 'Foundation for an Empire', 33.

37 Birgit Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks: The Emperor's or the Duke's?', in *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext: Bericht über das internationale Symposium der Musikhistorischen Kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte München, 2.-4. August 2004*, ed. Theodor Göllner and Bernhold Schmid, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 128 (Munich, 2006), 232.

In the context of this history, it is difficult to place the four Alamire manuscripts now in Munich, home of Wilhelm's Bavarian court chapel. Two later Alamire manuscripts bear Wilhelm's arms: MunBS 6, a paper choirbook of six masses and a Credo, and MunBS 34, another paper choirbook with the unusual repertoire of twenty-nine *Salve Regina* settings.³⁸ In addition to MunBS F, noted above, another Alamire choirbook may have ended up with Wilhelm: the earlier MunBS 7, still another paper choirbook though one lacking any insignia that ties it to the Bavarian duke.

The one Habsburg ally who received more manuscripts than anyone else was Saxon elector Frederick the Wise.³⁹ Six surviving parchment choirbooks include his arms and other symbols of ownership, such as his portrait and motto: JenaU 2, JenaU 3, JenaU 5, JenaU 8, JenaU 12, and JenaU 20. The last volume is a collection of Magnificats; the others all contain masses and in JenaU 8, two Credos as well. Frederick also ended up with JenaU 4, JenaU 7, JenaU 9, JenaU 21, and JenaU 22, none of which was created for him, and four of which contain allusions to others (JenaU 4, JenaU 7, JenaU 9, and JenaU 22). JenaU 21 is a plain paper manuscript, in contrast to the decorated parchment format of the others.

Maximilian's promise to send three special manuscripts to Frederick confirms that at least some of the Elector's collection came as gifts. It is quite possible, though, that the others were originally gifts as well. We know that Mary of Hungary once owned a large manuscript containing *Salve Regina* settings (the manuscript is now lost); the parallel with MunBS 34, the Alamire *Salve* collection, is clear.⁴⁰ But Mary's manuscript contains Frederick's arms. This was surely a manuscript from Alamire's scriptorium; why then is it not in Frederick's collection? The Elector's increasing embrace of Protestant theology, discussed in detail by Hannah Mowrey, would have made a manuscript filled with Marian motets ultimately unwelcome to the Elector. This of course suggests that the manuscript was intended as a gift rather than arising from Frederick's own commission.⁴¹ In any event, Frederick was to be a key player in the election of Maximilian's successor (Charles) as Holy Roman Emperor, and the assumption that the Habsburgs sent this music-loving ruler luxurious

38 See Aaron James, 'The Apotheosis of the *Salve regina* and the Purpose of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 34', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2014), 33-68.

39 See Mowrey, 'The Alamire Manuscripts of Frederick the Wise'.

40 On Mary's manuscripts, see below.

41 See Mowrey, 'The Alamire Manuscripts of Frederick the Wise', 135-36 and 401, for a discussion of outright rejection of the gift as well as Frederick's death as a reason for the manuscript's absence from his collection; on 45-60 Mowrey traces Luther's evolving Marian theology prior to Frederick's death in 1525.

manuscripts filled with the latest sacred masterpieces to help maintain positive relations is a reasonable one.⁴²

Habsburg rulers and the peers they wished to impress were not the only ones who benefitted from Alamire's scriptorium; the business-minded scribe maintained regular contact with a number of civic and ecclesiastical institutions. Archival records indicate commissions from the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in 's-Hertogenbosch (manuscript Va) and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap of 's-Hertogenbosch (manuscripts A1-3, the earliest record of Alamire's scribal activity, and later 's-HerAB 72A, 's-HerAB 72B, 's-HerAB 72C, and manuscript Z) as well as regular interaction with the church and confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp (manuscripts B, E1-2, F, G, J, L, N, O, P, Q, R, and S). The fragments AntP B948 IV, AntP M18.13/1, AntP R43.13, and AntP M18.13/2 are very likely to be the remains of some of the Antwerp commissions, and the Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Tongeren, and Utrecht fragments may reflect commissions from institutions in those cities as well.⁴³ Alamire also delivered songbooks and other items to the Nuremberg Town Council (manuscripts Ma, Ua, and Xa).⁴⁴

Individuals as well as institutions sought manuscripts from Alamire. Two that we know of worked for the Habsburgs: Ulrich Pfinzing, the intended owner of VienNB Mus. 15497,⁴⁵ was Maximilian's treasurer, and Charles le Clerc, owner of BrusBR 215-16 (a very special collection devoted to works in honour of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary), worked for Philip the Fair, Maximilian, and Charles. Both Pfinzing and le Clerc would have been well aware of the luxury music manuscripts Alamire was producing. Other commissioners included Jan van Reth (manuscript 1), Dutch businessman Pompeius Occo (BrusBR IV.922, which emphasized works for the Blessed Sacrament), and the Fugger banking family of Augsburg. The Fugger manuscripts are an especially interesting batch; all are of paper rather than the more usual (and more costly) parchment. VienNB 4809 is a collection of Josquin masses; VienNB Mus. 15941, specifically for Raimund Fugger the Elder, is a series of motets copied into partbooks; VienNB Mus. 18825 is a smaller set of motet partbooks, these devoted to

42 Manuscripts could also mark important political events after the fact. Although not a Habsburg manuscript *per se*, CambraiBM 17, copied in Cambrai for the cathedral choir, contains the arms of Charles V and Francis I, and it was surely created to mark their 1529 peace treaty. It is filled with sacred music, including the appropriate *Te Deum*.

43 BrugRA Aanw. 756, BrusSG 9423, BrusSG 9424, BrusCPAS H1135, GhentR D3360b, TongerenSA 183, and UtreC 47/1 & 2.

44 See Serafina Beck, 'Alamire's Enterprises' (forthcoming).

45 This manuscript ended up in Maximilian's library; see Jas, 'Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 15495', 153.

Paschaltide; and VienNB Mus. 18832 consists of two partbooks filled with *binia* plucked from masses, Magnificats, and other works. Four other manuscripts seem to have ended up in Fugger hands at one point: the choirbooks of mass music VienNB 4810 and VienNB 11778, the partbooks VienNB Mus. 18746 (a collection of five-part secular music, mostly textless chansons), and, unexpectedly, VatP 1976-79, the motet partbooks of Charles's brother Ferdinand and his wife.⁴⁶ This leaves only two surviving manuscripts that we cannot align in some way with an individual or an institution: the plain paper mass choirbook SubA 248 and the Büdingen fragments.⁴⁷

This rich cache of Scribe B and Alamire creations – extant or documented but now lost – numbers more than ninety manuscripts (and indeed cannot be fully counted, given that some archival references simply designate 'books' that were paid for, but not how many). This large number, though, is unlikely to capture all the music books created by the scriptorium. Inventories from the sixteenth century record hundreds of now-lost manuscripts whose origins can never be fully determined. In a few cases, though, factors of ownership, repertoire, material, and decoration strongly suggest an origin at the Habsburg-Burgundian court scriptorium, whether that of Scribe B, Alamire, or what is known as the 'Post-Alamire' scriptorium (see Table 10.3).⁴⁸ The inventory of Raimund Fugger the Elder contains a collection of *Salve Regina* settings (akin to MunBS 34), a book of Magnificats whose contents suggest overlap with JenaU 20, a collection of three-voice masses, and mass books of Jean de Ockeghem and Agricola.⁴⁹ Count Ottheinrich of Neuberg owned a collection of six *La Rue* masses that is, in terms of content and order, almost identical with manuscripts BrusBR 6428 and especially BrusBR 15075. A songbook ordered by the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom may have been commissioned from Alamire, and

46 Herbert Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference Held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21-25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (London etc., 1976), 201. VienNB 9814 was once thought to have been a Fugger possession as well, but see Meconi, 'Plus outre'.

47 Büdingen, Fürstlich Ysenburg- und Büdingensche Bibliothek, Musikfragmente, Kasten 1; Bestand Kammerrechnungen, Geldrechnung 1601, Graf Wolfgang Ernst, Kammer 2a; Bestand Kellereirechnungen, Graf Wolfgang Ernst, 1600, Fasz. 7a; Bestand Kellereirechnungen, Graf Wolfgang Ernst, 1603, Fasz. 7b; Büdinger Rentereirechnung 1604, Fasz. 7b.

48 For full discussion of this in connection with court manuscripts, see Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire'.

49 The inventory appears in Richard Schaal, 'Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d.J.: Ein Beitrag zur Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Acta musicologica* 29 (1957), 126-37.

a decorated parchment book of polyphony from 1506/1507 owned by the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp is also suggestive as being from Alamire. Numerous books owned by Mary of Hungary and her nephew Philip II are very likely from the scriptorium (these will be discussed below). And one more individual whose manuscripts surely came from the court was none other than Pierre de la Rue, easily the most important composer connected with Habsburg-Burgundian rulers Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, and Charles before he became Emperor. Bequests after La Rue's death indicate that he owned seven songbooks, one of parchment in 'maxima forma'.⁵⁰ It is hard to imagine that these manuscripts, which quite possibly contained his own life's works, came from anywhere other than the court.

With Alamire and Scribe B, then, we have an incredibly productive scriptorium that was one of the most important for the creation of music manuscripts for the first thirty or so years of the sixteenth century. Through gift or commission, manuscripts created by scribes connected with the Habsburg-Burgundian court made their way across Europe to pope, king, count, relative, courtier, businessman, chapel, church, or confraternity. And this is where the manuscript culture of the Habsburgs differed from that of other rulers. Whereas manuscripts produced elsewhere, even fine ones, tended to remain close to their place of origin,⁵¹ Habsburg-Burgundian manuscripts, especially those of decorated parchment, served as luxury items for export, as it were. Then, as now, certain regions were known for certain products, and the Burgundian Low Countries were noted for the production of fine manuscripts, not just music ones.⁵² Typically dressed as a beautiful object, music known at the court – especially music by their leading composer, Pierre de la Rue – made its way to distant lands, functioning as one expression of the court's power and taste.

3 Maximilian I and German Manuscripts

Scholars once thought that after Maximilian's death and the dismantling of his chapel, the imperial music books were taken by leading court musician

⁵⁰ Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (Oxford, 2003), 47.

⁵¹ Documented in Meconi, 'Power, Prestige, and Polyphony'.

⁵² See for example Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*, *Burgundica* 16 (Turnhout, 2010).

TABLE 10.3 Likely lost Scribe B, Alamire, and Post-Alamire manuscripts^a**a. Lost manuscripts possibly from Scribe B***Owned by Raimund Fugger the Elder^b*

14	6 four-voice Ockeghem masses
5	7 four-voice Agricola masses
4	8 three-voice masses by Févin, Verbonnet, Pipelare, Brumel, 'Jo. Posoris'

Owned by Mary of Hungary^c

3/30	sacred music of Agricola and others; parchment
483 [11]	3 'cancioneros' of sacred music by Agricola; parchment; arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
481 [11]	7 or 8 Ockeghem masses; parchment; decorated
480 [13]	11 masses by Ockeghem and other 'antique authors'; large book; unspecified material

b. Lost manuscripts likely from Alamire*Owned by Raimund Fugger the Elder*

2	22 Magnificats by Robert Févin, Mouton, Le Brun, La Rue, Divitis, Pipelare, Prioris, Obrecht, Thérache, Compère, and Reingot
3	Salve Regina settings by diverse authors, including Josquin, Noe, Paulus

Owned by Mary of Hungary

3/18	Salve Regina settings by various authors; paper? parchment?; decorated for Frederick the Wise
481/16	9 masses; parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
482/1	9 masses; parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
482/3	8 masses; parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v

a See Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire', for a discussion of all lost manuscripts.

b Manuscript numbering is from Schaal, 'Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger'.

c Manuscript 'numbering' taken from the inventory of Philip's books accompanying Knighton, 'La música en la casa y capilla del príncipe Felipe', as Apéndice 22 (the inventory), 380-94; and from the inventory of Mary's books published in Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-*

TABLE 10.3 Likely lost Scribe B, Alamire, and Post-Alamire manuscripts (*cont.*)

482/4	10 masses; unspecified material; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
482/5	7 masses; parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
482/8	7 masses; parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v

Owned by Philip II^d

2/3	7 masses by La Rue; parchment; decorated
2/4	7 masses by La Rue; paper
2/28	10 masses by La Rue; parchment; decorated
2/32	8 Magnificats by La Rue with some hymns; paper
2/63	parchment; decorated arms of Luxembourg = Charles v
2/66	Salve Reginas and motets by La Rue, Josquin, and others; unspecified material
2/72	Music by La Rue, including eight-voice Credo; unspecified material
2/77	Music by many composers; includes La Rue's <i>Missa Tous les regretz</i> ; unspecified material
2/88	Motets by many composers; includes La Rue's six-voice <i>Salve Jesu</i> ; large book; opens with decorated parchment folio
4/28	Music by La Rue; includes <i>Missa Cum iocunditate</i> ; unspecified material; decorated

Owned by others

	book of polyphony from 1506/1507; parchment; decorated owned by the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp ^e
	7 songbooks, one of parchment in 'maxima forma' owned by Pierre de la Rue ^f

Bas, vol. 7, 476-85. In the former, the first number indicates the section of the inventory and the second number the item within that section. In the latter, the page number in Vander Straeten is followed by the editorial number of items listed on that page.

d See note c.

e Schreurs, 'Petrus Alamire', 23 #4.

f Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 47.

TABLE 10.3 Likely lost Scribe B, Alamire, and Post-Alamire manuscripts (*cont.*)

	songbook owned by the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom ^g
	6 La Rue masses owned by Count Ottheinrich of Neuberg ^h
c. Lost manuscripts likely or possibly from post-Alamire scribes	
<i>Owned by Mary of Hungary</i>	
3/17?	Magnificats; paper; decorated for Mary of Hungary?
3/27?	6 masses; parchment
<i>Owned by Philip II</i>	
2/27?	sacred music of Appenzeller; large folio; parchment
2/70?	music by Lupus and other authors; paper
2/74?	opens with <i>Missa Plus Vultra</i> ; parchment?; decorated
2/86	music of Lupus Hellinck; parchment?; decorated
2/93?	Appenzeller motets; unspecified material
2/100?	music of Appenzeller; 'libro grande'; unspecified material
4/9?	Magnificats; unspecified material
4/25	music of Gombert; parchment?; decorated
4/26?	music of Appenzeller; unspecified material
4/45?	Magnificats; unspecified material
4/46?	hymns; unspecified material

g Wegman, 'Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom', 196.

h Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, 219.

Ludwig Senfl to Munich when he joined the Bavarian chapel choir.⁵³ We know now that this was not the case; Maximilian's supposed 'imperial chapel' books now in Munich in fact originated there.⁵⁴ But of course Maximilian did have his own chapel books, and not just the Alamire ones we know about. Senfl

53 See Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalers* (Wiesbaden, 1968), as well as the preface to Martin Bente et al., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Katalog der Musikhandschriften, Band 1: Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung* (Munich, 1989).

54 Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks'.

himself copied sixteen of them, all now lost.⁵⁵ And two German manuscripts with close associations to Maximilian do survive.

These are MunBS 510 and WolfA A, each a decorated parchment manuscript. The decoration on MunBS 510, a volume of eight masses by such composers as Josquin, Jean Mouton, and Matthaeus Pipelare, is incomplete. A decorated border and miniature of the Annunciation grace the first mass (opening verso), but the border, coat of arms, and miniature on the facing folio are sketched but not filled in. The arms alert us to the presumed recipient, Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, private secretary and adviser to Maximilian, whose rise in the church hierarchy began with his appointment as Provost of Augsburg Cathedral. Maximilian is a distinct possibility as the commissioner of the manuscript, which, however, may never have reached its intended recipient.

In contrast to MunBS 510, WolfA A boasts a truly elaborate decorative scheme, with a full border on the opening of each of its seven masses (by La Rue, Bauldeweyn, Josquin, Pipelare, and Festa) as well as decorated initials, portraits (Bavarian Duke Albrecht IV, his successor Wilhelm IV, Emperor Maximilian, and his successor Charles V), and heraldry (Bavaria and Austria). Figure 10.4 shows the opening for La Rue's *Missa Incensament*. St. George and the dragon (the latter representing the Turks to be vanquished by Wilhelm) appear in the miniature on the upper left; Wilhelm IV on the upper right. Family coats of arms are below the two miniatures, and the elaborate full borders on each page consist of the heraldry of various Bavarian cities over which Wilhelm ruled. The decoration serves as a clear assertion of power and authority; only a wealthy individual could command such an elaborate manuscript, where each image underscores a political or dynastic connection.

Ursula Becker has argued that both MunBS 510 and WolfA A began as a commission from Maximilian, with MunBS 510 intended for the Cardinal and WolfA A meant for Wilhelm in gratitude for the Bavarian Duke's support in planning a campaign against the Turks.⁵⁶ Both manuscripts were evidently copied by the same scribe, with some repertorial overlap and shared readings, and both manuscripts include as well works known through Alamire's manuscripts – thus, a ready connection for the Habsburg Emperor. Becker further

55 According to Senfl's letter of supplication to Ferdinand I, given in Rainer Birkendorf, *Der Codex Pernner: Quellenkundliche Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Sammlung Proske, Ms. C 120), 3 vols., *Collectanea musicologica* 6/1 (Augsburg, 1994), vol. 3, 248.

56 Ursula Becker, 'Zum historischen Hintergrund des Wolfenbütteler Chorbuchs Cod. Guelf. A. Aug. 2°: Beobachtungen zum Buchschmuck', in *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge: Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek* 15 (2009), 179–255.



FIGURE 10.4 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, ms Guelferbytanus A Augusteus 2°, fols. 28v-29r.
USED WITH PERMISSION

suggests that, on Maximilian's death in 1519, Wilhelm undertook the completion of WolfA A. This scenario positions Maximilian as patron and donor of illustrious music manuscripts yet again, but now drawing on German craftsmen rather than Alamire's Franco-Flemish team. As Becker points out, in fact, the manuscript is modelled on Alamire's productions in numerous ways, and possibly preceded Wilhelm's acquisition of his Alamire manuscripts.⁵⁷

Scholars have suggested several less lavish manuscripts as being connected in some way with Maximilian's court. Reinhard Strohm, for example, posits such a connection for TrentBC 1947-4, a gathering of German and French secular pieces,⁵⁸ while Rainer Birkendorf considers both the first part of RegB C120 (mostly motets, with some masses and secular music) as well as the bass partbook VatV 11953 (a mixture of sacred and secular music) to be from Maximilian's court.⁵⁹ Jürgen Heidrich places the origin of JenaU 30, JenaU 31, JenaU 32, JenaU 33, and WeimB A (manuscripts of masses and mass propers) in Munich in 1497-98, when Frederick the Wise, their owner, was at Maximilian's court – thus, another sphere of influence of Maximilian's now-lost manuscripts.⁶⁰

4 Mary of Hungary

The first Habsburg for whom we have good knowledge of her music manuscripts is Mary of Hungary, who took over the governorship of the Low Countries at the request of her brother, Charles V, after the death in December 1530 of the previous governor, their aunt Margaret of Austria.⁶¹ But our knowledge

57 Becker, 'Zum historischen Hintergrund', 229.

58 Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 523.

59 Birkendorf, *Der Codex Perner*, vol. 1, 27, 39, 101-4.

60 Jürgen Heidrich, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen: Ein Beitrag zur mitteldeutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500*, Collection d'études musicologiques / Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 84 (Baden-Baden, 1993).

61 The library of Margaret of Austria was inventoried twice, of which only the inventory of 1523/1524 is complete; see Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: Essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523-1524* (Leuven-Paris, 1995). Music books in that inventory are few in number and include the chansonniers BrusBR 228 and BrusBR 11239 and the famous collection of *basse danses*, BrusBR 9085, as well as manuscript U, a book identified as 'a large book that is called *De Museique*' (Debae, *La Bibliothèque*, 350, Item 213), and a 'Livres de champs' (Debae, *La Bibliothèque*, 434, Item 308). The books actually used in Margaret's chapel do not seem to have been included for the most part, if at all; the heading 'Chapelle' lists two missals and three books of hours, an insufficient supply for the Divine Service.

of Mary's music manuscripts comes much less from what survives than from inventories specifically of her music books.

Five extant manuscripts are traditionally associated with Mary's court: MontsM 765, MontsM 768, MontsM 769, MontsM 771, and MontsM 776. MontsM 765, filled with sacred music of Mary's court composer Benedictus Appenzeller, is an illuminated parchment manuscript. The others are paper; MontsM 769 contains Magnificats, and the others are of masses. MontsM 768 is devoted to masses of Pierre de Manchicourt and possibly came to Mary's court after originating elsewhere.⁶² In 1999 Jacobijn Kiel discovered that one of the scribes used by Alamire also worked on MontsM 765, MontsM 769, MontsM 771, and MontsM 776.⁶³ She hypothesized that we should consider Mary's manuscripts a post-Alamire continuation of the Habsburg-Burgundian scriptorium, noting also that a second scribe in MontsM 765 worked on at least two other manuscripts: CoimU 2 and ToleF 23, the latter a splendidly illustrated parchment manuscript (see Table 10.4).⁶⁴

Fortunately for scholars, Mary's music books are known today not just from surviving manuscripts but also from three inventories. Two were prepared shortly after her death in 1558.⁶⁵ The third inventory is not of Mary's books *per se*; it is part of a much larger inventory of the music collection of Philip II, her nephew, prepared after his death.⁶⁶ Mary moved to Spain not long before her own death, and Philip inherited her collection, which is why some of her books show up in his inventory. One section of Philip's inventory is specifically for 'Libros que fueron de la Reyna Maria', but we know that some of Mary's books appear elsewhere in Philip's inventory; for instance, MontsM 771 appears in the inventory under 'Libros de canto del servicio de la capilla'.⁶⁷ Because Mary's and Philip's inventories differ in their degree of detail, it is not always possible

62 See Glenda Goss Thompson, 'Spanish-Netherlandish Musical Relationships in the Sixteenth-Century: Mary of Hungary's Manuscripts at Montserrat', in *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens / Musique espagnole ancienne* ([ca.] 1450-[ca.] 1650): *Actes du colloque musicologique international Bruxelles, 28-29 X 1985*, ed. Paul Becquart and Henri Vanhulst (Leuven, 1988), 69-113.

63 Jacobijn Kiel, 'Terminus post Alamire? On Some Later Scribes', in *BHCC*, 97-105.

64 Kiel, 'Terminus post Alamire?', 101-3.

65 The first, dated 9 March 1559 in its heading, is published in Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 7, 476-85; its two sections are an inventory dated 12 November 1558 (476-79) and Appendix A, books kept in charge of her chapel master dated 9 June 1559 (479-85). The second inventory is an undated version of all the preceding material (485-93).

66 Philip's inventory is in Tess Knighton, 'La música en la casa y capilla del principe Felipe (1543-1556): Modelos y contextos', in *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), 380-94.

67 MontsM 771 is Item 2/73. Mary's books are Section 3 of the inventory.

TABLE 10.4 Post-Alamire manuscripts

ToleF 23	1530s sacred music; parchment; decorated
CoimU2	1530s? mass music; paper
MontsM 765	before 1540? Appenzeller sacred music; parchment; decorated for Mary of Hungary
MontsM 769	c. 1540 25 Magnificats; paper for Mary of Hungary
MontsM 771	c. 1540 8 masses; paper for Mary of Hungary
MontsM 776	c. 1540 8 masses; paper for Mary of Hungary
MontsM 768?	c. 1547 12 masses by Manchicourt; paper for Mary of Hungary?

to align the entries. But we can still tell a good deal about what was in her music library.

The inventories list nine devotional books: two books of office chants, a sanctorale, one missal, three books of hours, and two psalters, one printed. The remaining ninety-seven volumes (or sets of partbooks) are for polyphony. Only four of these are prints (a set of motet partbooks, a volume of masses and hymns, and two mass collections, one of which was Andrea Antico's famous *Liber quindecim missarum*.⁶⁸ Almost half of the books – forty-eight – are devoted to masses. Another twenty-two volumes mix genres in varying combinations – masses, motets, Magnificats, introits, hymns, psalms, and 'other things'. Motets, including Salves, fill seventeen volumes, Magnificats four. One book is for Lamentations. Five books are not identified in terms of content: one of 'polyphony', a set of six cancioneros, a set of five partbooks for 'passionarios'

68 *Liber quindecim, missarum electa, rum quae per excel, lientissimos musicos, compositae fuerunt* (Rome, 1516) [RISM 1516¹].

(music for Holy Week), an old, large book of music from 'Alimania' (i.e., the Empire), and ten cambric folios with an unidentified song given in black silk and gold.⁶⁹ Most of the books – or at least those whose repertoire was up to date – would have been used by Mary's chapel.

Composers are sometimes identified and include Ockeghem, Agricola (a member of Philip the Fair's chapel), Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, La Rue (lead composer for Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, and Charles v), Josquin, Antoine Brumel (his twelve-voice *Missa Ecce terre*), Antoine de Févin, Mouton, Appenzeller (Mary's master of choirboys and *de facto* court composer), Adrian Willaert, Lupus Hellinck, Nicolas Gombert (master of the choirboys for Charles v), Thomas Crecquillon (singer for Charles v), Jacob Clemens non Papa (singer for one of Charles's advisors), and Manchicourt (chapel master for Philip II). The impressive chronological spread of this repertoire is best accounted for by remembering that Mary inherited books from Margaret of Austria.⁷⁰ In fact, various factors of codicology and repertoire suggest that some of the volumes may have been creations of the Scribe B, Alamire, or post-Alamire scriptorium (see Table 10.3).⁷¹ Several books are described as 'very old'.

Also noteworthy about Mary's collection is that some of the books were clearly not 'hers' to begin with. The Salve collection with the arms of Frederick of Saxony has been noted, and six volumes, all collections of masses, bear the 'arms of Luxembourg' (i.e., Charles v).⁷² Just as we saw with the Alamire manuscripts, ownership of music manuscripts, at least among the Habsburgs, was fluid.

5 Philip II

Given the obvious tendency of the Habsburgs to hang on to their music manuscripts, we are not surprised to find an even more expansive set of music books

69 These call to mind the partbooks InnsSA 5374, not only because of their construction but also because of shared symbols: globe, sceptre, sword, imperial crown. On these partbooks see two essays in Stefan Gasch and Sonja Tröster (eds.), *Senfl-Studien 2*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 7 (Tutzing, 2013): Sonja Tröster, 'Ein gestickter Stimmbuchsatz im Brüssel: Senfl mit Nadel und Faden', 149-87; and Birgit Lodes, '*Translatio panegyricorum*: Eine Begrüßungsmotette Senfls (?) für Kaiser Karl v. (1530)', 189-255.

70 Not all of Margaret's music books accompanied Mary in her retirement; BrusBR 228 is one example of a manuscript ultimately owned by Mary but not transported to Spain.

71 For example, lavishly decorated parchment volumes devoted to La Rue; see Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire'.

72 See Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire' on the arms of Luxembourg as being those of Charles.

in the inventory of Philip's library made after his death in 1598. The inventory lists 234 items, of which fifty-one are already known from Mary's collection. In addition to the portion devoted to Mary's books, the inventory contains lists of 'Libros de offiçio divino y de devoción', 'Libros de canto del serviçio de la capilla', and 'Libros que tiene el maestro de la capilla'. Of this huge collection, only thirteen volumes survive: the five already noted as being from Mary's court, two Alamire manuscripts (MontsM 766 and MontsM 773), one antiphonale (VatC 205), and five collections of sacred music noted below.

The list of service books in Philip's inventory is far more extensive than those for either Mary of Hungary or Margaret of Austria. Thirty are found in the section specifically for service books; of these, four are Mary's missal and her three books of hours. The remaining twenty-six volumes, eighteen of which are prints, include seven breviaries, six missals, three books of office chants, two pontificals, two evangelaries, two books of hours, two vespersals, a ceremonial, and a diurnal. Elsewhere in the inventory are another dozen service books: two printed antiphoners, a breviary, a gradual, a hymnal, three psalters (two printed), vespersals for summer and winter, a printed evangelary, and a book of 'diverse things' that opens with the chant *Cibavit deus*. In terms of service books proper, the high proportion of printed volumes to manuscript copies is noteworthy.

As with Mary's music library, more books are devoted to masses than any other genre, with sixty-eight separate volumes. Twenty-seven other books mix genres: masses with motets, Magnificats with hymns, and so on. Twenty-three volumes are for motets, including *Salve Regina* settings. Five books feature Magnificats, and a mere two items are exclusively secular, both filled with French songs.⁷³ This leaves twenty volumes of miscellaneous works (e.g., a book of four-voice Paschal music) or of unidentified genre (e.g., 'canto').

Overall, manuscripts far outnumber printed sources in the collection, with service books being the exception; here prints predominate (nineteen prints, of which five are plainchant). Many printed volumes cannot be precisely identified, but the ones that can range from 1516 or 1522 to at least 1582.⁷⁴ Printed volumes that identify composers include Brumel, Carpentras, Claudin de Sermisy, Jacques Arcadelt, Francisco Guerrero, Lupus, Jacquet, Cristóbal de Morales, and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

73 Secular music is also found in two mixed collections, one of motets and chansons, and another (copied from prints) of motets and madrigals. The lack of anything in Spanish is striking.

74 One print in the inventory is either RISM 1516¹, or the 1522 Guinta reprint (Rome, 1522) [RISM 1522¹].

The manuscripts – the bulk of the collection, including choirbooks, part-books, and separate fascicles – suggest an even wider chronological spread. As we would expect, composers of Philip's time are well represented. Compositions by four of Philip's chapel masters are included in the inventory: Pierre de Manchicourt, Jean de Bonmarché, Geert van Turnhout, and George de la Hèle. Music by Charles de Chastelain, whom Philip tried unsuccessfully to recruit as chapel master, is also present. Included as well are pieces by contemporaries Guerrero and Rodrigo de Ceballos. Five manuscripts still extant are listed in the inventory: MontsM 767 (masses by Morales, Clemens, Guerrero, Palestrina); MadN 2431 (masses by Clemens and Morales); MontsM 772 (Manchicourt masses); and MontsM 774 and 775 (motets and antiphons by Fernando de las Infantas). As with earlier Habsburgs, Philip's court had its own copyist.⁷⁵

Also present in considerable number are composers from the generation of Philip's father, Charles v – hardly surprising given that Philip was his father's heir. Four and possibly five of them were members of Charles's chapel: Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon, Adrian Picart, and Cornelius Canis are firmly documented in Charles's chapel, and the 'Juan Petit' named in the inventory might be identical with the Petit Jean in Charles's service. Appenzeller, court composer for Charles's sister Mary of Hungary, is especially well-represented. Others from Charles's generation include Philippe Verdelot, Pedro de Pastrana, Sermisy, Lupus Hellinck, Morales, Bartolomé de Escobedo, Jacob Clemens non Papa, and Loyset Piéton; the mix of northern and Spanish composers for both Charles and Philip is notable. Possibly some of these manuscripts originated in the post-Alamire scriptorium (see Table 10.3).

More unexpected, perhaps, is the continued presence of composers from a still earlier generation – all of whom, in fact, were copied at one point into manuscripts from the Alamire or Scribe B scriptoria. These include most prominently La Rue (who worked for Maximilian, Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, and Charles v) but also Hottinet Barra, Nicolas Craen, Anthonius Divitis (who worked for Philip the Fair), Mathieu Gascongne, Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Heinrich Isaac (who worked for Maximilian), Josquin, Jean Lebrun, Lupus, Jean Mouton, Jean Richafort (employed in Mechelen, site of Margaret of Austria's court), and Jheronimus Vinders. For many reasons, it is likely that some of the manuscripts in Philip's collection that contain the music of these

75 Noted in Luis Robledo Estaire, 'The Form and Function of the Music Chapel at the Court of Philip II', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 137, 138, 141.

composers in fact originated in Alamire's scriptorium (see Table 10.3).⁷⁶ Certainly Philip held on to at least two Alamire collections: MontsM 766 (a collection of mass music likely owned by Charles) and MontsM 773 (nine La Rue masses, probably originally owned by Margaret). And we know of far older music that made it into Philip's possession: the fifteenth-century chansonnier EscSL IV.a.24, willed to Philip in 1575.⁷⁷ Throughout the sixteenth century, then, the Habsburg-Burgundian line appears to have continually increased their musical holdings by virtue of adding to rather than culling already existing collections. The dramatic shifts in musical taste occurring around the time of Philip's death, however, generated a massive de-accessioning that modern-day scholars, at least, continue to rue.

6 Other Habsburgs

Our knowledge of other Habsburg rulers' manuscripts varies. Not much is known about the library of Ferdinand I, Charles V's brother and successor as Holy Roman Emperor. The Alamire motet partbook collection VatP 1976-79 has already been noted, and Ferdinand possessed at least some of his grandfather Maximilian's books, including the Alamire choirbooks VienNB Mus. 15495, VienNB Mus. 15496, and VienNB Mus. 15497.⁷⁸ These were used or at least perused; the last of those manuscripts, for example, includes the signature of Ferdinand's organist under one of the miniatures. Ferdinand's library went to his son Ferdinand II, Archduke of Tyrol, with most of the books eventually coming into the possession of Emperor Leopold I.⁷⁹

Thanks to the work of Lilian Pruett, we know far more about the music manuscripts of Ferdinand's successor as Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian II.⁸⁰ Investigation of scribal hands, watermarks, contemporary paper use, and repertoire enabled Pruett to identify a series of manuscripts, previously thought to have originated under Rudolph II, as coming instead from the court of Maximilian II. The common elements connect manuscripts VienNB Mus. 15946, VienNB Mus. 15948, and VienNB Mus. 16194 with BrusC 27086 and BrusC 27089. Among them they present twenty masses by Maximilian II's

76 See Meconi, 'The Unknown Alamire'.

77 *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 1, 212.

78 Jas, 'Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 15495', 153.

79 Jas, 'Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 15495', 153.

80 Lilian P. Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts in Brussels, Berlin, and Vienna: Physical Evidence as a Tool for Historic Reconstruction', in *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 50 (1996), 73-92.

court composer Philippe de Monte. The composer, writing in 1574, noted that he had composed twenty masses since 1568, the year he entered Maximilian's employment; this confluence of factors seems unlikely to be coincidental.⁸¹ Shared paper, scribes, and a common repertoire of masses and sacred works associated with the Emperor or his relatives are found as well in BerlS 40025, VienNB Mus. 15950, VienNB Mus. 15951, VienNB Mus. 16693, and PragNM AZ 33. A different repertoire, but the same paper and scribes, is found in VienNB Mus. 16197, PragU XVII A 32, and PragU XVII A 39. Archival records indicate not only a rapid turnover in paper purchase (and thus use) but also a marked concern for a quality writing support, with regular instructions to buy the 'very best and whitest' of papers for large format books, exactly what would be needed for choirbook production.⁸² At least three of the manuscripts likely originated as individual fascicles that were bound together only much later: VienNB Mus. 15948, BrusC 27086 and BerlS 40025.⁸³ The last collection displays a scribal practice seen earlier in Alamire's scriptorium: Individual pieces were frequently begun by one scribe and then handed off to an 'assistant' for completion.⁸⁴

Successor to Maximilian II, Emperor Rudolph II employed a series of at least five music scribes for his court, at least one of whom also worked for Maximilian II.⁸⁵ Little of their work appears to remain, however, and as noted above, manuscripts previously connected with Rudolph now seem to have originated with Maximilian. One manuscript still associated with Rudolph is VienNB 11772.⁸⁶ This collection of nine lamentations by Christian Hollander

81 Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts', 91.

82 Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts', 81.

83 Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts', 78.

84 Pruett, 'Sixteenth-Century Manuscripts', 79.

85 Carmelo Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576-1612)*, Musicology Series 4 (New York, 1987), 148-52. See also the series of articles 'Musik am Prager Hof Rudolfs II', in *Die Tonkunst* 3 (2012) as well as the work of the Musica Rudolphina research group (<http://www.bibemus.org/musicarudolphina/index_en.html>; accessed 27 June 2020).

86 Two other manuscripts from Rudolph's court – large choirbooks from the *Nachlaß* of court musician and chapel director Jacob Chimarraeus – are now conserved as ColnAEK 555 and ColnAEK 556; see Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, 'Jacob Chimarraeus: Ein Kölner Musiker am Habsburger Hof Rudolfs II. in Prag', in *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn*, ed. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Helmut Loos (Bonn, 1994), 359-74, and Klaus Pietschmann, 'Musikalische Institutionalisierung im Köln des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Das Beispiel der Hardenrath-Kapelle', in *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Kongressbericht Köln 2005*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 172 (Kassel, 2008), 233-57. A dissertation by Laura Hafner on these manuscripts is in progress. I am grateful to Klaus Pietschmann for kindly supplying the shelf numbers for these collections.

was copied by a singer in the chapel of the Elector of Saxony but was given to Rudolph (the opening folio contains a dedicatory poem).⁸⁷ The manuscript demonstrates the continued practice of using manuscripts as gifts.

A different type of dedication is found in a manuscript with various pieces connected to Emperor Matthias. The collection VienNB 9814 contains a series of works connected with several Habsburg rulers: Charles v, Archduke Maximilian III of Tyrol, and Matthias.⁸⁸ The collection is not a bound manuscript; rather, as discussed above, it is a series of small fascicles or individual folios containing separate performance parts. Four polychoral motets in the manuscript, each presented as a series of performing parts, are dedicated to Matthias.⁸⁹ Three works are by Matthias's organist, Thomas Bodenstein: one for Christmas, one for Matthias's sixtieth birthday, and one as an unspecified musical gift. A fourth motet (a rather spectacular twenty-three-voice extravaganza in four choirs) is also indicated as intended for sixtieth-birthday celebrations. This last work, though, was copied rather than created for the occasion, since the composer was Alexander Utendal, who died in 1581. Utendal had worked for both Mary of Hungary and Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, so this manuscript copy is another example of the Habsburg trait of passing down music across generations.

Manuscripts remained of great importance for Emperor Ferdinand II.⁹⁰ Archival records and inventories indicate that a great deal of manuscript music has been lost, but a considerable amount remains. When Ferdinand moved to Vienna from Graz upon assuming the imperial crown, he brought with him seven sets of choirbooks, leaving others behind. Venetian or Venetian-influenced music figures prominently in many of the volumes. One volume (VienNB Mus. 16703) includes musical 'souvenirs' (eight-voice motets) of Ferdinand's journey to Italy in 1598 (music by both Gabrieli, Croce, etc.) as well as motets by his Graz composers.⁹¹ Two other volumes from Graz are devoted to motets, organized by the liturgical year: VienNB Mus. 16704 and VienNB Mus. 16705; Palestrina and Lasso are important figures therein. VienNB Mus. 16708 contains music for Compline (four to eight voices) and polychoral music for Vespers (twelve to thirty-three voices), while VienNB Mus. 19427 provides music for the Offices during Holy Week, most of it written in *stile antico*. The last two

87 *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 4, 91.

88 Meconi, 'Plus outre', 23-28.

89 Meconi, 'Plus outre', 26-28.

90 The discussion below is based on Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995).

91 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 7, 39.

of the seven Graz collections are VienNB Mus. 16702 and VienNB Mus. 16707, each filled with polychoral music.⁹² The former consists of four volumes, one for each choir of performers. Steven Saunders has shown that the texting practice of these volumes exactly matches what we know of contemporary performance practice and vocal/instrumental distribution.⁹³ In the volume for the main choir, all voices have text; in the other volumes, only one voice has full text. By contrast, printed versions of music by court composers can blur that significant distinction among choirs by providing text for all parts.⁹⁴ Manuscripts of court music can likewise provide specific information about instrumentation that is missing in printed copies.⁹⁵

New manuscripts continued to be copied long after Ferdinand II arrived in Vienna. Some of the music was new, of course, such as compositions by court musician Giovanni Valentini (1582/83-1649). But old music continued to be used alongside the new.⁹⁶ Manuscripts VienNB Mus. 16202, VienNB Mus. 16203, VienNB Mus. 16204, VienNB Mus. 16207, VienNB Mus. 16692, and VienNB Mus. 19424 all contain *stile antico* repertoire (e.g., Palestrina, Lasso, and so on) for solemn feasts (Holy Week, Requiem and Rorate masses) or liturgical action (processions, blessing of candles or holy water). The *stile antico* Holy Week music of VienNB Mus. 19427 was recopied in 1630 with a few additions.⁹⁷ And in at least one case old music was transferred from print to manuscript. VienNB Mus. 16709 was copied from the reissue of Palestrina's 1589 hymn print, leaving out a few works foreign to the court liturgy and substituting other pieces instead.⁹⁸ Saunders puts it succinctly: 'music from choirbooks now decades old formed part of a canon – an enduring legacy that influenced new compositions.'⁹⁹

By the time we get to Ferdinand III and his successor Leopold I, music circulates in manuscripts not only in choirbook format and as performing parts, but now also in score.¹⁰⁰ While prints were now the default format for political

92 Inventories for VienNB Mus. 16702, VienNB Mus. 16703, VienNB Mus. 16707, and VienNB Mus. 16708 are in Anthony F. Carver, *Cori spezzati*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1988), vol. 1, 251-53.

93 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 49, 72.

94 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 28.

95 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 28.

96 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 40.

97 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 57. The recopied manuscript is VienNB Mus. 16426.

98 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 52.

99 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 57.

100 A synopsis of sacred sources for the court of Ferdinand III is in Andrew H. Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage: Motets at the Habsburg Court in Vienna during the Reign of Ferdinand III (1637-1657)' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002), 119-26.

messages the Emperor wished to disseminate through musical means,¹⁰¹ manuscripts continued to serve other purposes. They continued to be used for performance of the liturgy, especially for older works. VienNB Mus. 16202 and VienNB Mus. 16207, for example, are 'large manuscript choirbooks ... recopied during Ferdinand III's reign ... show[ing] signs of much use'.¹⁰² VienNB Mus. 15943, copied by Ferdinand's music scribe Georg Moser, is one of several 'well-used manuscripts of Holy Week music copied at court during the seventeenth century'.¹⁰³ In 1637 Moser gave Ferdinand a choirbook of Victoria's hymns altered to match the revised Breviary.¹⁰⁴ He recopied these in 1643-44 and then turned to Palestrina. That composer's hymns had been reprinted in 1644; Moser copied them into manuscript, again making changes to match the revised Breviary and using only the first and last verses.¹⁰⁵ The practice of making manuscript copies from prints goes back to the days of Petrucci, and Moser's copies demonstrate how manuscript copies could render printed music more suitable for local use.

Manuscripts were also used for the emperors' own compositions. VienNB Mus. 18831 includes Leopold's youthful compositions, created when he was fifteen and sixteen.¹⁰⁶ Ferdinand III's compositions exist in both autograph copies and in manuscripts made by others.¹⁰⁷ They range in appearance from a sloppy autograph score (LüneR 28)¹⁰⁸ to an expansive presentation manuscript in choirbook format prepared by court scribe Moser (VienNB 11774).¹⁰⁹

Other attractive manuscripts have survived as well. The important keyboard composer Johann Jakob Froberger, who was employed in Ferdinand III's household for some years, prepared a series of elegantly copied keyboard collections; four were dedicated to Ferdinand (only Books 2 and 4 survive) and

101 See Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012).

102 Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 203.

103 Andrew H. Weaver (ed.), *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III and Other Musicians from the Habsburg Court, 1637-1657*, Collegium Musicum: Yale University, Second Series 18 (Middleton, WI, 2012), xiii, xxii.

104 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 52. The manuscript is VienNB Mus. 15507. Ferdinand III had far older music in his library; the purchase in 1655 of the 15,000 volumes owned by Philipp Eduard Fugger meant that numerous music manuscripts dating back to Alamire (e.g., VienNB 4809, VienNB 4810, VienNB 11778, and so on) were now in Ferdinand's possession.

105 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 52-53.

106 Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*, xxiii, n. 64.

107 For full information see Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*.

108 See Plate 3 in Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*.

109 See Plate 2 in Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*.

one to Leopold.¹¹⁰ Ferdinand's fourth book is especially noteworthy, with two of the six keyboard suites given thematically appropriate decoration. Each dance of the fifth suite, for instance, is prefaced with an imperial symbol: eagle, orb, sword, and sceptre. The final suite is a memorial for Ferdinand IV and includes symbols of mourning such as a laurel wreath and an hourglass, as well as a graphic representation of Ferdinand's ascent to heaven at the end of the first movement, famously represented musically with an ascending scale.

A presentation manuscript for Leopold and his third wife, Empress Eleonora Magdalena, is VienNB Mus. 19248, created in 1677 by Leopold's court organist, Alessandro Poglietti.¹¹¹ Commonly known as the 'Rossignolo' (nightingale) manuscript, the keyboard collection includes an extended suite, a set of variations, and several bird-themed compositions. The collection opens with an elaborate title page and dedication page, each of which includes a perpetual melody notated in circular form as well as various elements (e.g., imperial double eagle, dedicatory poem) linking the manuscript to its recipients (see Figure 10.5 for the dedication page). Poglietti was clearly following Froberger's lead, and the following decade another composer, Franz Matthias Techelmann, continued this practice by dedicating his own keyboard manuscript to Leopold.¹¹²

Collections such as these were obviously preserved both because of their inherent attractiveness and because they overtly honoured the Emperor. Less fortunate were manuscripts that did not meet those criteria in an obvious manner. The musical inventory from Leopold's court, the *Distinta specificazione* (VienNB Sup. Mus. 2451), lists for example music by court composers Antonio Bertali (599 compositions) and Giovanni Felice Sances (920 works), most of which have been lost.¹¹³ And as we have seen, this loss of manuscript music holds true for all the Habsburgs – indeed, for any music collection in early modern Europe.

Losses notwithstanding, surviving manuscripts and knowledge of lost manuscripts through surviving inventories clearly demonstrate the continued

110 For facsimile editions of those that survive, see Robert Hill (ed.), *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hss. 16560, 18706, and 18707 (Froberger Autographs)*, 3 vols., 17th-Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque 3 (New York-London, 1988). VienNB Mus. 18706 (Book 2) and VienNB Mus. 18707 (Book 4) were for Ferdinand III; VienNB Mus. 16560 was for Leopold I.

111 A facsimile edition is C. David Harris (ed.), *Alessandro Poglietti, the 'Rossignolo' Autograph: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 19248, 17th-Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque 6* (New York-London, 1987).

112 Harris, *Alessandro Poglietti, the 'Rossignolo' Autograph*, v, viii. The manuscript is VienNB Mus. 19167.

113 Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*, xv, xvii, xxiii.

Latus ad Occasum nunquam reditur, ad ortū,
Vivo hodie, moriar cras heri nat, eram.

HOROLOGIVM

Musicales.

Omnia cum pereant, est Virtus sola perennis :
Hæc immortales reddere sola potest .

FIGURE 10.5 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 19248, fol. 2r.

USED WITH PERMISSION

reliance on manuscript copies for composition, for performance, for archival purposes, and sometimes even for presentation for Habsburg rulers before 1700. In the two centuries after Petrucci's game-changing innovation, print surpassed manuscript in many realms of music transmission, but the newer technology never rendered the older one obsolete.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Steven Saunders and Sara Pecknold for assistance with the preparation of this essay.

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Print Culture: Printed Music and Other Media in the Service of the Habsburgs

Andrew H. Weaver

It is a historical truism that the printing press revolutionized almost every aspect of life in Western Europe during the Renaissance.¹ This was just as true for the ruling class as it was for other levels of society, for rulers were well served by the easy replication of texts and images made possible by such innovations as movable type, woodblocks, engravings, and etchings. The printing press, for instance, facilitated the efficient, widespread dissemination of edicts, treatises, images of the ruler, and other instruments of government. As with all truisms, however, this one can easily be taken too far. Prints did not entirely eclipse or replace the original media (manuscripts, paintings, etc.) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in fact, in many ways, prints aspired to rise to the condition of those media. In many circumstances, prints were considered the inferior product,² and great pains were often taken by rulers to eschew the use of them. This was very much the case for music, and manuscript copies of the music of princely chapels continued to be used in the seventeenth century and beyond. This was just as true for the Habsburgs as for other rulers (see Chapter 10); nevertheless, the Habsburgs recognized the potential power of printed music, and they often put music prints, as well as other printed media, to use as potent political weapons.

The first Habsburg ruler to fully take advantage of the benefits of the printing press was Emperor Maximilian I. In the early years of the sixteenth century, Maximilian embarked on an ambitious programme of illustrated books and monumental woodcuts, closely supervising their creation.³ The book projects include a prayer book with planned woodcut marginalia (two other devotional

1 Foundational studies include Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979) and Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).

2 On this point in regards to visual media, see Charles Talbot, 'Prints and the Definitive Image', in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, ed. Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (London-Toronto, 1986), 189-207.

3 A detailed and definitive study of these works is Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton-Oxford, 2008). Maximilian's close involvement

texts were planned but never materialized),⁴ two genealogies (one with ninety-two planned woodcut illustrations, the other with a projected 123), and three German biographies, titled *Freydal* (with 255 planned illustrations), *Theuerdank* (with 118 illustrations), and *Weißkunig* (with 251 illustrations).⁵ The illustrated projects were two large composite woodcuts: the *Ehrenpforte*, a triumphal arch made up of 192 separate woodblocks on forty-nine sheets which displayed (among other things) the Habsburg family tree and events from Maximilian's reign,⁶ and the well-known *Triumphzug*, a graphic illustration of Maximilian's court processing in triumphal chariots, which comprises 137 prints (see Figures 2.2 and 9.1 for two examples) plus a separate great triumphal chariot made up of eight sheets. Also from the Emperor's reign stemmed the creation of portrait woodcuts featuring the most cutting-edge and expensive printing techniques, including the use of multiple colours and gold.⁷

As was typical for Maximilian, his ambitions did not see full fruition during his lifetime; many of his print projects were left unfinished upon his untimely death in January 1519. Only three were actually completed while Maximilian was alive: the triumphal arch (finished c. 1518), *Theuerdank* (printed on parchment in 1517), and the prayer book (printed in 1513 in two issues, one on parchment and one on paper, but without the marginalia; the only existing marginalia are drawings in Maximilian's personal copy).⁸ The great triumphal chariot was printed in 1522, while the rest of the *Triumphzug* appeared only in 1526 (minus many of the planned components). None of the other works was completed.

Despite the fact that Maximilian was unable to see many of his projects through to completion, he nevertheless set an important precedent for Habsburg rulers' use of print. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburgs shepherded into print a wide range of laudatory works, many following the example of the genres created by Maximilian, to boost their power and prestige among their subjects, allies, and rivals. These include textual

in the creation of the works is discussed on p. 2 (and *passim*). See also the full list of the works on pp. 37–40.

4 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 121.

5 A manuscript Latin autobiography was also prepared, with 46 drawing illustrations, but Maximilian chose not to publish it, focusing instead on the German biographies (Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 1–4).

6 When assembled, the *Ehrenpforte* measures approximately four by three metres.

7 Elisabeth Giselbrecht and L. Elizabeth Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music: Decoding the Elaborate Printing Techniques, Purpose, and Patronage of the *Liber Selectarum Cationum*', in *Senft-Studien 1*, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 4 (Tutzing, 2012), 38–39.

8 For details on the prayerbook, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 120–25.

works such as histories of the Habsburg dynasty, biographies of specific members of the family, accounts of recent events, devotional works, sermons, and historical accounts of the celebrated *Pietas Austriaca*.⁹ These centuries also saw the proliferation of printed visual representations of the Habsburgs, which appeared in frontispieces, broadsides, thesis title pages, individually prepared prints, and the like.¹⁰ A number of works of this type, both textual and visual, that provide insights into musical activity at the Habsburg courts are surveyed in the first part of this chapter.

Of course, another important element of Habsburg print culture was printed music. Although much of the music by Habsburg court composers was preserved only in manuscript, important music prints can nevertheless be connected to the Habsburg courts. These sources, which are discussed in the second part of this chapter, are not only important as repositories of the repertoire of the court chapels, but they are also valuable cultural artefacts in their own right, often providing insights into aspects of court politics and culture. Maximilian I himself seems to have included a luxurious music print in his ambitious print programme, and some of the most important anthologies and single-author prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be either directly or indirectly connected to the Habsburg courts.

1 Music in Printed Texts and Images

An important use to which many early modern rulers put the printing press was the promulgation of official descriptions of major political events. The Habsburgs were no exception to this, and many detailed accounts of coronations, official liturgies, and other ceremonial occasions issued from the press during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Music is almost always mentioned in these reports, though often in a way that is more useful as a gauge of how the Habsburgs hoped the event was perceived by observers than as documentation of the specific performers and compositions; that is, the authors place more emphasis on the existence of the music and the wondrous effect it had on listeners than on recounting such details as how many performers were

9 A still valuable overview of printed historical works sponsored by the Habsburgs is Anna Coreth, *Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung in der Barockzeit (1620-1740)* (Vienna, 1950). Accounts of the *Pietas Austriaca* are discussed in Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, 2004).

10 An overview of printed portraits, focusing on the decorative illustrated frames included in the image, is Elisabeth von Hagenow, *Bildniskommentare: Allegorisch gerahmte Herrscherbildnisse in der Graphik des Barock: Entstehung und Bedeutung* (Hildesheim, 1999).

present, which instruments were heard (with the exception of trumpets, which are usually specifically mentioned), and which works by which composers were performed.

By mentioning music, however, such reports nevertheless reinforce the importance that many Habsburg rulers put on the role of music in official court events, and some reports do in fact provide tantalizing details that help fill in gaps in the documentary record. For example, a report of Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans in December 1636, which was issued by the court printer Gregor Gelbhaar in a multi-volume set that also includes descriptions of Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans, the ballet produced by the court to honour his coronation, and his wife's coronation as Queen of the Romans, not only mentions some of the specific liturgical texts sung by the choir but also specifies that the mass, motets, and *Te Deum* were newly composed by the imperial chapel master Giovanni Valentini (1582/83-1649).¹¹ The same report later mentions that during the banquet that followed the ceremony, the musicians performed 'beautiful concertos and symphonies', most of which were also newly written by Valentini.¹² Although a small detail, the explicit mention of both 'concertos' and 'symphonies' implies that the music was both for voices and instruments (concertos) and for instruments alone (symphonies).

Other types of reports do serve as valuable documentary records. When the Emperor travelled to other cities for political events (such as diets), for example, it was not unusual for detailed, itemized lists of the Emperor's entourage to be published.¹³ Such lists served many purposes, from the practical (helping the host city figure out how to lodge the members of the court) to the boastful (demonstrating in print just how extensive and powerful the Emperor's court is); that this latter point mattered is attested by the fact that other printed materials often serve no purpose but to boast the size of the entourage, such as

11 *Le quattro relationi Seguite in Ratisbona nelli tempi sotto notati. Prima dell' Elettione del Rè de Romani à 22. Decembre 1636 in Persona di S. M. Ferdinando III. Re d'Vngaria e Boemia. Seconda della Incoronatione dell'istessa Maestà li 30. Decembre 1636. Terza del Balletto fatto nella Casa del Consiglio di detta Città li 4. Gennaro 1637. Quarta della Incoronatione della Regina de Romani à 7. detto* (Vienna, 1637), sig. Cv.

12 'Tutto il tempo che durò il Conuuto, i musici Casarei fecero lor belli concerti, e simfonie [sic], massime alcuni novamente composti dal Sig. Gio: Valentini' (*Le quattro relationi*, sig. Dr).

13 Examples include Nicolaus Mameranus, *Catalogus familiae totius aulae Caesareae ...* (Cologne, 1550), a record of the entourage attending the 1547-48 diet in Augsburg, which lists singers on p. 12 and trumpeters and instrumentalists on pp. 31-32, and *Der Röm. Kayserl. Mayest. Ferdinandi III. Wie auch Der Röm. Königl. Mayest. Ferdinandi IV. Hoff-Stat: Wie sich derselbe in Jahren 1653. und 1654. uff dem Reichstag zu Regensburg eingefunden* (Frankfurt, 1654), which lists forty-three musicians and eleven trumpeters on pp. 12-14.

engraved images of the parade of carriages as they entered the city. For us today, such itemized lists are valuable records of the members of the imperial musical establishment.

Another important printed textual source that provides valuable information about musical activities at the court are the librettos of court operas and ballets. Especially prior to Leopold I's reign, these librettos are often the only surviving sources for court operas, making them especially valuable documents of musical life at the court. Even when separate published descriptions of the event are available (such as the one mentioned above of the ballet performed for Ferdinand III's coronation),¹⁴ the libretto helps flesh out that description, and we can often use the poetry to make inferences about the style of the music (recitative or aria, for instance). Many librettos also include staging details, such as lists of scene changes, stage machinery, and prose descriptions of the décor of the hall and seating arrangements. The inclusion of such details indicates that the commemorative function of the libretto was just as (if not more) important than the practical function of helping audience members follow along with the text during the performance. Indeed, there is evidence that Leopold I often sent librettos to other courts after the event, to ensure that people throughout Europe were aware of the grand musical-theatrical events that took place at his court.¹⁵

The commemorative function of the libretto could be heightened by the inclusion of printed illustrations of scenes from the opera, and indeed, such images were another important means by which the Habsburgs could showcase via print the grandeur of musical life at their courts. Sometimes these images were bound into the libretto or printed score (such as Figure 16.1, an example from a Roman opera), though they could also be issued as free-standing broadsheets (such as Figure 7.1). The court also frequently issued engraved images of religious services and political events such as coronations; while these on the surface are less valuable from a musical perspective, musicians are nevertheless often visible in the image, thus providing information on the size and placement of the choir during services. A woodcut from c. 1515-18 by Hans Weiditz the Younger (Figure 2.3), for instance, shows Maximilian I attending Mass, with the court musicians prominently featured: in the right foreground the imperial chapel can be seen singing from a choirbook, while across from them court organist Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537) plays the organ. An

14 A useful compendium of reports of opera performances at the imperial court, with selected quotes, is available in Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tutzing, 1985), 587-900.

15 Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 21.

engraving from over a hundred years later (Figure 13.1) pictures an immense choir of singers and instrumentalists positioned atop the choir screen during the coronation of Ferdinand II's second wife Eleonora Gonzaga as Empress in 1630. Even more details are apparent in a broadsheet illustrating various scenes from Ferdinand II's coronation as King of the Romans in 1636 (Figure 11.1). In addition to the central scene of the coronation itself, in which musicians are visible in the same location as during Elenora's coronation, the outer images include several scenes in which musicians participate in the action: Singers and instrumentalists (including a large number of trumpeters) can be seen performing in the foreground of the middle image on the left, as Ferdinand's coronation is publicly proclaimed (from written descriptions we can infer that they are performing the *Te Deum*), and trumpeters are also prominently pictured accompanying processions in the two images on the lower right. Pictures of other non-liturgical events featuring musicians also made their way into print; examples include the 1560 banquet illustrated in Figure 4.2 and a broadsheet illustrating Emperor Rudolph II's triumphal entry into Wrocław (Breslau) in 1577, with a depiction of a wind band upon the triumphal arch (see Figure 11.2).¹⁶

2 Music Prints Connected to the Habsburg Courts

As valuable as such sources are for illuminating Habsburg musical culture, just as significant are the music prints that contain works composed for and/or performed at the various Habsburg courts. These sources cannot, however, be simply taken at face value as reflective of Habsburg court culture, given both the nature of printed music and the vast amount of information that we do not have about the production and dissemination of early modern music prints. Despite the avid interest that scholars have taken since the 1980s in music printing and publishing,¹⁷ there are still too many essential primary sources

¹⁶ The broadsheet is discussed in Robert Lindell, 'Music and Patronage at the Court of Rudolf II', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1994), 259-60. See also the valuable collection of printed images collected in the final 37 pages of Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*.

¹⁷ It is important when considering early modern prints to recognize the distinction between printers and publishers. The printer physically created the book, while the publisher financed the book and took charge of its dissemination. These roles could be combined in the same person, but very often the printer was commissioned by the publisher and therefore was only interested in the project insofar as he collected a fee from the publisher. The publisher could also be a bookseller, but that was not always the case. In addition, there was sometimes a separate editor, who did the actual compiling

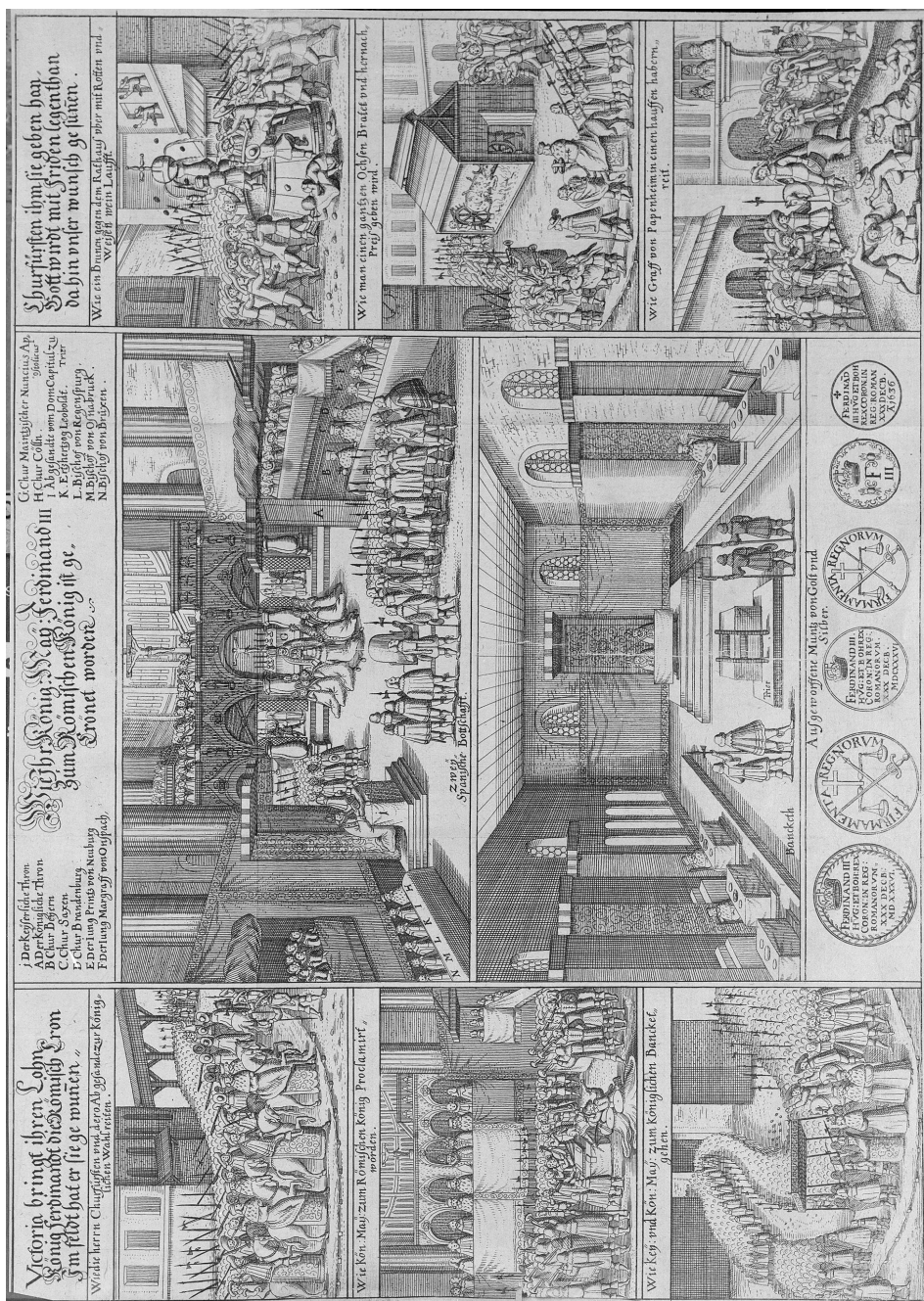


FIGURE 11.1 Scenes from Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans, engraving by Lucas Schnitzer, 1636-37
VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, BILDARCHIV, 238-572-B, USED WITH PERMISSION



FIGURE 11.2 Triumphal arch for Rudolph II's arrival into Wrocław (Breslau) on 24 May 1577, with a wind band performing on the upper level, engraving by Johann Twenger, 1577
 NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, HB 325,
 © GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, FOTO: GEORG JANSEN, USED WITH PERMISSION

missing for us to make broad generalizations about the music trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸ We instead have to focus on individual case studies, extrapolating outwards from the isolated information we can glean from the few surviving contracts, account books, printers' and booksellers' inventories, letters, and other primary sources related to music printing and selling (including the prints themselves).¹⁹

It is thus usually impossible for us to definitively ascertain whether the Habsburgs were directly involved in the creation of a given print, even when it contains works by Habsburg musicians or bears a dedication to a Habsburg ruler. The initiative and financing of an anthology or single-author print could come from any number of sources, including the printer, an editor,²⁰ the composer (as is common with single-author prints), or even a silent partner not

and proofreading of the volume. Any of these roles could be combined, making it often difficult to ascertain the specific roles of the individuals involved in the making of a book. A good, clear discussion of these various roles is in Royston Gustavson, 'Competitive Strategy Dynamics in the German Music Publishing Industry 1530-1550', in *Niveau-NischeNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, ed. Birgit Lodes, Wiener Forum für älterer Musikgeschichte 3 (Tutzing, 2010), 185-210, esp. 186-88.

18 One attempt at a broad overview is Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY, 2003). Although dated (the book was published posthumously after the author's death in 1994), it is nevertheless a helpful review of the scholarship to the early 1990s.

19 Indeed, most studies of music printing focus on a single geographic locale or even on an individual printer. Important examples, most of which do not concern the Habsburgs but are nevertheless crucial for our general understanding of early modern music printing, are Jane Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Oxford, 2001); Jane Bernstein, 'Publish or Perish? Palestrina and Print Culture in 16th-Century Italy', in *Early Music* 35 (2007), 225-35; Tim Carter, 'Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni', in *Early Music History* 9 (1989), 27-72, reprinted in Tim Carter, *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot, 2000); Tim Carter, 'Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi', in *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), 483-504, reprinted in Carter, *Music, Patronage and Printing*; Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, 1981); Gustavson, 'Competitive Strategy Dynamics'; Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-40', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005), 1-37; and Kate Van Orden, 'Tielman Susato, Music, and the Cultures of Print', in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, ed. Keith Polk, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series 5 (Hillsdale, NY, 2005), 143-63.

20 On the role of editors in the creation and dissemination of music prints, see especially Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, 2007), and Giulio M. Ongaro, 'Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor', in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne, 1994), 43-69.

named in the print. The dedication can also have a multiplicity of meanings; while on one hand it may indicate that the dedicatee commissioned and/or financed the print, on the other hand, the dedication could have been written 'on spec', merely in the hopes that the dedicatee would offer funds to cover the printing costs or otherwise support the composer or printer.²¹ Even when we have solid evidence of the Habsburgs' support for printers, such as our knowledge that in 1584 Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol purchased music fonts for the printer Johann Baur,²² we still often cannot know to what extent the Habsburgs were involved in the creation of specific prints. Since most prints were destined for broad dissemination through the commercial mass market, moreover, even if we can be sure that the Habsburgs commissioned and/or financed a print, it is very possible that changes were made to the music to help make it more marketable (removing technical difficulties, changing the number of voices, altering texts, etc.). As such, the following sections do not attempt to survey the entire body of prints dedicated to Habsburgs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; rather, I highlight instead especially notable examples of prints that can be definitively connected to the Habsburgs and/or that reveal significant aspects of Habsburg musical culture. As we shall see, the Habsburgs' cultivation of printed music took many forms, resulted from a variety of motivations, and involved a wide range of figures both inside the court and out; an overriding theme across all these examples, however, is the function of printed music as an expression of the Habsburgs' power and prestige.

2.1 *Anthologies*

The first printed anthology that can be unambiguously connected to the Habsburg court is also the most impressive music print of the sixteenth century and, for that matter, one of the most luxurious examples of printed music in the entire history of Western music: the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, printed in Augsburg by the firm Grimm and Wirsung in 1520 [RISM 1520⁴]. Long hailed as the first motet collection printed in northern Europe and as an important repository of Josquin's music (playing an important role in the so-called 'German Josquin Renaissance'), this monumental folio choirbook measures 44.5 × 28.5 cm, contains 274 pages, and presents twenty-four Latin motets for four, five,

21 On dedications, see especially Nele Gabriëls, 'Reading (between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us', in 'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?': *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al., *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* 23 (Leuven, 2008), 65–80, as well as the other essays in that book.

22 Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck, 1954), 173.

and six voices, six of which are unica.²³ Often compared to Andrea Antico's famous *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome, 1516 [RISM 1516¹]), which is of comparable size and also in choirbook format, the *Liber selectarum cantionum* nevertheless differs from Antico's mass book in that whereas the earlier print was created entirely from woodblocks, the later print employed movable type, using the multiple-impression method and an impressive large musical font that does not seem to have been used for any other music prints. The *Liber selectarum cantionum* also features impressive woodcut decorations, including a full-page woodcut of the dedicatee's coat of arms in the opening pages and another full-page woodcut on the last page that presents a riddle canon and also serves as the colophon.²⁴ The book was printed in two issues; one of them presents the coat of arms in black and white, while the other presents the same coat of arms as a colour woodcut, featuring an unprecedented seven colours, including gold.²⁵ There are also numerous small stop-press changes among the various surviving exemplars, indicating that great care was taken during the printing process to create an impressive book adhering to exacting standards

23 The part played by the *Liber selectarum* in the German Josquin Renaissance is discussed in Stephanie P. Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the "German Josquin Renaissance"', in *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002), 564-615. Other important studies of the print are Martin Picker, '*Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520), a Neglected Monument of Renaissance Music and Music Printing', in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 83, Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance 3 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 149-67; Angelika Bator, 'Der Chorbuchdruck *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg 1520): Ein drucktechnischer Vergleich der Exemplare aus Augsburg, München und Stuttgart', in *Musik in Bayern: Halbjahresschrift der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte* 67 (2004), 5-38; and especially Giselbrecht and Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts'. The dimensions given above are from Picker, based on the exemplar in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.

24 An interpretation of the riddle canon is offered in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Magic Music in a Magic Square: Politics and Occultism in Ludwig Senfl's Riddle Canon *Salve sancta parens*', in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60 (2010), 21-41.

25 The printing techniques used in the *Liber selectarum* are discussed in detail in Giselbrecht and Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts'. Digitizations of four exemplars are available online free of charge. Two of these, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (<<http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de>>; accessed 27 June 2020) and the British Library in London (<<http://repository.royalholloway.ac.uk>>; accessed 27 June 2020), feature the black-and-white woodcut, and one, in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (<<http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de>>; accessed 27 June 2020), features the colour woodcut. The fourth digitized exemplar, in Vienna's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (<<http://data.onb.ac.at>>; accessed 27 June 2020), has had the woodcut removed from it.

of excellence.²⁶ Overall, the book is a luxurious physical object that rivals some of the most sumptuous illuminated manuscripts of its day.

A number of features connect the *Liber selectarum cantionum* to the Habsburg imperial court.²⁷ The music was edited by Ludwig Senfl (1489/91-1543), a member of Maximilian I's Viennese chapel from at least 1498 until September 1520, when the chapel was dissolved after the Emperor's death.²⁸ The print has an epilogue written by the prominent German humanist Conrad Peutinger, the secretary of Augsburg and since 1504 a diplomat and jurist for the imperial court; Peutinger had many direct connections to Maximilian I, probably the most important of which in this context was his role as supervisor and editor for many of the Emperor's printing projects. The print is dedicated to Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, an important advisor to both Maximilian I and Charles V, who from 1500 had served as private ambassador to Maximilian. Two of the motets included in the volume are occasional works written for Maximilian's chapel. The opening work, Heinrich Isaac's *Optime pastor divino*, was written for the ceremonial meeting in December 1513 of Cardinal Lang (as imperial representative) and Pope Leo X; the text of the work praises the recently elected Pope and celebrates his alliance with Maximilian I.²⁹ The third work, Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*, was composed during the 1507 imperial diet in Constance at which Maximilian planned his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, with the intention that it would be performed in Rome on the occasion of Maximilian's crowning by Pope Julius II.³⁰

Despite these undeniable connections to the imperial chapel, scholars have until recently been hesitant to connect the *Liber selectarum cantionum* to Maximilian I's court, primarily on account of its publication in October 1520, nearly two years after the Emperor's death in January 1519. Martin Picker, for

26 A list of the surviving exemplars is in Giselbrecht and Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts', 57-58. Comparisons between exemplars are made in Picker, '*Liber selectarum cantionum*', 159-64; Bator, 'Der Chorbuchdruck'; and Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 295-301.

27 The imperial connections are discussed in Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum*', 574-79 and Giselbrecht and Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts', esp. 45-56.

28 Senfl's role as editor is mentioned in both the dedication and epilogue of the print. The Latin texts and English translations of the front and back matter are in Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum*', 611-15.

29 Modern edition in Heinrich Isaac, *Opera omnia*, ed. Edward Lerner, 10 vols. to date, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 65 (s.l., 1974 -), vol. 10, 163-76.

30 On this work, see David J. Rothenberg, 'The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I', in *Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011), 34-80. The Roman coronation never happened. A modern edition of the motet is available in Isaac, *Opera omnia*, vol. 11, 167-87.

instance, proposed that perhaps Senfl initiated the print in an attempt to secure employment upon the dissolution of Maximilian's chapel,³¹ and Stephanie Schlager suggested that the print may have been funded on a subscription basis by Peutinger's literary sodality.³² Elisabeth Giselbrecht and L. Elizabeth Upper have convincingly argued, however, that the print was likely commissioned by Maximilian himself.³³ Pointing out the great expense involved in the creation of the print (not least of which was the casting of an entire set of music type that would never be used again), the riskiness of the experimental printing techniques (both the colour woodcut and the multiple impression music printing), and the great amount of time that must have been needed to prepare the book, they have suggested that Maximilian instigated and funded the print while he was still alive, as part of his extended print programme. Indeed, the *Liber selectarum cantionum* shares many characteristic features with Maximilian's other print projects, including the use of woodcuts and newly designed fonts, the attempt to replicate the aesthetics of a manuscript through innovative printing techniques, and the printing of it in two issues (luxurious and more luxurious). Most compelling, however, is that the *Liber selectarum cantionum* – especially had it appeared with a dedication to Maximilian – serves as powerful imperial propaganda, expressing the power and prestige of the Habsburgs as important patrons of the arts.

While it is possible to connect the *Liber selectarum cantionum* to the imperial court with some confidence (despite the lack of concrete documentary evidence), the same is not true for the next important music print with a Habsburg connection: the *Novum opus musicum*, a two-volume collection of 100 Latin motets for four, five, and six voices printed by Hieronymus Formschneider in Nuremberg in 1537 and 1538 [RISM 1537¹, 1538³].³⁴ Although the

31 Picker, 'Liber selectarum cantionum', 152.

32 Schlager, 'The Liber selectarum cantionum', 570–71.

33 Giselbrecht and Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts', esp. 44–52.

34 A thorough, detailed examination of the *Novum opus musicum* is Royston Robert Gustavson, 'Hans Ott, Hieronymus Formschnider, and the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537–1538)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 1998). The print is discussed in its political and religious context in Bartlett Russell Butler, 'Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg: A Socio-Musical Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970), 447–56, 462–64. A digitization of an exemplar of the first volume is available at <<http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de>> (accessed 27 June 2020). The full title of the first volume is *Novum et insigne opus musicum sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum* and that of the second volume *Secundus tomus novi opera musici sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum*; I follow Gustavson in referring to the two-volume set as the *Novum opus musicum*.

print is dedicated to Ferdinand I (who was at that time King of the Romans),³⁵ the Habsburgs took no part in its creation and publication; in contrast to the sumptuous, expensive, non-commercial *Liber selectarum cantionum*, the *Novum opus musicum* was above all things a commercial product, intended for wide dissemination on the mass market. Printed as oblong quarto partbooks using the single-impression method, the *Novum opus musicum* is downright plain as a physical object, with none of the decorative details found in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*. Confirming its status as a commercial commodity is the fact that its editor and publisher Hans Ott took great pains to create a work that would appeal primarily to Lutheran consumers while not turning away potential Catholic buyers.³⁶ As Royston Gustavson has pointed out, Ott chose neither to organize the volumes by liturgical function nor to consciously provide motets for the entire liturgical year (both of which would have clearly aligned the anthology with a specific denomination), and Lutheran leanings are apparent in the fact that the majority of the motet texts are drawn from the Bible, with very few Marian texts and none addressed to saints.³⁷ Ott also made alterations to the texts of eight works to bring them in line with Lutheran theology.³⁸

Gustavson has suggested that the primary reasons why Ott chose to dedicate this overtly Lutheran sacred print to the staunchly Catholic Ferdinand I was on one hand to thank the King for the four-year imperial printing privilege he had been granted in 1533 (the text of which he printed in the tenor partbook of the first volume) and on the other hand to legitimize his print in the eyes of Catholics, thereby not limiting his work solely to the Lutheran market.³⁹ There could also have been a larger political motive behind the dedication: As a Protestant imperial city, Nuremberg had a close but troubled relationship with the Habsburg emperors, so public shows of fealty to the Habsburgs were definitely in the city's best interest. Indeed, Ott took pains to ingratiate himself to his powerful dedicatee by including in the print six motets with overtly political

35 For a facsimile and English translation of the dedications and other front matter, see Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 561-74.

36 The volume was apparently a commercial success. Not only was it reprinted in 1558 by the Nuremberg printers Montanus & Neuber, but there is also a large number of surviving exemplars, with 177 existing partbooks. The dissemination of the print is discussed in Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 313-54.

37 Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 227-30.

38 Gustavson discusses these texts in detail, comparing the original and altered versions, in 'Hans Ott', 253-62.

39 Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 55, 61, 211. For a facsimile and translation of the privilege, see Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 559-60.

texts praising the Habsburgs.⁴⁰ Two of these are the two occasional works included in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, Isaac's *Optime pastor divino* and *Virgo prudentissima*, though the text of the latter work was significantly altered, de-Marianizing it (the new incipit is 'Christus filius dei') and changing Maximilian's name to that of the reigning Emperor, Charles v. The other works include two memorial motets, one for Maximilian I (Senfl's *Quis dabit oculis*) and the other for Charles and Ferdinand's father Philip the Fair (Pierre de la Rue's *Delicta iuventutis*),⁴¹ as well as two outright laudatory works. The laudatory works are *Fortitudo des regnantis*, a work by imperial chapel master Arnold von Bruck (1500?-54) in praise of King Sigismund II of Poland, who was betrothed to Ferdinand I's daughter Elisabeth, and Nicolas Gombert's *Felix Austriae domus*, which praises five Habsburg rulers across four generations: Emperor Frederick III, Emperor Maximilian I, King Philip the Fair, plus Emperor Charles v and King Ferdinand I.⁴² Although not nearly as lavish as the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, Ott's print nevertheless manages, like the earlier anthology, to extol the Habsburgs, celebrating their power and authority.

The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the *Novus opus musicum* represent two extremes of how printed music could praise the Habsburgs in the early modern era: The former was (probably) commissioned directly by the Emperor and extolled the imperial court through both its physical characteristics and the music included within it, while the latter existed entirely outside the Habsburgs' influence but nevertheless celebrated the ruling family through the inclusion of pointedly political, laudatory works. The former can therefore be viewed as a physical embodiment of the rich cultural life of the Habsburg court, something we cannot say of the latter except insofar as it contains music that may have been performed at Ferdinand I's court. The rest of the anthologies discussed here fall within a continuum between these two poles.

40 These works are discussed in Gustavson, 'Hans Ott', 230-51. Ott included two additional political motets but changed the texts to remove any reference to politics.

41 Both of these works were altered from their original versions. The text of LaRue's work, which originally did not name the person lamented, had references to saints omitted from it and Philip's name added. Senfl's motet is a reworking of a work by Costanzo Festa lamenting Anne of Brittany; see Alexander Main, 'Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet', in *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962), 173-89. A modern edition of La Rue's motet is in Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, ed. Nigel St. John Davison, J. Evan Kreider, and T. Herman Keahey, 9 vols. to date, *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae* 97 (s.l., 1989 -), vol. 9, 27-38.

42 Bruck's motet is available in modern edition in Arnold von Bruck, *Sämtliche Lateinische Motetten und andere unedierte Werke*, ed. Othmar Wessely, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 99 (Graz-Vienna, 1961), 88-92. A modern edition of Gombert's motet is available in Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt Görg, 11 vols., *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae* 6 (s.l., 1951-75), vol. 10, 79-84.

A good example is the *Cantiones selectissimae*, a motet anthology printed in Augsburg by Philip Ulhard in 1548 [RISM 1548²]. Edited and funded by Sigismund Salming, a reformed (and previously persecuted) Anabaptist priest, and issued in the unostentatious format of four oblong octavo partbooks, this print was dedicated not to the Habsburgs but to six members of the Fugger family, one of the richest and most prominent families in Augsburg.⁴³ The print is connected to the imperial court, however, by the fact that unlike both prints discussed above, it contains motets only by musicians from Charles v's chapel, all of whom are named on the title page and explicitly identified as 'exceptional and outstanding musicians of the chapel of his imperial majesty'.⁴⁴ Published in the wake of the Emperor's victory over Lutheran forces in the Schmalkaldic War and the ensuing 'armoured diet' (*geharnischte Reichstag*) in Augsburg from September 1547 to June 1548, this print served (in Ignace Bossuyt's words) as 'a cultural coronation; a musical *arc de triomphe* in honour of the most powerful monarch of the period'.⁴⁵ Moritz Kelber has convincingly argued for a close connection between the print and recent political events in Augsburg, pointing out, for instance, that the phrase 'comitiis augustanis' on the title page alludes to the recently concluded diet and that Salming signed the dedication on 3 August 1548, the very day that Charles announced to the city council that he was abolishing their existing constitution and imposing a new, oligarchic government, of which the Fuggers (who had helped finance the Schmalkaldic War) were a prominent component.⁴⁶ The print thus functioned not only as a reflection of the musical culture of Charles's court and as an expression of his power over German Protestantism,

43 This print is discussed in Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 79 (Munich, 2018), 256–78; Ignace Bossuyt, 'Nicolas Payen, an Unknown Chapelmaster of Charles v and Philip II', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 126–27; and Bossuyt, 'Charles v and the Composers of the Capilla Flamenca', in *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles v*, ed. Francis Maes (Leuven, 1999), 147. A digitization of three of the partbooks (excluding the tenor) is available free of charge at <<http://data.onb.ac.at>> (accessed 27 June 2020). Unfortunately, the dedication appears only in the tenor partbook, so it is unavailable here.

44 The full title is *Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocom. Ab eximiis et praestantibus Caesarum Maiestatis Capellae musicis. M. Cornelio Cane. Thoma Crequilone. Nicolas Payen & Johanne Lestainnier organista, compositae et in comitiis augustanis studio et impensis Sigismundi Salmingi in lucem aedite*.

45 Bossuyt, 'Nicolas Payen', 127.

46 Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen*, 256–78, esp. 258 and 260–61.

but also as a tangible sign of the Fugger's close connection to the Emperor, helping to legitimize their role in the new Augsburg constitution.

Different circumstances surround another print connected to the Habsburgs, the lavish five-volume *Novus thesaurus musicus*, issued in Venice by the renowned printer Antonio Gardano in 1568 [RISM 1568²⁻⁶].⁴⁷ Described by Mary Lewis as 'one of the most elaborate editions ever published by Gardano, and certainly the most extensive',⁴⁸ this monumental set of partbooks (six for each volume) in oversize upright quarto format (with a leaf size of approximately 24 × 18 cm) presents 254 Latin motets for four, five, six, seven, and eight voices, the vast majority of them by living composers employed by the Austrian Habsburgs.⁴⁹ Dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II and his brothers Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol and Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria, the print functions as overt praise of the Habsburgs, highlighted through copious woodcut illustrations and laudatory texts. Each title page, for instance, features the same elaborate woodcut frame surmounted with Maximilian II's coat of arms (see Figure 4.1).⁵⁰ In each partbook of volume 1, after a two-page dedicatory text and a page with Latin poems by Johannes Ploverius (the instructor of the choirboys at Maximilian's court) and imperial court poet Wolfgang Piringier,⁵¹

47 The title page of the first volume gives the title as 'Novi thesauri musici', and that of vols. 2-4 as 'Novi atque catholici thesauri musici'. The title page of the fifth volume bears none of these words, reading instead 'Liber quintus & ultimus, quo variae, tum sacrae, tum aliis etiam locis honestissimis competentes ac congruis, plane novae, neque unquam antea, a quopiam in lucem editae harmoniae comprehenduntur, veluti selectissima quaedam, in D. Ferdinandi Ill. (felicissima memoria) Caesaris obitum Epitaphia, necnon Invitissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Maximiliani II &c. Serenissimorumque Principum, Ferdinandi & Caroli Fratrum, Archid. Aust. &c. ac quorundam etiam aliorum Illustrissimorum Principum atque heroum generosorum encomia'. I use the title from the first volume, changed from genitive to nominative case. A digitization of the print is available online free of charge at <<http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

48 Mary S. Lewis, 'The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions', in *Notes* 46 (1990), 908.

49 The leaf size is drawn from Lewis, 'The Printed Music Book in Context', 908; she does not specify which exemplar(s) she measured. While each volume has its own title page, the partbooks for each voice part are paginated continuously across the volumes, implying that they are meant to be bound together. This results in a massive partbook of 468 pages for each voice part.

50 The title page of the bassus partbook of volume 5 is reproduced in Lewis, 'The Printed Music Book in Context', 909, and the woodcut of Maximilian II's coat of arms is reproduced on p. 910.

51 Three of the partbooks (cantus, tenor, and bassus) contain two poems by Ploverius, and the other three partbooks (altus, quintus, sextus) contain a single poem by Piringier. Transcriptions of all of the textual matter in the partbooks, as well as the tables of contents and text incipits for all of the motets, is available in Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne

the following four openings feature woodcuts and laudatory Latin poems for several members of the Habsburg family, with each opening devoted to a single person. The first opening features a commemorative portrait medal of Ferdinand I and a poem in his memory,⁵² and the following openings feature the coats of arms of Maximilian II, Archduke Ferdinand II, and Archduke Charles II, each accompanied by two poems, one by Ploverius and one by Piringer.

The praise of the Habsburgs is even more pronounced in volume 5. Only three of the thirty-two motets in this volume have liturgical texts; the others are settings of overtly political, laudatory texts celebrating the Habsburgs and other important political figures.⁵³ The volume opens with three motets mourning Ferdinand I's death, six praising Maximilian II, two in honour of Archduke Ferdinand II, and four lauding Archduke Charles II; each set of works is preceded with the same woodcut for each figure found in volume 1. Elsewhere in the volume are two additional motets praising Maximilian II, one each for Ferdinand I and Archduke Ferdinand II, as well as a motet lauding the 'glorious house of Austria' and one in praise of Maximilian II's sons Rudolph (the future Emperor Rudolph II) and Ernst. Important Habsburg allies celebrated with musical works are Alphonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara; Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria; and Johannes Trautson, a member of the imperial Privy Council and Supreme Judge of the Empire.⁵⁴

Despite all this overt praise of the Habsburgs, there is no evidence that any member of the family was directly involved in the preparation of the *Novus thesaurus musicus*. The print was edited and financed by Petrus Joannellus (Pietro Giovanelli), a member of a noble merchant family from Bergamo who

Schnoebelen (eds.), *A Catalogue of Mass, Office and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516-1770*, JSCM Instrumenta 2 (2014), Giovanelli 1568 Anthology SD 1568-2, <<http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/catalogue/Giovanelli%201568%20Anthology%20SD%201568-2.pdf>> (accessed 27 June 2020). English translations of Ploverius's poems are in David E. Crawford, 'Immigrants to the Habsburg Courts and Their Motets Composed in the 1560s', in *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596) and His Time: Migration of Musicians to and from the Low Countries (c. 1400-1600)*, *Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen, 26-27 August 1996*, ed. Eugene Schreurs and Bruno Bouckaert, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 3 (Leuven, 1999), 148-49.

52 The cantus, tenor, and bassus partbooks feature a poem by Ploverius, and the other three partbooks a poem by Piringer.

53 Exceptions to this are one motet mourning the death of Maximilian II's chapel master Jacobus Vaet and one celebrating the editor of the print (discussed below). A modern edition of this volume is *Novi Thesauri Musici a Petro Ioannello collecti, volumen V*, 2 vols., ed. Albert Dunning, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 64 (s.l., 1974), which includes the text and translations of all the motet texts in vol. 1, ix-xvii.

54 The texts of the works for Alphonso d'Este make it clear that they were composed for his entry into Vienna for Ferdinand I's funeral.

seems to have had contact with the Habsburgs since at least 1560.⁵⁵ A sense of Joannellus's motives for publishing the *Novus thesaurus* can be gleaned from his suggestion, upon presenting two copies of the finished print to Archduke Ferdinand II in September 1568, that he be repaid for his efforts with permission to transport goods through Tyrol duty-free (a request that was ultimately not granted). His flattery of the Habsburgs thus seems far from altruistic; he may very well have embarked on this monumental printing project with an eye primarily on buttering up the Habsburgs in service of his family's business interests. There is documentary evidence that Joannellus presented copies of the *Novus thesaurus* to at least seven prominent political figures in addition to the Habsburgs, from which we can perhaps assume that the print offered him many potential political and financial benefits; as David Crawford has put it, 'Such a wide distribution of the *Thesaurus* among aristocrats of the day suggests that Joannellus was an indeed enterprising person.'⁵⁶ Further evidence that Joannellus considered the print to be just as much self-aggrandizement as celebration of the Habsburgs is the fact that he included in volume 5 a work in his own honour, preceding it with a woodcut of his coat of arms.⁵⁷

Even if the Habsburgs had no say in the contents of the *Novus thesaurus musicus*, it still stands as an important repository of sacred repertoire at the mid-sixteenth-century Habsburg courts. It also may offer subtle insights into religious life at Maximilian II's court. Crawford, for instance, has pointed out that volume 1 (which is liturgically ordered) includes six Marian feasts among the Temporale; because the Catholic liturgy always places Marian feasts among the Sanctorale, the positioning of them in this volume reflects Lutheran practice.⁵⁸ He further identifies other aspects of Joannellus's text choices that betray Lutheran preferences (such as an emphasis on works that include 'alleluia' and a large number of scriptural texts), ultimately concluding that the print reflects the Emperor's sympathetic attitude toward Lutheranism.⁵⁹ Walter

55 On Joannellus's biography, see Crawford, 'Immigrants to the Habsburg Courts', 135-39. All the information about Joannellus in this paragraph is drawn from those pages. Joannellus must have been in direct contact with members of the court, in order to obtain the music and especially the poems by Ploverius and Piringer, but this still leaves as an open question the extent to which the Habsburgs themselves were aware of or involved in the creation of the print.

56 Crawford, 'Immigrants to the Habsburg Courts', 138. On the distribution of the print, see also Lewis, 'The Printed Music Book in Context', 908-12.

57 The motet, *Aurea dum rutilus surgens* by Henri de la Court, is the penultimate work in the volume (followed by a setting of the Te Deum), thus holding a place of honour.

58 Crawford, 'Immigrants to the Habsburg Courts', 141-46.

59 A fascinating printed document that expresses Maximilian's Lutheran sympathies is a luxurious broadsheet printed on parchment (apparently in only one exemplar) in 1560 by

Pass, in contrast, has pointed out that volume 4 (which presents common texts of the Sanctorale) has a distinct Marian frame, opening with eight motets labeled 'Commune de beata virgine' and concluding with ten settings of the *Salve Regina* (labeled 'Laudes beata Marie virginis'), which Pass argues places the anthology squarely in the context of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.⁶⁰ Such arguments may, however, be reading too much into Joannellus's choices, for the ecumenical orientation of the volumes may be more a nod to market forces than to any aspect of Habsburg piety.

Significant anthologies connected to the Habsburgs continued to be issued in the seventeenth century. A particularly noteworthy example is the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, printed in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti in 1615 [RISM 1615¹³].⁶¹ Important in the history of music as an early source of the small-scale sacred concerto, this set of five partbooks in upright quarto format contains fifty-seven motets for one to five voices by thirty-two composers, all but one of whom are Italian. Edited and published by Giovanni Battista Bonometti, a singer in the Graz court chapel of Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor Ferdinand II), this print serves as a reflection of the musical glories of Ferdinand's court. As if the connection to Ferdinand were not obvious enough from both the title and the frontispiece bearing his coat of arms, Bonometti makes his intentions clear in the dedication, in which he remarks that although he had long known about the glorious music at the Graz court, when he assumed his post in the chapel and heard the music first-hand he resolved to make public the 'most beautiful melodies' of the 'Graz nightingales', 'as jewels

the Viennese printer Hofhalter, which is dedicated to Maximilian and features a motet by Vaet [RISM V25]; on this source, see Milton Steinhardt, 'A Musical Offering to Emperor Maximilian II: A Political and Religious Document of the Renaissance', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1977), 19-27, and Robert Lindell, 'Music and the Religious Crisis of Maximilian II: From Vaet's *Qui operatus est Petro* to Lasso's *Pacis amans*', in *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugeen Schreurs, and Annelies Wouters, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 1 (Leuven etc., 1995), 129-38.

60 Walter Pass, 'Jacob Vaets und Georg Prenners Vertonungen des *Salve Regina* in Joannellus' Sammelwerk von 1568', in *De ratione in musica: Festschrift Erich Schenk zum 5. Mai 1972*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Rudolf Flotzinger, and Othmar Wessely (Kassel, 1975), 29-49, esp. 30-32.

61 A modern edition of the print is ed. Theophil Antonicek, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 159 (Graz, 2015). On the print, see also Hellmut Federhofer, 'Graz Court Musicians and Their Contributions to the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615)', in *Musica disciplina* 9 (1955), 167-244, as well as the special issue of *De musica disserenda* 13, no. 1-2 (2017).

in the crown'.⁶² Indeed, twenty of the print's fifty-seven works represent the work of nine composers employed by the Archduke, including four works by the court chapel master Giovanni Priuli (c. 1575/80-1626) and five by court organist (and later imperial chapel master) Valentini.

We must nevertheless be cautious about taking Bonometti's words entirely at face value. Composers from outside the Graz court are responsible for over half of the works, many of which Bonometti must have brought with him from his previous position at the Duomo of Milan; sixteen works are by ten composers active in Milan, including the chapel master of the Duomo (and Bonometti's former boss) Vincenzo Pellegrini. Pellegrini is represented with five works (as many as Valentini), and most of them are prominently positioned in the volume: His are the first in the series of solo, three-voice, and four-voice works, as well as the sole five-voice work.⁶³ It is thus unclear to what extent the contents of the *Parnassus* truly represent the repertoire of Ferdinand's court, especially as we have no documentary evidence attesting to the process by which Bonometti collected the works and assembled the volume. Also in question is the relationship to the court of the most famous composer in the volume, Claudio Monteverdi, who is represented with a single two-voice work, *Cantate Domino*. Although personal connections between Monteverdi and the Habsburgs can be traced back to the 1590s (see Chapter 15), we have no way of knowing whether his motet was already part of the chapel's repertoire, whether he consciously supplied it as a contribution to Ferdinand's glory, or if Bonometti simply solicited it from him in an attempt to bolster the commercial appeal of the volume or to elevate his stature in Ferdinand's eyes. Indeed, while we are justified in considering the volume as representative of the music of the Graz court chapel (or at least of the type of music cultivated there), its primary purpose was most likely an attempt by a relatively new member of the chapel to ingratiate himself to his employer. That Ferdinand was already widely known as an enthusiastic patron of music is attested by the fact that prior to the publication of the *Parnassus*, he had already been the dedicatee

62 The complete text of the Latin dedication, with a German translation, is available in *Parnassus*, ed. Antonicek, 293-95. The relevant passage is 'Ut vero Serenitatis tuae aura provocatus Graecium veni, ut harmonicos vocum concentus, quos sola fama ante cognoram, auribus hausi, statim in hanc mentem suavi violentia sum pertractus, ut (quod aliàs Mediolani amicorum armatis precibus persuasus aggreßus fueram) eligerem optimorum mela suavissima, & latialibus cygnis Graecensis Philomelas tuas, quasi coronae gemmas insererem, & in publicum productas in Parnassum Musicum Ferdinandeum magni tui nominis titulo gloriosum, collocarem.'

63 Only his two-voice work is not placed at the start of the section.

of no fewer than fourteen music prints by a wide range of composers, mostly Italian.⁶⁴

Despite these caveats, the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus* is nevertheless an obvious product of the court, stemming from a court musician and overtly drawing attention to the Archduke through its paratexts. The final example to be considered in this section offers an example of how an anthology with no immediately obvious connections to the Habsburgs can nevertheless offer a window into Habsburg musical culture. In 1649, the Milanese printer and composer Giorgio Rolla issued a motet anthology titled *Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici*.⁶⁵ As Jerome Roche has pointed out, this print, issued as five part-books in upright quarto format, is markedly different from Milanese anthologies issued earlier in the century.⁶⁶ Whereas the earlier publications had featured only composers from Milan, in the *Teatro* Rolla published works by eleven local composers alongside pieces by some of the most famous composers of the day, including two Italian composers employed by Emperor Ferdinand III: Antonio Bertali (1605–69) and Giovanni Felice Sances (c. 1600–79). Many of the local works – and also some of the others, including the works by Bertali and Sances – appear in no other printed sources than this anthology, which led Roche to conclude that Rolla may have taken an active role in commissioning some of the contributions.⁶⁷ It seems clear that Rolla's motivation in assembling this collection was to place the works of local composers on the same level as the other 'diversi celebri ... autori', thereby both elevating the prestige of the Milanese composers and also perhaps raising Rolla's own prestige and drumming up sales. I have previously argued, however, that by commissioning works from two prestigious composers from the Viennese court,

64 For the list of prints and composers, see Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz, 1967), 46–47. The earliest known print dedicated to Ferdinand appeared in 1597.

65 *Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici a due, tre, e quattro voci di diversi celebri, e nomati autori* (Milan, 1649) [RISM 1649]. For more on this print, see Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 146–49 and Andrew H. Weaver, 'Giorgio Rolla's *Teatro musicale* (1649) as an (Unintentional) Contribution to the Public Image of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III', in *Barocco Padano 7: Atti del XV Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII, Milano, 14–16 luglio 2009*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 2012), 491–504.

66 Jerome Roche, 'Cross-Currents in Milanese Church Music in the 1640s: Giorgio Rolla's Anthology *Teatro Musicale* (1649)', in *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Como, 31 Maggio–2 Giugno 1985*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 1987), 13–29.

67 Roche, 'Cross-Currents in Milanese Church Music,' 17–18, 21.

Rolla also ended up making an important political statement for Ferdinand III during a critical time of his reign.

The texts of the three imperial works, Bertali's *Exultate et cantate* and Sances's *Excita furorem* and *Miserere servorum tuorum*, are directly relevant to the circumstances of the imperial court during the 1640s.⁶⁸ When taken as a whole, the three works reflect the most important pillars of the *Pietas Austriaca*: *Excita furorem* extols general praise of Jesus, while *Miserere* addresses the Virgin Mary and *Exultate* a named saint.⁶⁹ Even more significant is that all three works make references to war, thereby directly connecting them to the Thirty Years' War and bolstering Ferdinand III's image as a wise ruler protecting his people by praying to God on their behalf: *Excita furorem* begins with a call to the Lord to 'remember war' and 'hurl rage' upon enemies,⁷⁰ *Miserere* pleads for the Virgin to 'judge our cause' and 'liberate us from those who rise up against us',⁷¹ and *Exultate* beseeches St. Charles Borromeo to 'defend us, save us, and liberate us from insidious enemies.'⁷²

Rolla seems to have taken pains to connect Sances's and Bertali's motets to the imperial court, therefore helping to ensure that the political readings would not be overlooked when presented in the context of a Milanese anthology featuring works by many other Italian composers; in doing so, Rolla also highlighted important connections between the Habsburgs and Milan (see Chapter 14). *Excita furorem*, for instance, features a rubric in the tenor part-book announcing that 'the words of this motet were put together by his imperial majesty.'⁷³ This rubric explicitly connects the work to Ferdinand III, not only by reminding the reader of Sances's connection to the court but also by drawing the Emperor into the creative process. Another telling detail that connects the print to the imperial court is the fact that Rolla dedicated it to Cardinal Francesco Peretti di Montalto, nephew of the famous Roman music patron Cardinal Alessandro Montalto. While on the surface this dedication does not seem related to the Habsburgs, it becomes significant in light of the fact that Montalto was a member of the party that accompanied Ferdinand III's

68 Modern editions of all three motets are in Andrew H. Weaver (ed.), *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III and Other Musicians from the Habsburg Court, 1637-1657*, Collegium Musicum: Yale University, second series 18 (Middleton, 2012), 167-78, 188-209.

69 The print provides both the generic 'N' as well as the name 'Carolus'; while this could very well have been a specifically Milanese addition by Rolla, St. Charles Borromeo was also an important figure in Habsburg piety.

70 'Excita furorem, et memento belli, et super hostes nostros effundam iram tuam.'

71 'Exurge, Domina, et iudica causam nostrum, et ab insurgentibus in nos, libera nos.'

72 'defende nos, salva nos, et libera nos ab insidiis inimici nunc et semper.'

73 'Le Parole di questo Motetto, furono messe insieme da S. M. Cesarea.'

daughter Mariana on her travels from Vienna to Spain to marry King Philip IV.⁷⁴ Mariana arrived in Milan on 30 May 1649, and the city gave her a grand joyous entry on 17 June, less than a month before Rolla signed the dedication of his anthology. The text of Rolla's dedication makes explicit references to the Queen's joyous entry and Montalto's participation in it.⁷⁵

Without any solid documentary evidence, it is impossible to know all the circumstances and motivations that led to the inclusion of these three Viennese motets in the *Teatro musicale*. Nevertheless, the following scenario seems reasonable: At some point in the mid-1640s, Rolla decided to publish a new anthology, one that would generate interest among more than just the local market. Wanting to include a wide spectrum of the most famous Italian composers of the day, it is only natural that in addition to selecting works from prestigious Roman and Venetian composers he would also turn to the two most well-known musicians employed at the Habsburg court in Vienna. It also seems natural that upon learning that two of his composers had received Rolla's commission, Ferdinand III would have used his influence to ensure that Bertali's and Sances's contributions served his political and religious needs. The result is a cultural artefact that provides insights into Habsburg music and politics at the end of the Thirty Years' War – even if that was not the printer's original intention.

2.2 *Single-Author Prints*

In the early decades of music printing, composers typically had little to do with the prints that contained their music. Even the earliest single-author prints, such as the books of masses issued by Petrucci starting in 1502, seem to have been prepared with no participation by the composer. Not until the 1550s did composers start to assume authorship of their own prints on a wide scale, commissioning printers directly and working with them to edit and proofread the publications that bore their name.⁷⁶ Because composers who commissioned their own prints were typically responsible for footing the bill themselves, paying a fee for the print run and often even supplying the paper (the most expensive component of a printed book), they frequently used the dedication to help finance the work, honoring a patron by putting his or her name

74 Montalto's presence in her entourage is mentioned in C. Cantù, 'La Pompa della solenne entrata fatta nella città di Milano dalla Serenissima Maria Anna Austriaca', in *Archivio storico lombardo* 14 (1887), 345.

75 The text of the dedication and an English translation are provided in Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 286–87. For more information on Mariana's entry, see Chapter 14 of this volume.

76 Kate Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley etc., 2014).

in print in the hopes that the patron would reciprocate by supplying (or reimbursing) the printing costs. For this reason, the dedications of single-author prints can be valuable documents of composer-patron relationships, though in many cases it is impossible to know whether the dedication reflects an already existing relationship or one that the composer is attempting to establish; it is also often unclear whether the dedicatee actually followed through with the desired financial support. To draw definitive conclusions, prints need to be examined on a case-by-case basis, by carefully reading the paratexts and taking into account any available external evidence (court pay records, correspondence between the composer and dedicatee, etc.).

The agency of the individual composer in the creation of a print creates challenges – perhaps even more so than with anthologies – in interpreting prints by court composers as reflections of Habsburg musical culture. It is often not clear, for example, to what extent Habsburg rulers encouraged their composers to issue musical publications. On one hand, some composers were clearly not motivated to publish, even when working for music-loving patrons. Bertali – who consecutively served three avid musical connoisseurs (Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, and Leopold I) – never issued a single print, either before or after being promoted to imperial *Kapellmeister*; in fact, the motet in Rolla's *Teatro musicale* is his only work that appeared in print during his lifetime. On the other hand, other composers were prolific in publishing music, yet their printed output bears little obvious connection to their Habsburg service. The most notable example is Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), chapel master to Emperors Maximilian II and Rudolph II from 1568 until his death. Monte published an astonishing forty-five books of music (one collection of masses, ten motet books, and thirty-four books of madrigals), but only a fraction of these prints bear dedications to Habsburgs or seem to have impacted his imperial career.⁷⁷ Monte dedicated two books of motets to Maximilian in 1572 and 1574, shortly after joining the imperial chapel,⁷⁸ and while several of his motet books may have served the Emperor's political aims, it is telling that he dedicated no motet books to Rudolph II.⁷⁹ Of the madrigal books, the first four issued during Rudolph's reign bear dedications to the new Emperor (1578, 1580, 1581) and to his brother Ernst (1580), but after 1581 dedications to

77 A recent examination of Monte's prints is Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte (1521-1603): Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent* (Göttingen, 2002).

78 Philippe de Monte, *Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus ... liber primus* (Venice, 1572) [RISM M3311]; Philippe de Monte, *Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus ... liber tertius* (Venice, 1574) [RISM M3313].

79 On Monte's motet prints, see Nele Gabriëls, 'Dedicating Music: The Case of Philippus de Monte's Motet Prints', in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2011), 184-207.

the Habsburgs cease.⁸⁰ The only other print Monte dedicated to his employer was his sole book of masses, the *Liber primus missarum* (Antwerp, 1587) [RISM M3320], an impressive, sumptuously prepared folio volume in choirbook format bearing a dedication to Rudolph II.⁸¹

Other composers embarked on prolific publication programmes upon joining a Habsburg court, but only up to a point. Both Valentini and Sances, for instance, published a large number of prints upon being engaged by the Habsburgs, but in both cases their musical publications essentially ceased after obtaining a position of authority in the chapel (*Kapellmeister* in Valentini's case, *vice-Kapellmeister* in Sances's). Seeing as Bertali, Valentini, and Sances all served in the same chapels, it is impossible to generalize and assume that any one ruler expected or discouraged music printing.

Given the need for composers and prints to be examined on a case-by-case basis, there is currently too little research on single-author prints by Habsburg composers of the second half of the sixteenth century to give us a clear understanding of musical print culture during that time. Johannes de Cleve (1528/29–82), who served in the chapel of Emperor Ferdinand I from 1553 to 1564 and then as *Kapellmeister* for Archduke Charles II from 1564 until 1570, published three books of motets that feature thirteen ceremonial works in praise of the Habsburgs.⁸² The first two of these – the first known single-author prints issued by a Habsburg musician – form a sumptuous two-volume set published in 1559, with paratexts that clearly connect the music to the imperial court: The nearly identical title pages of both volumes prominently describe the composer as 'Musico Caesareo' (see Figure 11.3), the first book is dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand I and features a woodcut of his coat of arms, and the second is dedicated to the same Johannes Trautson who nine years later would receive

80 The prints dedicated to Rudolph II are Philippe de Monte, *Il settimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1578) [RISM M3366]; Philippe de Monte, *L'ottavo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1580) [RISM M3370]; and Philippe de Monte, *Il decimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1581) [RISM M3373]. The print dedicated to Ernst is Philippe de Monte, *Il nono libro de madrigali a cinque voci ...* (Venice, 1580) [RISM M3372].

81 A digitization of an exemplar of Monte's *Liber primus missarum* is available at <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

82 Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones sacrae, quae vulgo muteta vocantur, quatuor, quinque, & sex vocum ... liber primus* (Augsburg, 1559) [RISM C3203]; Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones sacrae, quae vulgo muteta vocantur, quatuor, quinque & sex vocum ... liber secundus* (Augsburg, 1559) [RISM C3204]; Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae ... quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo, & decem vocum* (Augsburg, 1579) [RISM C3205]. The third volume was published after Cleve left Habsburg service. Digitizations of exemplars of both books of the *Cantiones sacrae* are available at <<http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de>> (accessed 27 June 2020).



FIGURE 11.3 Title page of Johannes de Cleve, *Cantiones sacrae ... liber primus* (Augsburg, 1559) [RISM C3203]

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, 4 MUS.PR. 74-1/2, URN:NBN:DE:BVB:12-BSB00088600-5, USED WITH PERMISSION

a laudatory motet in the fifth volume of the *Novus thesaurus musicus*. Both books also feature musical works that directly laud the Habsburgs. The first volume opens with four six-voice motets that praise, respectively, Emperor Ferdinand I and each of his sons, the future Emperor Maximilian II, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, and Archduke Charles II. The second volume contains two settings (one for four voices and one for six) of a text that, while technically honouring Trautson, really serves to praise Ferdinand I, as Trautson is defined by his relationship to the Emperor. Only recently has the 1559 *Cantiones sacrae* been examined through a political lens; Moritz Kelber has situated both volumes within the context of the imperial diet held in Augsburg from March until August of that year, linking them to the above-mentioned anthology *Cantiones selectissimae* (issued by the same printer) as monuments

of imperial music making and arguing that Cleve's prints served to legitimize Ferdinand I and his Austrian line.⁸³ There are undoubtedly additional examples of mid- and late sixteenth-century prints by Habsburg composers that have yet to be brought to light.⁸⁴

One other sixteenth-century print that has been studied in relation to its author's employment as a Habsburg musician, however, is the *Liber primus missarum* by Carl Luython (1557/58-1620), published in 1609 [RISM L3121].⁸⁵ Luython spent his entire career serving the imperial court, first as a choirboy (1566-71, during which time he likely studied with Monte), and then as an adult chapel member starting in 1576, following studies in Italy subsidized by the court. His first appointment was as organist for Maximilian II, and he continued serving in that capacity under Rudolph II, who eventually named him court composer in 1604, after Monte's death. Luython's first print, a book of motets, appeared in 1587 with a dedication to Rudolph's brother Ernst, and the *Liber primus missarum* was his final published collection. Printed in Prague by Nicolaus Straus, the *Liber primus missarum* is a luxurious folio volume in choir-book format, which Scott Edwards claims is 'the most extraordinary music print to come out of Prague'.⁸⁶ That Luython intended the print to showcase

83 Kelber, *Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen*, 308-32. Nele Gabriëls mentions Cleve's motet books in 'Reading (between) the Lines', 69, where she cites a forthcoming article by her titled 'Johannes de Cleve (1529-1582) and His Laudatory Motets for the Habsburg House: The Odd Man Out?' (n. 13). As of 2020 the article has not appeared in print.

84 A print that has received some scholarly attention is Jacob Regnart's *Mariale, hoc est: Opusculum sacrarum cantionum omnibus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae festivitatis* (Innsbruck, 1588) [RISM R733], dedicated to his employer Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (and mentioning in the dedication the Archduke's purchase of music font for the printer). See Walter Pass, 'Jacob Regnarts "Mariale" und die katholischen Reform in Tyrol', in *Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtsstag*, ed. Ewald Fässler (Munich-Salzburg, 1975), 158-73, and Erika Supria Honisch, 'Sacred Music in Prague, 1580-1612' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011), 97-98, 121-22, 378-79.

85 Modern edition in Carolus Luython, *Collected Works*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Nicholas Johnson, 1 vol. to date, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 113 (s.l., 2017-), vol. 1. A digitization of the print is available at <<http://www.manuscriptorium.com>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

86 Scott Edwards, 'Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570-1630' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2012), 25. Prague was one of the most active Central European printing centres in the late sixteenth century, bolstered by the presence of the imperial court during Rudolph II's reign. Printers of music – which included, in addition to Strauss, Georgius Nigrinus, Jiří Melantrich, Daniel Velesalvín, Michael Peterle von Annaberg, and Johannes Schumann – were especially prolific in issuing Catholic sacred music, as part of the attempt to impose orthodox Catholic belief over the Utraquists; on these matters, see Honisch, 'Sacred Music in Prague, 1580-1612', esp. 72-149.

Rudolph's power and prestige – at a time when the Habsburg family was beginning to push the Emperor out of power – is clear from the opening work, the *Missa septem vocum, super basim: Caesar vive*, a cantus firmus mass on a newly written melody with the text 'Caesar vive, faxit Deus noster' (The Emperor lives, may God grant it). Nicholas Johnson has further argued that this print, and specifically the opening mass, reflects the hermetic thought cultivated at Rudolph's court, with the *Missa Caesar vive* literally sounding out the Emperor's horoscope and harnessing celestial power.⁸⁷ The print may have also served a more personal purpose for Luython as a tribute to his teacher Monte; the book seems to be modeled on the elder composer's similarly titled *Missa primus missarum*, and of the nine masses in the book, four are parody masses on motets by Monte. That Rudolph II was pleased with Luython's work is clear from the fact that upon receiving the print, he granted the composer a gift of 500 florins.⁸⁸

With the more overtly music-loving emperors of the seventeenth century it becomes easier to read prints by court composers as mirrors of Habsburg musical culture, and also as important political statements and assertions of Habsburg power. A clear example is Valentini's monumental *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le Trombe* (Vienna, 1621) [RILM V92]. This collection of massive works for seven choirs with written-out trumpet parts, of which only two partbooks survive, is overtly political, featuring three works that were written for and performed at specific political occasions: Ferdinand II's coronation as King of Hungary in 1618, his coronation as Emperor in 1619, and at the celebration of the first major victory of the Thirty Years' War, the Battle of White Mountain.⁸⁹ Unlike with most prints, no attempts were made to cater this print to a wide audience, making it clear that its publication was intended more as a statement of Habsburg political and military might than as a commercial venture. Rather than offering works to be replicated in performance elsewhere, the print seems intended primarily as a commemoration

87 Nicholas Johnson, 'Carolus Luython's *Missa super basim: Caesar vive* and Hermetic Astrology in Early Seventeenth-Century Prague', in *Musica disciplina* 56 (2011), 419–62.

88 Carmelo Peter Comberiat, 'Carl Luython at the Court of Emperor Rudolf II: Biography and His Polyphonic Settings of the Mass', in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn McPeck*, ed. Carmelo P. Comberiat and Matthew C. Steel (New York etc., 1988), 141.

89 On this print, see Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1636)* (Oxford, 1995), 99–118 and Steven Saunders, 'The Habsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the *Messa, Magnificat et Jubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe* (1621) of Giovanni Valentini', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991), 359–403. See also Chapter 5 in this volume.

of the events for which the works were written and as tangible evidence of the massive musical chapel that was able to perform them. If the works were, however, subsequently performed elsewhere in Europe, the grandeur of Ferdinand II's chapel would have been reproduced in the new locale, further spreading (at least to those who knew the works' origins) the grandeur of musical and ceremonial life at the imperial court.

Another superb example of prints by a court composer that serve as reflections of the Habsburgs' musical, political, and religious life is the series of seven prints that Sances issued between the years 1638 and 1648.⁹⁰ Sances joined the imperial chapel as a tenor in December 1636, at which point he almost immediately began issuing publications of sacred music. By the end of 1638 he had published two books of motets, the first dedicated to Ferdinand III and the second to Ferdinand II's widow Eleonora Gonzaga.⁹¹ By 1648 he had issued five more prints, all dedicated to members of the Emperor's immediate family or other important political figures.⁹² The dedications to Habsburg family members follow a strict hierarchy based on their rank at court. After the Emperor and Dowager Empress, Sances's next dedication, in 1640, was to the current Empress, Maria of Spain, followed by dedications to Ferdinand III's brother Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1643) and to the Emperor's eldest son Ferdinand IV (1647). Sances explicitly announced his intentions in the first sentence of the dedicatory text to the Emperor: 'Previously I devotedly dedicated to you my voice; today I reverently dedicate to you my pen, with the sentiment of making known to the world in these little notes my current service, in which I take pride.'⁹³ Sances's motets, then, exist as evidence of his devoted service to

90 For more details on these prints, see Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 128-42.

91 Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (Venice, 1638) [RISM S768], available in modern edition as *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (1638), ed. Steven Saunders, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* 126 (Middleton, WI, 2003); Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a voce sola* (Venice, 1638) [RISM S770], available in facsimile edition in Anne Schnoebelen (ed.), *Solo Motets from the Seventeenth Century: Facsimiles of Prints from the Italian Baroque*, 10 vols. (London, 1987-88), vol. 8, digitization available at <<http://www.bibliotecamusica.it>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

92 Giovanni Felice Sances, *Antifone e litanie della Beatissima Vergine a più voci* (Venice, 1640) [RISM S771]; Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a 2. 3. 4. e cinque voci* (Venice, 1642) [RISM S772], available in modern edition as *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e cinque voci* (1642), ed. Andrew H. Weaver, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* 148 (Middleton, WI, 2008); Giovanni Felice Sances, *Salmi a 8 voci concertati, con la comodità de suoi ripieni per chi li desiderasse* (Venice, 1643) [RISM S773]; Giovanni Felice Sances, *Salmi brevi a 4 voci concertate* (Venice, 1647) [RISM S774]; Giovanni Felice Sances, *Antiphonae Sacrae B.M.V. per totum annum una voce decantandae* (Venice, 1648) [RISM S775].

93 'Già divoto dedicai la Voce; hoggi consacro riverente la penna, son sentiment di far noto al Mondo in queste poche Note l'attual servitù, di cui mi glorio....' The full Italian text and

Ferdinand III and, by extension, as representative examples of the music of the imperial chapel.

Sances's two dedications to non-Habsburgs are significant, for with them the composer was able to make explicit political statements. The dedicatee of his 1642 motet book (which interrupts Sances's otherwise clearly planned 'dedication programme' to the imperial family) is Count Vilem Slavata, Grand Chancellor of Bohemia and member of the Emperor's Privy Council. This shrewd choice of dedicatee placed Sances's print directly into the context of the Thirty Years' War, for Slavata was one of the men who had miraculously survived being hurled out of an upper-story window at the Defenestration of Prague in 1618. Sances's dedication of his 1648 print to Abbot Antonio Spindler referenced an even more recent political event, also connected to the war. Spindler was the Abbot of Vienna's *Schottenkirche*, the home of a revered statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary which formed the centrepiece of a votive procession in March 1645, during which Ferdinand III prayed for the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception to protect Vienna from the marauding Swedish army, soon to besiege the city.⁹⁴ Two years later, in thanks for the Virgin's protection, the Emperor consecrated the *Mariensäule* (Marian column) in Vienna's *Platz am Hof* in a grand ceremony in which he dedicated his entire realm to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. Sances's print, which contains solo settings of the Marian antiphons, was published less than a year after the consecration of the *Mariensäule*; the dedication to Spindler ties the print to the recent Marian celebration, ensuring that the print could be read as a musical analogue to that important event.

Sances's prints reflect the grandeur of Ferdinand III's court chapel through the careful selection of the music included in each volume. It is not surprising that his first two prints focus on works for one to four voices, considering the greater marketability of small-scale music over that for many performing forces. It seems significant, however, that as the Habsburgs' situation in the Thirty Years' War grew increasingly dire, the scale of Sances's published works actually grew larger, in strong contrast to the practice of other composers working in locales adversely affected by the war, most famously Heinrich Schütz.⁹⁵

English translation of the dedication are available in Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 268-69.

94 For details, see Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 223-24, 236-48.

95 As is well known, Schütz published his volumes of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* in 1636 and 1639 as a direct response to the fact that the Dresden musical establishment had dramatically decreased in size; see the text of the dedication of the second volume in Heinrich Schütz, *Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften*, ed. E. H. Müller von Aslow (Regensburg, 1931; reprint, New York, 1976), 139.

Sances's 1642 motet book, for instance, avoids solo works entirely, presenting instead pieces for two to up to six voices, and in the next year he published a book of *concertato* psalms for eight voices divided into two four-voice choirs, with explicit indications that the music was intended for eight soloists plus a full *ripieno* choir. Although his next book, issued four years later, reduces the number of voices to four, these 'salmi brevi' are not austere *da cappella* settings but elaborate *concertato* works for full choir, with 'solo' and 'tutti' indications throughout the partbooks. Sances thus seems to have consciously published larger-scale works during the 1640s, in order to present a sumptuous image of the imperial musical establishment during the leanest years of the war.

Another important way that Sances's prints reflect imperial cultural life is through the selection and organization of texts. Throughout the prints, the composer took special care to highlight the pillars of the *Pietas Austriaca*; although the individual texts are by and large typical for Italian sacred prints (which is to be expected considering the demands of the marketplace), the prints are nevertheless striking for their high concentration of Habsburg-specific themes and the deliberate organizational principles that highlight them. In Sances's three motet books, for instance, Marian works account for by far the greatest percentage of the contents, followed closely by works celebrating the Christological aspects of Habsburg piety and works for saints (who, for commercial reasons, are never identified with specific names).⁹⁶ Two of Sances's prints consist entirely of works celebrating the Blessed Virgin Mary, and two Marian works (*Regina caeli* and *Stabat Mater*) are included in his eight-voice psalms of 1643. The prints also contain works that had direct relevance to the Habsburg situation of the late 1630s and 40s, often placed in prominent positions in the print. Most telling in this regard are two motets for solo bass appended to the end of Sances's 1648 collection dedicated to Spindler, which are labelled as being written expressly for the court singer Carlo Benedetto Riccioni. In light of the above-mentioned connections between the print and the consecration of the *Mariensäule*, it seems likely that these works were sung at the event, especially considering that the texts of both works convey themes directly connected to the occasion.⁹⁷

Although Ferdinand III undoubtedly reaped benefits from Sances's print programme, there is no evidence that the Emperor directly ordered or commissioned the prints from the composer. In fact, there are many reasons why

96 Sances's first motet print contains nine Marian, seven Christological, and four saint motets out of a total twenty-seven; the second book contains six Marian and five Christological motets (none for saints) out of a total seventeen; the 1642 publication features eleven Marian, seven Christological, and three saint motets out of a total twenty-five.

97 Modern editions of the motets are in Weaver, *Motets by Emperor Ferdinand III*, 179-87.

Sances may have instituted the programme for his own gain. For one thing, having established a name for himself in Venice prior to his appointment in Vienna (with a published output of at least four volumes of small-scale Italian secular works), he may very well have wanted to maintain his reputation as a leading figure of the Italian musical world. For another thing, it seems quite clear that he arrived at the imperial court with ambitions to rise through the ranks of the chapel, and one way he could secure himself a place of prominence would be to ensure that his prints served as explicit homages to his employer. That the Emperor appreciated and actively supported Sances's publication efforts is apparent from the fact that on 17 December 1637 (within a month of Sances's signing the dedication of the first book of *Motetti*), Ferdinand awarded the composer 100 Reichsthaler for 'certain compositions presented to His Majesty'.⁹⁸ By 1639, Sances's salary had more than doubled, making him one of the highest paid members of the chapel, and in 1648 he received an important commission to write the music for an opera celebrating the Emperor's second marriage. The following year he was named *vice-Kapellmeister*, at which point, tellingly, his print programme ceased.⁹⁹

If there are still unanswered questions regarding single-author prints by Habsburg court composers, the situation becomes even more complex with prints dedicated to the Habsburgs by non-court composers. In many instances, it is impossible to know whether the dedication reflects an existing or a desired relationship with the Habsburgs, whether the composer was seeking employment at a Habsburg court or merely seeking funds to publish the work, or even whether the print reached the court at all and was acknowledged by the dedicatee. The vast number of dedications to the Habsburgs, especially the music-loving seventeenth-century emperors, makes even a cursory survey impossible here.¹⁰⁰

Composers who dedicated prints to the Habsburgs span the gamut from the most established stars of the day to virtual unknowns. Just a few examples

98 'Ihr May: praesentierter gewisser Composition'; see Peter Webhofer, *Giovanni Felice Sances, ca. 1600-1679: Biographisch-bibliographische Untersuchung und Studie über sein Motettenwerk* (Rome, 1964), 7, 169.

99 He did, however, issue two publications of secular music before the end of Ferdinand III's reign, the last of which he dedicated to the Emperor: Giovanni Felice Sances, *Capricci poetici* (Venice, 1649) [RISM S776] and Giovanni Felice Sances, *Trattenimenti musicali per camera* (Venice, 1657) [no RISM number].

100 See, however, Chapter 5 of this volume for citations to lists of prints dedicated to the seventeenth-century Austrian Habsburgs and Table 14.1 for a list of Milanese prints dedicated to Habsburgs. See also Chapter 15 for a discussion of the Habsburgs' connections to Venetian printing presses. For a list of prints dedicated to Rudolph II, see Lindell, 'Music and Patronage', 270-71.

should demonstrate the wide variety of composers who dedicated prints to the Habsburgs and their motivations for doing so. Monteverdi, for example, dedicated his last two prints, the celebrated *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi* (Venice, 1638) [RISM M3500] and *Selva morale et spirituale* (Venice, 1641) [RISM M3446], to Ferdinand III and Elenora Gonzaga respectively, not in an effort to win anything from the Habsburgs but as an expression of thanks for a long, fruitful relationship that extended back to the late sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ The celebrated virtuosa Barbara Strozzi dedicated two prints to the Habsburgs: her *Cantate, ariette, e duetti ... opera seconda* (Venice, 1651) [RISM S6984] to Ferdinand III, and her *Sacri musicali affetti* (Venice, 1655) [RISM S6986] to Anna de' Medici, wife of Archduke Ferdinand Charles of Tyrol. In both cases she took pains to tailor the print to the dedicatee; the madrigal book opens with a work celebrating the Emperor's recent third marriage to Eleonora Gonzaga, while the sacred print opens with a motet honouring the dedicatee's namesake, St. Anne, and also reflects aspects of Tyrolean musical and devotional life. It is highly unlikely, however, that Strozzi was seeking anything from the Habsburgs aside from monetary rewards and the increased attention that a high-profile dedication would garner in the marketplace. In fact, Sara Pecknold has argued that the *Sacri musicali affetti* reflects Strozzi's own devotional life as much as Anna de' Medici's, and that the print served as an important means by which the composer shifted her public image from courtesan and immoral muse of her father's Venetian academy to the devout mother of soon-to-be nuns.¹⁰² An example of a print whose dedication reflects a previously agreed-upon financial transaction is the monumental treatise *Musurgia universalis* published by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher in 1649, which was dedicated to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and generously subsidized by the imperial court – a subsidy that came with specific expectations regarding the contents and distribution of the print.¹⁰³

101 On the *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi*, see especially Steven Saunders, 'New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals', in *Music & Letters* 77 (1996), 183–93. On the *Selva morale*, see Linda Maria Koldau, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Claudio Monteverdi* (Kassel, 2001), 110–16, and Andrew H. Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom and Dolorous Mysteries: Habsburg Marian Devotion in Two Motets from Monteverdi's *Selva morale et spirituale*', in *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 237–71. See also Chapter 15 of this volume.

102 Sara Pecknold, "'On lightest leaves do I fly': Redemption and the Renewal of Identity in Barbara Strozzi's *Sacri musicali affetti* (1655)" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 2015).

103 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1650); facsimile ed. Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim, 1970). For details on Kircher's relationship with the Habsburgs and its impact on the *Musurgia*, see Eric Bianchi, 'Prodigious Sounds:

This chapter closes with one last example that showcases the many ways that a single-author print by a non-court composer could simultaneously serve the Habsburgs and the composer, even if each party's goals were strikingly different. In 1648, the Austrian composer Andreas Rauch (1592-1656) published the *Currus triumphalis musicus* (triumphal musical chariot), a monumental collection of thirteen large-scale Latin sacred works, each one dedicated to one of the Habsburg emperors throughout history.¹⁰⁴ On the surface, the print serves as an obsequious encomium to Ferdinand III and the Habsburgs, celebrating the imperial family's power and majesty at the end of the Thirty Years' War. This is apparent not only in the grand scope of the music it contains but also in such physical aspects of the print as its large size: fourteen partbooks of thirty to forty pages each, in upright folio.¹⁰⁵ There are also elaborate decorative features throughout, not least of which is an engraved frontispiece that pictures Ferdinand III riding a chariot in military triumph to the accompaniment of a vast array of heavenly musicians (Figure 11.4). The praise of the Habsburgs is tempered, however, by the fact that the Lutheran Rauch had been exiled from his native Austria by Ferdinand II's edicts banning Protestants from Inner Austria in the 1620s.

Although no documentation exists surrounding the creation of the *Currus triumphalis*, I have previously argued that its publication can be seen as a diplomatic transaction, in which the print serves as an ambassador for Ferdinand III by representing his majesty and glory throughout Europe while simultaneously serving as an ambassador for Rauch and his adopted home, the Hungarian free royal city of Sopron.¹⁰⁶ The print serves Rauch and Sopron by demonstrating their loyalty to the Habsburgs and assuring the Emperor that despite confessional differences, his subjects still recognize him as their ruler. At the same time, however, through subtle text choices in the otherwise generically celebratory motets, Rauch actively negotiates the Emperor's power, subtly admonishing him, offering advice, and asserting that his Protestant subjects will continue to exercise their freedom of religion. By including a setting

Music and Learning in the World of Athanasius Kircher' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011), 30-39.

104 Andreas Rauch, *Currus triumphalis musicus, Imperatorum Romanorum Tredecim ex Augustissima Archiducali Domo Austriaca* (Vienna, 1648) [RISM R342]; digitization available free of charge at <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

105 The dimensions of the largest partbook of the set held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France are 20.4 × 31.5 cm.

106 Andrew H. Weaver, 'The Materiality of Musical Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Representation and Negotiation in Andreas Rauch's *Currus triumphalis musicus* (1648)', in *Journal of Musicology* 35 (2018), 460-97. See also Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 149-51, 252-56.



FIGURE 11.4 Frontispiece of Andreas Rauch, *Currus triumphalis musicus* (Vienna, 1648) [RISM R342], partbook 1, engraving by Michael Frommer
COURTESY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE (VM1-974)

of Psalm 126/127 (*Nisi Dominus*), for instance, Rauch highlights a text that was of special importance to Luther and that was widely interpreted by Lutherans as a warning to rulers not to wield too firm and unyielding a hand in governing their lands.

3 Conclusion

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century print culture is a multi-faceted and fascinating window through which to examine musical life at the Habsburg courts. Printed sources in a variety of media – texts, images, and music – offer us glimpses of the luxurious and music-filled lives of the Habsburgs and their allies, and they also provide insights into the ways that people not directly connected to the court were able to interact with the Habsburgs, sometimes for personal gain but also sometimes with loftier political and/or religious goals in mind. The overview presented in this chapter is by necessity incomplete; much more work remains to be done – even on some of the sources discussed here – before we can arrive at a full picture of the many ways that printed media served, and were in turn employed by, the Habsburgs as instruments of political power. It is nevertheless clear that music on the printed page served more purposes than merely preserving works and functioning as scripts for performance. Indeed, printed music was no less effective than music in performance as an expression of Habsburg religiosity, magnificence, and political might, and we can be grateful that unlike the performances of Habsburg musicians, many of the prints still exist to this day for our study, enjoyment, and edification.

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Colonialism and Music in Habsburg New Spain

Drew Edward Davies

In an exceptional image from 1579, Diego Valadés (1533–82) presents an allegory of Christian evangelization in the Americas that, at first glance, seems to depict an idealized Franciscan mission community where people engage in theological learning, administer Christian rites, and care for the sick (see Figure 12.1).¹ One of several elaborate engravings prepared by the author himself, this image forms part of *Rhetorica Christiana*, a Christian evangelization manual published in Perugia with the intention of providing instruction for European missionaries to New Spain at the end of the sixteenth century.² At the centre of the image we see a Renaissance-style church that houses a radiantly incarnate Holy Spirit, and the scene takes place within a walled enclosure that features processional chapels located at each of the four corners, similar to the surviving atria of the sixteenth-century Franciscan monasteries of Huejotzingo and Calpan in central Mexico.

Yet despite first appearances, this church does not represent an actual building, but rather an oversized monstrosity, which takes the form of a church. This host is being borne in procession upon the shoulders of a dozen tonsured Franciscans escorted by St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) himself, as well as Martín de Valencia (c. 1474–1534), a Franciscan priest. The presence of Valencia historicizes the allegorical image, as it was he who led this dozen Franciscan brothers to central Mexico in 1524 to initiate the systematic baptism and evangelization of conquered Nahuatl peoples. Thus, in this representation of the first mendicant entourage (known as the ‘Twelve Apostles of Mexico’) bringing the mysteries, rites, and administration of salvific Catholicism to New Spain,³ we see the history and defence, from a Franciscan point of view, of colonialism in the

1 Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579), 207. See also Diego Valadés, *Retórica cristiana*, facsimile ed. with Spanish translation by Tarsicio Herrera Zapién (Mexico City, 1989). This image is also discussed in Howard Mayer Brown and Louise K. Stein, *Music in the Renaissance* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 21999), 225.

2 Kenneth Mills and William B. Taylor (eds.), *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington, DE, 1998), 138.

3 I use ‘salvific Catholicism’ as discussed in Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, 2008), 255.

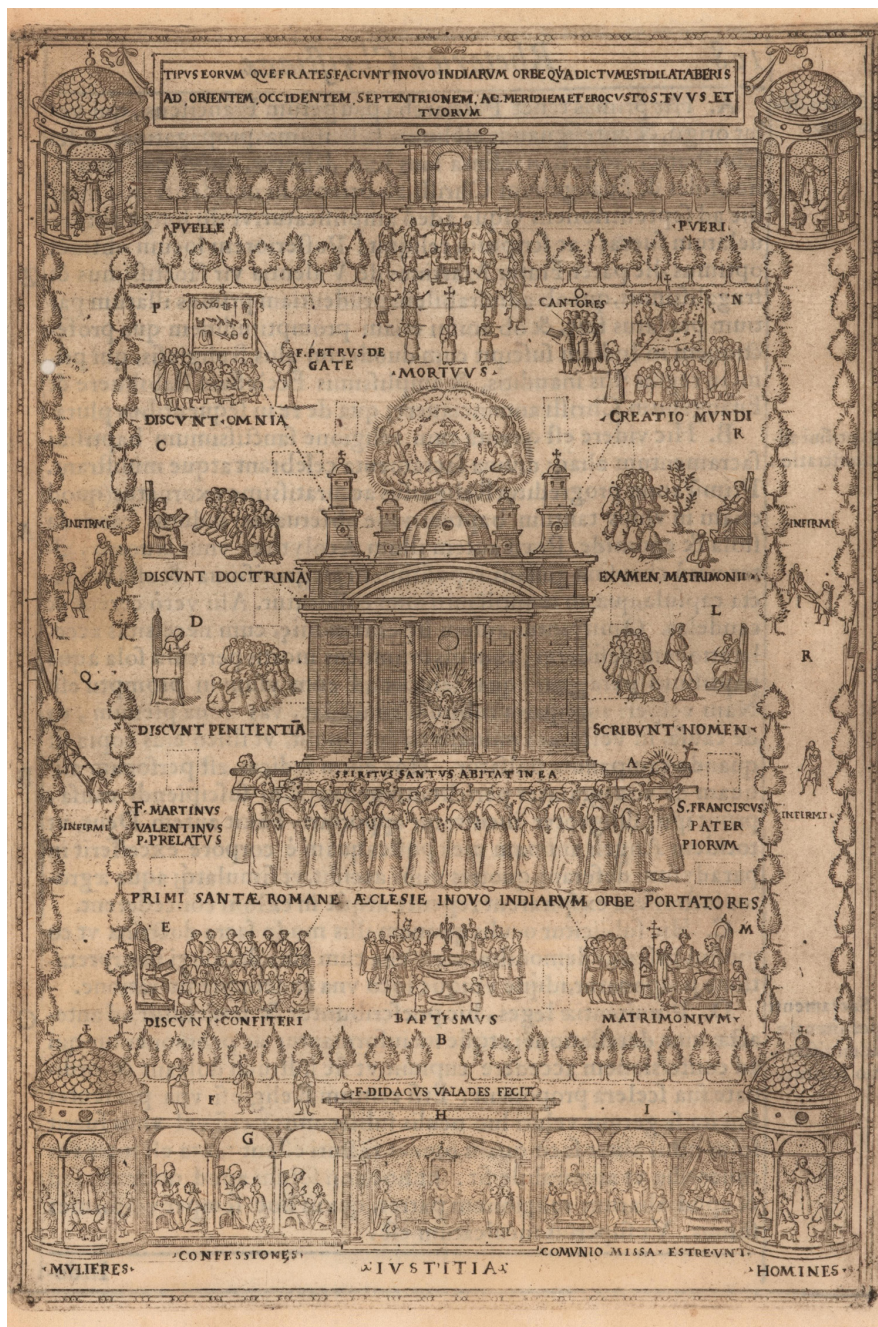


FIGURE 12.1 Allegory of Christian evangelization in the Americas, engraving from Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579), p. 207
COURTESY GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES (2860-179)

New World. Although we do not see Hernán Cortes, the Spanish monarchs, or any other imperial political figure, we do see with little subtlety the centrality of the Holy Sacrament, and we infer the concept of Christian salvation for which it stands. The image might also be interpreted to promote the feast of Corpus Christi, which venerates the sacrament and would quickly become a significant event in the calendar of New World Catholicism from the earliest decades.

Together with the arrival of the sacrament in New Spain, Valadés also represents some of the activities accomplished in the name of the Christian God by the Franciscan brothers in the conquered territory. For example, in the upper left corner of the image we see a representation of Peter van der Moere (c. 1480-1572), a Franciscan intellectual of Netherlandish origin who had arrived in central Mexico a year prior to the 'Twelve Apostles' at the request of Emperor Charles V. Generally known in the Spanish world as Pedro de Gante, van der Moere was a lay Franciscan who initiated a systematic exchange of knowledge between Europeans and indigenous peoples. He founded a monastery school in Mexico City to educate elite indigenous children in 'reading, writing, arithmetic, music, and fine and practical arts' using the Nahuatl language (which he had mastered) written with the Latin alphabet.⁴ In the Valadés engraving, van der Moere teaches a group of indigenous students catechism by means of mnemonic pictograms.⁵ Given that the image is allegorical, there is no reason to assume such lessons took place in a corner of the mission enclosure; it is one of many activities that spatially circle the monstrance and offer examples of how to bring the Christian soul closer to the Holy Spirit. Valadés, the first mixed-race (*mestizo*) person from New Spain to be ordained as a Franciscan priest, had himself been mentored by van der Moere in Mexico City before moving to Rome, and much of *Rhetorica Christiana*, a scholarly achievement that cites dozens of Classical, Medieval, and contemporary humanist thinkers, 'as many sacred as profane' ('tam sacrorum quam prophanorum'), promotes van der Moere's methodologies and observations in evangelical work.⁶

Whereas history considers van der Moere to be the first music teacher in the New World, he does not appear as a musician in the Valadés engraving. Music-making occurs separately in the image and can be seen somewhat to the right of van der Moere's lesson, where approximately seven vocalists, huddled

4 Don Paul Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Colonial Spanish America* (Columbia, SC, 1996), 42.

5 Francisco de la Maza, 'Fray Diego Valadés, escritor y grabador franciscano del siglo XVI', in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 13 (1945), 15-44.

6 Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana*, [19].

together in a cluster, sing from a single fascicle or a small choirbook, possibly in polyphony. They do not do so autonomously for the sole purpose of making music, but rather to solemnify a funeral service. This has known historical corroboration, as not only does repertoire for the Office of the Dead count among the oldest preserved musical works in New Spain, but the Mexico City celebration of the *exequias* (funeral rites) of Charles v in 1559 were described in detail by the rector of the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (founded in 1551), Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (c. 1514-75), who even noted that the invitatory motet the choir sang was composed by Cristóbal de Morales (c. 1500-53).⁷ *Exequias* were, like evangelization itself, 'both religious acts and political events' that supported the maintenance and expansion of the colonial enterprise.⁸ As Valadés's allegory asserts, musical activity served a definite though circumscribed role in the propagation of European religious solemnity.⁹ This essay considers the contrasting circumstances and perspectives on music making in New Spain (Spanish North America, or greater colonial Mexico) from the time of Charles v into the seventeenth century, highlighting the fragmentary nature of what we know about it, stressing its inextricable connection to the ritual of the Catholic Church, and querying the extent to which it might be considered 'Habsburg' cultural production.

1 Colonialism and the Habsburgs

Spain's initial encroachment onto the North American mainland occurred coevally with Luther's Protestant Reformation. During that contentious time in Europe, colonialism was expanding the global impact of the Catholic Church to an unprecedented degree and opening new opportunities for the Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican mendicant orders, and later the Jesuits, to exercise their missionary goals within lands newly conquered by the imperial government. The economic, agricultural, philosophical, social, and cultural effects of Spanish colonialism form an inextricable element of early modern history difficult to overestimate, and music figures – even if in a relatively minor

7 Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1952), 87-90. On Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, see Dianne M. Bono, *Cultural Diffusion of Spanish Humanism in New Spain: Francisco Cervantes de Salazar's Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre* (New York, 1992).

8 Grayson Wagstaff (ed.), *Matins for the Dead in Sixteenth-Century Colonial Mexico: Mexico City Cathedral 3 and Puebla Cathedral 3* (Ottawa, 2007), xiv.

9 On music as a tool of evangelization in a catechistic process in the Americas, see also Louise K. Stein, "La música de dos orbes": A Context for the First Opera of the Americas', in *Opera Quarterly* 22 (2006), 433-58, esp. 433-35, and Chapter 8 of this volume.

way – into that general history, although much remains unknown about the topic.

Originally an endeavour of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, the colonial project irreversibly established European social and economic customs in a vast territory inhabited for centuries by diverse peoples, all of whom suffered subjugation, if not obliteration through violence and disease. Building upon Isabella and Ferdinand's venture, the Habsburgs, who ruled the Spanish Empire from the accession of Charles V (Charles I of Spain) in 1516 until the outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession following the death of Charles II in 1700, amplified the religious ideologies of the *Reconquista* and the Inquisition as means of social control. They fostered a mercantilist economy reliant on slave labour and expanded the Atlantic slave trade, which had been forcibly bringing sub-Saharan Africans to the Caribbean since 1501.¹⁰ Indeed, the establishment of imperial institutions to more efficiently extract natural resources and maintain social order in a contested environment became key priorities for the Habsburg monarchs, whose 'restrictions on trade, on property ownership, and on economic and political participation ... [upheld] a rigidly hierarchical society in which the vast majority cannot advance'.¹¹

The Counter-Reformation character of the Empire's official culture during the reigns of King Philip II and his successors coalesced in the wake of a complex, early colonial period that developed quickly and focused on the evangelization, cultural reorientation, and administration of the conquered people. Only a short time after the permanent settlement of Santo Domingo on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola in 1496 and the capture of Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City) in 1521 by Spanish conquerors and their indigenous American allies, European authorities founded the First High Court (*Audiencia*) of Mexico in 1527, the Diocese of Mexico in 1530, and the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1532. The first Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza (1495–1552), arrived in Mexico City in 1535. Establishing a religious musical program was hardly delayed; as early as 1536, Bishop Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), 'a Basque Erasman of originality and character',¹² had sent a Mexico City Cathedral canon back to Seville in order to acquire choirbooks with hymns and psalms for the liturgical year, as

10 David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, 2010), 21.

11 James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, 2010), 21.

12 Hugh Thomas, *The Golden Empire: Spain, Charles V, and the Creation of America* (New York, 2011), 172.

well as to procure a standard set of rules to govern a cathedral choir.¹³ The fabrication of Mexico City as the continent's new centre of Catholicism culminated with its elevation to Archdiocese in 1546. Similarly, in South America, the capture of Cusco in 1533, also by Spanish conquerors and indigenous American collaborators, led to the founding of the Diocese of Cusco in 1536, the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542, and the High Court of Lima that same year. Charles V and his advisors personally selected the leaders of these judicial, religious, and administrative jurisdictions in North and South America as a mechanism to build stable colonial institutions.

In comparison to the economic, doctrinal, social, and administrative aspects of colonialism, music counted as a secondary priority. Even in relation to the visual arts and architecture, the formal role of music in Spanish colonial social structure must be considered minor, judging by the relative paucity of surviving materials and documentation, and the absence of a musicians' guild concomitant with those for painters, sculptors, or builders.¹⁴ Guilds organized labour and set professional standards, and they arose from the presence of a sizeable community of active artisans; the number of professional musicians in New Spain who were not also priests or educators may have remained relatively small, even as late as the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, music, sound, and dance served important, multivalent roles in the colonial Americas across all time periods, from the evangelizing activities of the first Franciscan missionaries, as already seen, to the Baroque civic festivals of the late seventeenth century and beyond. The soundscape of colonialism consisted of much more than formal musical activities, as it involved the widespread introduction of new natural and technological sounds, such as church bells, newly introduced animals, and various artisanal craftwork. Increasingly ubiquitous, bells articulated time, news, and solemn events, and they symbolically expressed the social hierarchy of urban religious institutions. For example, the Third Mexican Council of 1585 declared the pre-eminence of cathedral bells over those of other churches.¹⁵

13 Fernando Zamora and Jesús Alfaro Cruz, 'Cristóbal de Campaya y la fabricación del primer reglamento de coro en América: La importancia del coro en la conquista espiritual de México-Tenochtitlan', in *Lo sonoro en el ritual catedralicio: Iberoamérica, siglos XVI-XIX*, ed. Patricia Díaz Cayeros (Mexico City-Guadalajara, 2007), 75-85.

14 On artists' guilds, see Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque, 2008), 138-40.

15 Montserrat Galí Boadella, 'Las campanas en una ciudad episcopal novohispana en vísperas de la Independencia', in *Harmonia Mundi: Los instrumentos sonoros en Iberoamérica, siglos XVI al XIX*, ed. Lucero Enríquez (Mexico City, 2009), 221-35, cit. 226.

Yet whereas some scholars, paraphrasing Robert Ricard's concept of the spiritual conquest, have discussed a targeted 'musical conquest' of indigenous peoples,¹⁶ the changes in soundscape and practice occasioned by colonialism might be better conceptualized as part of an overall reorientation of the ritual lives of the surviving indigenous peoples toward the practices of Mediterranean European Catholicism, rather than a musical endeavour for its own sake. In other words, hegemony of music and sound would have been inseparable from hegemony itself, and European conceptions of music and musical practices did not necessarily correspond directly to those of the pre-Columbian world.¹⁷ The political and ritual conquest of New Spain did not result immediately in the total loss of all pre-Columbian customs,¹⁸ and some musical practices, especially the use of some indigenous percussion instruments and certain contexts for traditional singing, may have endured or transformed over the course of several centuries, especially in processions, social aspects of festivities for locally venerated saints, and on other occasions unrelated to liturgical ritual. The impact of European music, like the impact of colonialism itself, would have been greater in some areas than others, and it would have differed in degree between the principal cathedrals – which eventually relied upon a comparatively professional level of music making and instruction within a microcosm of western Mediterranean Europe – and the missions, where music served more as a collective activity organized by priests and lay brothers. Indeed, Kristin Dutcher Mann aptly notes that the music in the mission communities 'was simpler, performed by Indian singers and instrumentalists with informal training, and intended to edify the Church', in comparison to more complex cathedral repertoires, which had a more European profile but ultimately also served to edify the institution and its saints.¹⁹

16 Lourdes Turrent, *La conquista musical de México* (Mexico City, 1993); Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley, 1966); original French published in 1933.

17 Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge, 2007), 9.

18 Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge, 1993).

19 Kristin Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590-1810* (Palo Alto, 2010), 174. On the mission soundscape in Peru, see Jutta Toelle, 'Mission Soundscapes: Demons, Jesuits and Sounds in Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista Espiritual* (1629)', in *Empire of the Senses: Sensory Practices and Modes of Perception in the Atlantic World*, ed. D. Hacke and P. Musselwhite (Leiden, 2019), 67-87.

Today, the central narrative of the relationship between European music and colonial evangelization – that of the power of music to pacifically convert indigenous peoples to Catholicism – stems from the sixteenth century itself as self-congratulatory evidence of the efficacy of mendicant methodologies in New Spain. ‘Indian participation in church and mission musical activities proved to be one of the most efficient tools of conversion, since it promoted the acculturation process,’ writes Gerard Béhague, drawing attention to the moment of conversion rather than to the decades of social control the imposition of such activities helped to maintain.²⁰ Peter van der Moere himself wrote to Charles v that:

I can tell Your Majesty [Charles v] without exaggeration that there are already Indians here who are fully capable of preaching, teaching, and writing. And with the utmost sincerity I can affirm that there are now trained singers among them who if they were to sing in Your Majesty’s Chapel at this moment would do so well that perhaps you would have to see them actually singing in order to believe it possible.²¹

Passages such as these, which are common in early accounts, may indeed show local people’s musical skills and enthusiasm for Christian musical ritual, but at the same time they repeat an Orphic narrative about civilizing the untamed using the power of music that is difficult to accept as reliable historical fact. Simple polyphony and monophonic religious songs were not magic, and van der Moere’s exaggeration indicates the success of his missionaries’ re-inscription of collective ritual more so than the power or sound of church music itself. It may also show a strategy on the part of some indigenous individuals to specialize in musical performance rather than agricultural labour, which was part of the mission project, and thus improve their lifestyle predicament through cultural work. For example, in 1561, Philip II called for a reduction in the number of indigenous instrumental musicians in the mission communities.²² Indeed, Motolinía, one of the ‘Twelve Apostles’ who came to New Spain with Valencia, writes in his *Historia de los Indios* how indigenous musicians played wind instruments such as shawms in the absence of organs, until those were

20 Gerard Béhague, ‘Music in the “New World”: The Baroque in Mexico and Brazil’, in *The World of Baroque Music: New Perspectives*, ed. George B. Stauffer (Indianapolis, 2006), 253–80, cit. 254.

21 As cited in Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 54.

22 Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 65.

acquired and constructed.²³ Eventually the organ became a ubiquitous instrument in New Spanish churches, although scant notated repertoire for organ survives from the colonial period. Much organ music would have been extemporized, including verses of psalms and hymns.

It is tempting to conceive of colonial music as magical, and contemporary performance groups often try to evoke a glimmer of that magic, together with narratives of discovery and treasure hunting, a problem exacerbated by the many concert programs designed around 1992 for the quincentenary of Columbus's first voyage to the Caribbean.²⁴ While re-envisioning colonial music as the ragged distillate of individuals and communities sufficing with their unique means to participate in global Catholic ritual might take away some of that mystery, it might also help deflect the cliché of European church music as civilizing and superior, thereby viewing colonial institutions more as contested environments.

2 What is Colonial Music?

A consequence – or perhaps an indicator – of the unequal power dynamic of a colonial situation, colonial music encompasses an idiosyncratic mix of repertoires and sound-related activities derived largely from the practices of the colonizing culture yet determined by local conditions. Throughout much of the twentieth century, colonial music had been primarily conceived as a historical stage leading toward the music of the modern nation.²⁵ However, the colonial period itself encompassed three centuries of dynamic change – nearly two of them under Habsburg governance – and the new commercial opportunities for music that arose following the independence of Mexico and other Latin American countries have little corollary with colonial repertoires or musical activities. Specific religious song practices such as the singing of *alabados* (penitential, collectively-sung songs whose age is uncertain and which persist in local practice to some extent in Mexico and the southwestern United States)

23 Francis Borgia Steck, *Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain* (Washington, DC, 1951), 296.

24 See, for example, Boston Camerata directed by Joel Cohen, *Nueva España: Close Encounters in the New World, 1590-1690*, Erato 2292-45997-2, 1993, compact disc; and The Harp Consort directed by Andrew Lawrence-King, *Missa Mexicana*, Harmonia Mundi HMU 907293, 2002, compact disc.

25 For example, Miguel Galindo, *Nociones de historia de la música mejicana* (Colima, 1933); Gabriel Saldivar, *Historia de la música en México (épocas precortesiana y colonial)* (Mexico City, 1934).

likely have precedent in the colonial period, but they have certainly changed over time.²⁶ In order to gain a better idea of what colonial music might be, epistemological perspectives drawn from ethnomusicology, historical musicology, and the study of musical performance offer distinct conceptions that, when considered together, suggest the enormity of the topic yet the exiguity of the sources.

One way to conceive of colonial music would be to imagine all the musical activities and soundscapes of the colonial polity, including oral traditions such as children's songs or soldiers' songs, literate traditions such as the music of the Catholic Church, and environments such as processional drumming or the peal of bells, the latter being especially indicative of colonialism given that they 'reproduced the hierarchy of the city in aural form'.²⁷ The many surviving regulations on the use of bells, as well as the omnipresent though under-detailed references to sung dances in New Spain, suggest a vibrant and multifaceted soundscape, yet one founded upon the articulation of social order and, in some cases, resistance to that order.²⁸ This approach yields less in terms of reproducible repertoire than it does insight into the regulatory and communicative functions of sound in the colonial context, as well as the persistence of popular traditions or the development of new traditions of music and dance independently from, or in response to, colonial authority.

Alternatively, for practical purposes one might wish to restrict the concept of colonial music to the notated and reproducible repertoires surviving from the period. Colonial sources have received greater musicological attention than the oral traditions, for obvious reasons, given that such archival material can be catalogued, edited, performed with some degree of historically-informed techniques, and enjoyed aesthetically in the present day as fine art.²⁹ In the early modern Spanish world, such music remained almost exclusively

26 Thomas J. Steele, *The Alabados of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1995). Steele locates the antecedents of the *alabados* in late medieval European Christianity.

27 Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC, 2008), 33. Of course the regulation of sound was also an issue of social control in early modern Europe.

28 Dutcher Mann, *The Power of Song*.

29 See Lincoln Spiess and Thomas Stanford, *An Introduction to Certain Mexican Archives* (Detroit, 1969), the first formally published listings of Mexican cathedral sources; Drew Edward Davies, *Catálogo de la Colección de Música del Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Durango* (Mexico City, 2013), the first published catalogue with musical incipits of an entire Mexican cathedral archive; and the 'MUSICAT' database of music at Mexico City Cathedral, built and managed by the Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente, <<http://www.musicat.unam.mx>> (accessed 27 June 2020), the first online open-access catalogue of colonial music.

within the institutions of power, primarily the Catholic Church, rather than in domestic or popular contexts, and even church services would have featured a significant amount of musical extemporization, especially in organ music. Thus, studies of the notated colonial music need to acknowledge that those repertoires reflect not the aural or cultural diversity of the original soundscape, but rather elements of the ritual music of the Church, the society's most powerful institution, much of it produced by Spaniards and creoles for a mixed public. Whereas substantial seventeenth-century polyphonic repertoires from Mexico City and Puebla survive, the largest repertoires of notated music sources from New Spain, other than choirbooks of Gregorian chant, date from after 1750, long after the Habsburg period, despite the desire of the pioneering musicologists to privilege the earlier sources.³⁰

A third perspective on what constitutes colonial music has arisen from the community of early music performers, marketers, and listeners. As I have argued elsewhere, early music groups over the past thirty years have forged a middle ground between the broad and restricted perspectives laid out above, creating performances and recordings that strive to approximate the broader soundscape by supplementing the notated repertoire with popular improvisatory techniques, chiefly through vocal style and the use of percussion.³¹ This contemporary performance tradition, which does not avoid exoticism, is often called 'Latin American Baroque', and it is the public's portal to colonial music today.³² Although such performances are fraught with issues of historical plausibility and are rooted in contemporary politics, they do acknowledge the complex contexts of colonial church music as distinct from those of music in Europe while at the same time reviving repertoire for the general public. It is important to remember that there would never have been a single 'Latin American' performance practice during the colonial period, given both the extended time frame and the geographic dispersal of people into a unique mix of skills, knowledge, intentions, and limitations in any colonial settlement. Instrumentation, Spanish and Latin diction, preferred vocal timbre, ornamentation, the

30 See, for example, the large quantity of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources listed in Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, DC, 1970), despite the volume's title.

31 Drew Edward Davies, 'Finding "Local Content" in the Music of New Spain', in *Early Music America* 19, no. 2 (2013), 60–64.

32 Geoffrey Baker, 'Latin American Baroque: Performance as Post-Colonial Act?', in *Early Music* 36, no. 3 (2008), 441–48; Drew Edward Davies, 'Nationalism, Exoticism, and Colonialist Appropriation: The Historiographic Decontextualization of Music from New Spain', in *Latin American Choral Music: Contemporary Performance and the Colonial Legacy*, ed. Janet Sturman (2007), <<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~sturman/CLAM/CLAMhome.html>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

solemnity or theatricality of performance, concern for correctness, and other factors would have been variable and determined by individuals, and thus neither the exotic *fiestas* imagined by performance groups nor the staid solemnity imagined by historically-informed purists is likely to fully encapsulate what people of the time experienced in the colonial soundscape.

3 On Colonial Repertoires

The notated repertoires of colonial music differ from their Mediterranean European counterparts – themselves tremendously varied – in some significant ways. The sources reflect a practical yet circumscribed role for music as the ritual of the Catholic Church, with little representation of other elite institutions until late in the colonial period.³³ Unlike most of Europe, New Spain constituted no significant market for printed secular song, supported no substantial tradition of composition for the stage (despite the widespread presence of theatres), cultivated no autonomous instrumental music from before the second half of the eighteenth century (despite the ubiquity of organs in seventeenth-century New Spain), and left little trace of musical culture in the viceregal courts from Habsburg times. On the other hand, musical sources in New Spain reveal a rich tradition of contrafacta and musical reuse from throughout the colonial period and even into the nineteenth century. As such, colonial music, at least in terms of material culture, represents a truncated refraction of institutional European music.

The earliest European repertoires in New Spain were plainchant and devotional song, the latter almost certainly produced as extemporized contrafacta. The religious retinues travelling with Spanish explorers and conquerors would have sung liturgical services with Gregorian melodies or formulas from the time of their arrival on the continent; for example, Bernal Díaz recounts the priority placed on celebrating Mass upon Cortes's arrival in Veracruz in 1519.³⁴ Such a Mass would not have served evangelization purposes, but rather would have served the religious lives of the conquerors themselves, as much colonial

33 The most significant colonial source of popular music is the *Codice Trujillo de Perú*, known also as the *Código Martínez Compañón*, which dates from the 1780s, long after the Habsburg period (though there are sources of Latin American popular music that predate it). See Ignacio Arellano and Carlos Mata Induráin (eds.), *El Obispo Martínez Compañón: Vida y obra de un Navarro ilustrado en América* (Pamplona, 2012). See also Chapter 8 of this volume for a discussion of operatic performances in Lima in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

34 Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 52.

music did. As institutions such as Mexico City Cathedral coalesced, the acquisition of the means to celebrate the liturgy as was done in Spain became a significant priority, and thus liturgical ornaments of all kinds were imported to increase the solemnity and dignity of ritual.

The systematic growth of a library of manuscript choirbooks at Mexico City Cathedral reflects a project of musical dissemination based upon completing the cycle of chant for the most important feasts and then the liturgical calendar as a whole. Following upon his request for liturgical books to be brought from Seville in 1536, Bishop Zumárraga himself donated choirbooks that he had brought from Seville to Mexico City Cathedral in 1540 to dignify and standardize the celebration of the liturgy according to the Sevillian model,³⁵ and the development of a repertoire of chant continued for several centuries. The 121 choirbooks conserved at Mexico City Cathedral, fourteen of which contain polyphony, witness a living tradition, almost archaic in its materiality, of constant amendment and use over four centuries, from books originating in the mid-sixteenth century to a Marian book dated 1899.³⁶ These ceremonial objects served as ornate custodians of the musical melodies, much like a reliquary would honour its contents, and thus they appear deliberately archaic. Choirbooks, more than simply collections of post-Tridentine chant, serve as multifaceted artworks that preserve illuminations in a multiplicity of styles copied from Sevillian or other models, or invented by local artists, which could serve pedagogical as well as ritual purposes.³⁷

Mexico City printing houses also participated in the dissemination of a standardized repertoire of plainchant by releasing twelve distinct books with liturgical chant between 1556 and the end of the century.³⁸ Two of these books, including an antiphoner printed by Pedro de Ocharte in 1584, can be

35 Lucero Enríquez, 'Una donación de fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo de México: de destrucción de un párrafo y construcción de un contexto', in *Conformación y retórica de los repertorios catedralicios en la Nueva España*, coord. Drew Edward Davies, ed. Lucero Enríquez (Mexico City, 2016), 17-32. See also Barbara Haggh-Huglo, with Eric Padziora, Simon Polson, and Rachel Ruisard, 'New and Borrowed Chant in New Spain and Mexico: The Offices for the Espousal of the Virgin, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, the Virgin of the Pillar, and the Virgin of Guadalupe', in *Études grégoriennes* 44 (2017), 111-75.

36 Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Libros de coro*, V15, *Officium in Festo Immaculatae Conceptionis*, which is a neo-Medieval choirbook written in square notation.

37 Silvia Salgado, *Libros de coro conservados en la Biblioteca Nacional de México* (Mexico City, 2009). See also the 'Libros de coro' project of the Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente: <<http://www.musicat.unam.mx/nuevo/librosdecoro.html>> (accessed 27 June 2020).

38 A summary of the content of these books appears in Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 70-81.

consulted today on the website *Primeros libros en las Américas*.³⁹ Yet no other music printing arose during the colonial period in New Spain, and subsequent printed books of chant tended to be imported from printers in Madrid, Antwerp, or Rome. While the texts to some villancico cycles were published in Mexico City, Puebla, and elsewhere, no villancico music was ever printed in New Spain.⁴⁰

As a corollary to chant practices, Lorenzo Candelaria has convincingly shown how people in sixteenth-century New Spain may have extemporized songs on devotional texts using melodies with contours similar to Gregorian chant. These songs would have used indigenous vernacular languages as published in volumes such as the *Psalmodia Christiana* of Bernardo de Sahagún (1583).⁴¹ A handful of *chanzonetas* by Gaspar Fernández (c. 1566-1629) dating from around 1616, including the often recorded *Xicochi conetzintle*, reflects a late, more formal use of indigenous vernacular languages in paraliturgical devotional song in New Spain. Berenice Alcántara Rojas has noted that the Nahuatl poetry used in these indigenous-language polyphonic compositions reflects an artistic courtly origin, rather than a popular use of the language as sometimes assumed.⁴²

Only four Latin American cathedral archives preserve sixteenth-century musical repertoire produced locally: Mexico City, Puebla, Guatemala, and Bogotá.⁴³ Concerning the Mexico City repertoire, most of which was copied in the seventeenth century, Javier Marín López has noted that 'more than 80% of the Latin polyphonic works conserved in Mexican choirbooks was composed by musicians active or educated on the Iberian peninsula, mostly during the period of the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (1580-1640)'.⁴⁴ Indeed, New Spain developed its own repertorial canons of polyphony that

39 *Psalterium, antiphonarium sanctorale cum Psalmis et Hymnis ...* (Mexico City, 1584), consulted on <<http://www.primeroslibros.org>>, 27 June 2020.

40 For villancico poetry printed in Mexico during the late seventeenth century, see *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1994), vol. 2, *Villancicos y letras sacras*.

41 Lorenzo Candelaria, 'Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmodia Christiana*: A Catholic Songbook from Sixteenth-Century New Spain', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2004), 619-84, esp. 623-33.

42 Berenice Alcántara Rojas, 'En "mestizo y indio": Las obras con textos en lengua náhuatl del *Cancionero de Gaspar Fernández*', in *Conformación y retórica de los repertorios catedrales en la Nueva España*, coord. Drew Edward Davies, ed. Lucero Enríquez (Mexico City, 2016), 53-84.

43 Robert J. Snow, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 9 (Chicago, 1996), 18.

44 Javier Marín López, 'Ideología, Hispanidad y canon en la polifonía latina de la Catedral de México', in *Resonancias* 27 (2010), 57-77, cit. 60.

mixed pieces written by peninsular composers such as Francisco Guerrero (1528-99) and Sebastián de Vivanco (c. 1551-1622) with pieces that had been composed in New Spain by Hernando Franco (1532-85), Francisco López Capiillas (1614-74), and others. Such repertoires would be copied, generally in Mexico City, and disseminated to other cities in New Spain where they might be used for more than a century. Even so, Mexico City did not simply re-create Spanish practices across the board. For example, the repertoire of polyphonic hymns by the Sevillian composer Guerrero copied in Mexico City choirbooks differs from the original Spanish works in that the vocal polyphony is placed on the odd-numbered verses of the hymns rather than the even-numbered verses. This shows greater conformity to Palestrina's music written for Rome, which likewise locates the polyphony in odd-numbered verses, than standard Spanish cathedral custom, and it required skills of musical adaptation on the part of the copyists of the Mexico City sources.⁴⁵

Some Mexican sources present a fascinating mixture of pieces. Consider, for example, the Carmen Codex, a polyphonic choirbook copied in the seventeenth century, probably at the privileged Incarnation convent in Mexico City.⁴⁶ The first major New Spanish musical source to be published in full in a modern edition, the codex contains a collected miscellany of liturgical works, many of them either Marian or for Holy Week, by a mixture of Spanish and New Spanish composers from throughout the previous century: a five-voice Mass, a Requiem Mass, Lamentations, a Magnificat, and other motets by Juan de Lienas (fl. 1617-54); Guerrero's *Missa Beata Mater*; responsories from the Office of the Dead by Franco; a Magnificat by López; and anonymous motets and Passion settings.⁴⁷

The Valdés Codex, a polyphonic manuscript source dating to around 1600, similarly presents a mixture, containing four-voice masses by Palestrina as well as works by Juan Esquivel Barahona (c. 1563-after 1612) and others. An emendation to this manuscript containing two short pieces or *chanzonetas* with texts in Nahuatl, *Sancta Mariae in ilhuicac* and *Dios itlatzonantzine*, has puzzled scholars for generations because of an inscription on one of them that reads 'hernā don Fran.co'. This had once been assumed to be an attribution to Hernando Franco, but Robert Stevenson and others have since considered the

45 Javier Marín López, *Los libros de polifonía de la Catedral de México: Estudio y catálogo crítico*, 2 vols. (Madrid-Jaén, 2012), vol. 2, 101-2.

46 Eliyahu A. Schlaefer, 'New Light on the Mexican Choirbooks at the Newberry Library', in *Notes* 30 (1973), 231-41.

47 Jesús Bal y Gay (ed.), *El Códice del Convento del Carmen*, introduction by Carlos Chavez, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México* 1 (Mexico City, 1952).

pieces the product of an indigenous composer who used the honorific 'Don'.⁴⁸ (The placement of the inscription does not necessarily indicate that it refers to a composer.) The pieces themselves do not resemble those of Hernando Franco yet reflect considerable though imperfect knowledge of period counterpoint. Regardless of authorship, I suggest a different possibility for these special works, namely that they could be imitative contrafacts derived from Netherlandish chansons, a standard genre of music at Charles v's court that would have likely been imported to early New Spain as a supplement to church music like Palestrina's. The contrafacta, based upon sources from different composers or aural memory, could have been prepared by many types of people living locally, not necessarily either European or indigenous, but the mixed nature of the codex is clear: the repertoire is Italian, Spanish, and local, in some ways just like the church itself.

Yet the connections to the Low Countries may be more significant than commonly assumed. Consider, for example, the cadence pattern in *Dios itlatzonantzine* (Example 12.1) as compared with a passage from *Ung gay bergier* by Thomas Crecquillon (c. 1505-67), a priest and singer in Charles v's musical chapel who was highly regarded in the late Renaissance (Example 12.2). The voice leading is so similar that one wonders if it is in fact a version or imitation of Crecquillon's well-known chanson – or at least his style – by a local musician. Or perhaps Crecquillon represents a formulaic building block that composers of the time used in creating a large number of new pieces, and seen that way, Crecquillon and the composers of the New Spanish source shared a common tradition. Whatever the case in this instance, Stevenson was accurate in the mid-twentieth century to identify the roots of Spanish and New Spanish polyphony in 'the Flemings in Philip the Fair's chapel establishment and the Flemings such as Gombert who spent time in Spain during Charles v's residencies on the peninsula', in addition to the Spanish court composers of secular song.⁴⁹ This fundamental connection to the Habsburg Low Countries has been insufficiently recognized by scholarship in more recent decades.

Beside the exception of the two anonymous *chanzonetas* in Nahuatl in the Valdés Codex, the polyphonic repertoire of sixteenth-century New Spain is dominated by Magnificats, hymns, motets, Mass settings, and Vespers psalms, and it tends to show a greater degree of conservatism than innovation (as was also true of music the Spanish royal court, as discussed in Chapter 3). From this

48 Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley, 1968), 204-19; Eloy Cruz, 'De como una letra hace la diferencia: Las obras en Náhuatl atribuidas a Don Hernando Franco', in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 32 (2001), 257-95.

49 Stevenson, *Music in Mexico*, 82.

EXAMPLE 12.1 Anonymous, *Dios itlatzonantzine*, bb. 15-19

mo-tla-zo co-ne - tzin Je - su - cris - to. Dios i - tla - zo - nan-tzi - ne, ce
zo co - ne - tzin Je - su - cris - to.
mo-tla-zo co-ne - tzin Je - su - cris - to.
mo-tla-zo co-ne - tzin Je - su - cris - to.

EXAMPLE 12.2 Thomas Crecquillon, *Ung gay bergier*, bb. 17-21

al-lez dict el-le, ti-rez vous ar-rie - re vos-tre par-ler je trou-ve
ti - rez vous ar-rie - re vos-tre par-ler je trou-ve
ti - rez vous ar-rie - re
vous ar-rie - re, ti-rez vous ar-rie - re

arises the commonly held view that colonial music ‘lagged behind’ European music on account of its geographic separation,⁵⁰ a view that somewhat contrasts the exotic view perpetuated by the performance community, largely due to a contemporary performance canon of only the most provocative villancicos. Vernacular villancicos and *chansonetas* for paraliturgical church performance also form a sizeable repertoire, particularly the works of Fernández,

⁵⁰ For some discussion of this problem, see Lester D. Brothers, ‘Renaissance, Post-Renaissance, and Progressive: Some Issues of Style in Sacred Polyphony of Seventeenth-Century Mexico’, in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, ed. David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff (Hillsdale, NY, 2002), 75-89.

Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (c. 1590-1664), Antonio de Salazar (c. 1650-1715), and Manuel de Zumaya (c. 1678-1755), but these do not begin to approach the quantity in which they survive in peninsular archives. As a whole, the New Spanish musical legacy underscores the persistence of tradition in the Church, with provocative interventions achieved by specific individuals in different times and places.

4 The Role of Individuals

Perhaps the most characteristic attribute of colonial music lies in the great influence that a small number of individuals from the colonizing culture manage to exert in the colony itself – much more so than they likely would have at home – at least within the purview of the institutions they represent. Individual professional musicians teach, compose, acquire musical materials from abroad, build limited repertorial canons, and bring musical instruments for use as well as knowledge of their construction and maintenance. Individuals in related professions, such as priests or lay brothers in administrative positions, may also exert extraordinary influence, as has already been seen in the case of Peter van der Moere, the figure most connected with using music as a tool of evangelization, but who was in fact a polymath educator.

During the Habsburg period, European composers working in New Spain who exemplify how individual musicians could shape repertoire, build and nourish canons, and rejuvenate musical style include Franco, Fernández, and Gutiérrez de Padilla. This continued into the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the example of two Italian composers, Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-69) and Santiago Billoni (c. 1700-63), who introduced modern Italianate performance and compositional conventions in Bourbon times, exerting much greater influence than either would have had back in southern Italy.⁵¹ Of the sixteenth-century composers, Franco was of great significance, as his known compositions date from the early 1580s or prior and count as the earliest notated music composed in the Americas to survive today.⁵² A peripatetic musician, Franco left Extremadura, Spain for Santo Domingo in the 1560s, and then worked in Santiago de

⁵¹ Drew Edward Davies, 'The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, *Español Culture*, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2006).

⁵² For editions of Franco, see Steven Barwick (ed.), *The Franco Codex of the Cathedral of Mexico* (Carbondale, 1965); Hernando Franco, *Obras, Volumen Primero*, ed. Juan Manuel Lara Cárdenas, *Tesoro de la Música Polifónica en México* 9 (Mexico City, 1996); and Snow, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony*.

Cuba and Guatemala before settling in Mexico City, where he served as chapel master of the Cathedral for the final decade of his life.⁵³ Transatlantic emigration to the colonies meant career advancement, financial improvement, and social elevation for a rural musician like Franco, who wrote music in a sober, chant-based, homophonic style.

Franco's music established itself early as a canonical complement to Spanish peninsular repertoire in New Spain, especially solemn pieces such as music for the Office of the Dead, which remained in the New Spanish performance repertoire for several centuries, not only in Mexico City, but also in regional centres such as Durango. As can be seen in Example 12.3, an excerpt from a four-voice setting of *Memento mei Deus* (a responsory for the Office of the Dead), Franco's style follows that of slightly older peninsular composers such as Cristóbal de Morales in that the chant melody appears audibly in the uppermost voice in slow-moving notes. The homophonic declamation renders the counterpoint quite easy to perform and conducive to Counter-Reformation intelligibility, while maintaining an emotional, affective quality in a low tessitura for all male singers.

Several generations later, in the thriving colonial city of Puebla, Gutiérrez de Padilla composed a significant repertoire of villancicos and liturgical pieces that idiomatically reproduced the Madrid theatre style typical of Spain during the mid-seventeenth century.⁵⁴ A native of Málaga, Spain, Gutiérrez de Padilla's parody masses, including *Missa Ego flos campi* and *Missa Ave regina coelorum*, present an active, measured rhythmic language drawn from Latin prosody; among the other features typical of Andalusian cathedral music of his period is the creative use of *cori spezzati* in *Missa Ego flos campi*. Although Gutiérrez de Padilla's music does not seem to have diffused widely outside of Puebla, the composer enjoyed the privilege of a period of great patronage in Puebla, including during the tenure of the reformist Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-59), who among other things created the first public library in the Americas, as well as during the moment of the consecration of Puebla Cathedral in 1649.⁵⁵ Gutiérrez de Padilla's villancico cycles, including those for Christmas in

53 María Gembero Ustároz, 'Migraciones de músicos entre España y América (siglos XVI-XVIII): Estudio preliminar', in *La música y el Atlántico: Relaciones musicales entre España y América*, ed. María Gembero Ustároz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Granada, 2007), 17-58.

54 Robert Stevenson, 'Puebla Chapelmasters and Organists: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Inter-American Music Review* 5, no. 2 (1983), 21-62 and 6, no. 1 (1984), 29-139.

55 Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox 1600-1659* (Oxford, 2004); Luisa Villar-Payá, 'Lo histórico y lo cotidiano: Un juego de libretes de coro para la consagración de la Catedral de Puebla y la despedida del Obispo Palafox (1649)', in *Revista de Musicología* 40 (2017), 135-76.

EXAMPLE 12.3 Hernando Franco, *Memento mei Deus*, bb. 1-9

1

Me - men - to me - - - i

8 Me - - - men - - - to, me - men - to

8 Me - men - - - to me - - - - i

Me - men - to, me - men - to me - i

1651 and 1653, are the only complete villancico cycles for Matins to survive in New Spain with text and music, and two contrasting works from the 1653 cycle, *A la jácara jacarilla* and *Ah! Siolo Flasiquiyo*, both of which satirically utilize class and racial stereotypes drawn from the Madrid theatre tradition of the Golden Age to tell stories about the universality of the Catholic Church, have not unproblematically entered the early music performance canon today.

Much remains to be understood about the social backgrounds of the musical personnel at prominent New Spanish churches, especially during the seventeenth century. Although priests would have needed to prove the 'blood purity' (*limpieza de sangre*) of their Spanish background in order to be ordained, and most non-priest singers would also have been peninsular or creole Spaniards, exceptional cases arose that, again, prove the significance of individuals in the colonial experience. Take, for example, the case of Luis Barreto, who was considered among the finest singers at Mexico City Cathedral in the early seventeenth century.⁵⁶ Born sometime in the 1570s, Barreto was an enslaved person of mulatto heritage owned by the Mexico City Cathedral, who had been retained at the suggestion of chapel master Juan Hernández on account of his good singing voice. Singing in the Cathedral choir for much of his life to the satisfaction of authorities (despite one attempt to flee to Veracruz and board a ship to Spain), Barreto had accumulated enough money to buy his

⁵⁶ Alfredo Nava Sánchez, 'El cantor mulato Luis Barreto: La vida singular de una voz en la Catedral de México en el amanecer del siglo XVII', in *Lo sonoro en el ritual catedralicio: Iberoamérica, siglos XVI-XIX*, ed. Patricia Díaz Cayeros (Mexico City-Guadalajara, 2007), 105-20.

freedom in 1615. He still sang for some years in the Cathedrals of Puebla and Mexico City before his death in 1640.

Another interesting case is that of Alonso Ascencio, who in 1657 was named the first chapel master of Durango Cathedral, in northern New Spain, after having embarked on a musical career in the Mexico City Cathedral in the late 1620s as an instrumentalist. Although described as 'very skilled in the art of music, polyphony, plainchant, and a great curtal player',⁵⁷ Ascencio faced a tribunal when seeking the chapel master position on account of his mixed-race background, referred to as *de color pardo*, a classification that generally identified someone as of European, African, and indigenous ancestry. The cathedral chapter exempted Ascencio from the requirement of blood purity on account of his merit and ability to serve the needs of the Church and for being a virtuous person, as well as noting the lack of musical capability otherwise available at the time.⁵⁸

Whether as a consequence of ineffectual teaching or an intentional act of the colonial system privileging Europeans, only a handful of musicians born in New Spain ever rose to prominent chapel master positions and produced significant musical works: Fernández in Puebla, López Capillas and Zumaya in Mexico City, and Juan Matías (1618-65) in Oaxaca. This alone highlights the colonial nature of the musical establishment; it was institutional by nature, and it survived through replenishment and renewal of itself as dictated by administrative decisions. We know much less about the music and musical cultures that flourished outside of the purviews of such decisions.

5 Is it Habsburg Music?

The question of how closely to connect colonial music in New Spain with the Habsburg monarchs themselves remains a paradox. At one level, this essay has stressed how inextricable colonial repertoires were from the interests of the Catholic Church, and how much agency the mendicant orders exerted in its propagation. Political actors in New Spain seem to have invested less attention specifically to music, and likewise, it might be said that the Habsburgs themselves focused their personal attention more on the Protestant lands and interests in southern Europe than on the New World. For example, Charles v

57 Archivo Histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Durango, *Actas de cabildo*, book 1, fol. 131r, 2 November 1657.

58 Drew Edward Davies, 'La música catedralicia en el Durango virreinal', in *Historia de Durango. Tomo 2: La Nueva Vizcaya*, ed. Miguel Vallebuena Garcinava (Durango, 2013), 520-47.

retained a Eurocentric outlook focused more on the Italian peninsula and Mediterranean islands than on the Americas.⁵⁹ In the later sixteenth century, the Dutch Revolt and the separation of the United Provinces of the Netherlands from Spanish rule likewise occupied much of the attention of Philip II, despite his closer management of the colonies and the profitable exploitation of mineral resources under his rule.

Yet at the same time, the colonial evangelical effort directly supported the economic interests of the Habsburgs, and the resultant Counter-Reformation religious zeal of Corpus Christi processions and popular religion that flourished in the New World in the seventeenth century perfectly reflects the larger Habsburg world, if not the interests of the individual monarchs themselves. Likewise, the diversity of colonial repertoires and the marked influence of individuals, ideas, and repertoires from the Low Countries resulted from the unique Habsburg political boundaries, and the stability ensured by the cultural control of the Catholic Church helped the Habsburgs' broader colonial interests. This quality is likewise apparent in the visual arts of seventeenth-century New Spain, which bear the strong influence of Rubens as well as Spanish painters. As the structures of colonialism shifted from Habsburg mercantilism to more liberal models with the Bourbons during the eighteenth century,⁶⁰ the envelope of musical practices likewise expanded, as churches embraced more modern styles, institutions supporting formal notated traditions broadened, and the amateur music-making culture among creoles widened.

We still do not know exactly how colonial music sounded and, like all early modern repertoires, we probably never will. We do not know the diction of sung Latin, exactly which instruments were used when, how improvisational techniques played out, or how people listening to or witnessing the sound reacted or interacted. Nonetheless, current scholarship tends to see colonial music more critically and as less magical than previous generations of historians did. Colonial music poses questions about multiple layers of society and multiple types of musical experience, including orality, pedagogy, and soundscape, in addition to inquiry into the literate traditions of music making, which produced modest repertoires in comparison with those of Europe. In Habsburg New Spain, we see a truncated and conservative simulacrum of European practices along a geographic (but not economic) periphery that resulted from the abilities and interests of a relatively small number of agents. The notated tradition forms an important, but circumscribed, role in that New Spanish

59 Rafael Carrasco, *La empresa imperial de Carlos V y la España de los albores de la modernidad* (Madrid, 2015), 36.

60 Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development*, 26.

soundscape, which will be understood with greater definition as the global connections and influences of the repertoires attract greater study. For the most part, what we know of as New Spanish music today is church music shaped within the legacy of Habsburg 'Tridentine orthodoxy' by institutions, namely the secular church and the religious orders, highly inculcated in Habsburg colonial endeavours.⁶¹

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61 Michael Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563-1700* (Rochester, 1998), 197.

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PART 3

International Contexts



Die Teutsche Nation: Musical Links between the Habsburg Courts and the German States of the Empire

Alexander J. Fisher

The Habsburg dynasty nominally controlled the political entity of the ‘Holy Roman Empire’ from the mid-fifteenth century through its dissolution in 1806, but even a superficial glance at the Empire’s political structures reveals great complexity and ambiguity. The emperors and archdukes directly administered core territories in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia, and the Spanish branch of the family ruled likewise in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands (not to mention in the network of Spanish colonies in the New World), but they exercised only a very loose sovereignty over the largely German-speaking states of Central Europe. Stretching from the Rhineland in the west to the frontiers of Poland, Silesia, and Bohemia in the east, from the Baltic and North Sea coasts to the Swiss and Austrian Alps in the south, the ‘German nation’ – as it was loosely called by contemporaries¹ – was ruled by a complex tapestry of electorates, duchies, episcopal foundations, and many smaller entities; a significant subset of these consisted of institutions directly subject to the emperor: imperial cities, abbeys, and the foundations of the Teutonic Knights (*Deutscher Orden*) and imperial knights (*Reichsritterschaft*). While remaining nominally loyal to the emperor and imperial institutions, each of these hundreds of political entities, to a greater or lesser degree, pursued an independent foreign policy and developed a unique political, social, and religious profile. It was precisely this lack of centralized imperial control that enabled the rapid spread and consolidation of the Lutheran and other sixteenth-century reformed confessions, which were formally condemned by the Habsburg emperors. If the emerging political structures of the Empire managed to mitigate large-scale confessional strife over the long term, they proved unable to prevent

1 The emergence of a notional ‘German nation’ in the writings of humanists such as Johann Cochlaeus, Jakob Wimpfeling, and Conrad Celtis, not to mention Martin Luther, is treated in Georg Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit 1495–1806* (Munich, 1999), 46–51.

the horrific devastations of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) in the German orbit.²

This political complexity was reflected in the intricate and fluid musical connections between the Habsburg courts and the German states of the Empire.³ This essay begins by singling out several cities and territories in the German orbit that enjoyed especially intimate connections with the Habsburg court and its musicians, whether due to their symbolic roles within the Empire's political apparatus (as sites for imperial diets and coronations, for example), or due to their political, economic, and cultural influence more generally. These sites varied in importance according to the complex and at times turbulent political conditions within the Empire; for example, the military ambitions of the early sixteenth-century emperors Maximilian I and Charles V depended heavily on credit extended by the wealthy Fugger and Welser dynasties in Augsburg, encouraging active musical and cultural exchanges. Subsequently, the emerging power of the Bavarian duchy and the prestige of its court music under its famous *Kapellmeister* Orlando di Lasso (1530/32-94) forged new musical networks joining Munich to the Habsburg courts. The flourishing printing industry in the imperial city of Nuremberg, moreover, became the primary exporter of printed music by Habsburg musicians by the last third of the sixteenth century, guaranteeing wide dissemination in the German states and beyond. The second part of this essay focuses on two selected areas of musical influence between the Habsburg courts and the German orbit that proved to be especially enduring: the cultivation of polyphonic cycles for the proper of the Mass from the time of Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450/55-1517) forward, and the emerging German polyphonic Lied of the sixteenth century, a genre for which Habsburg musicians provided powerful models.

2 On the dual effect of the Empire's institutions to both enable religious reformation and to consolidate and regulate the resulting confessional divide, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 2009), 408-9. Generally on the Holy Roman Empire, see Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches*, and Peter Wilson, *Heart of Europe: A History of the Holy Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2016).

3 For the purposes of this essay, the term 'German states' is used in a practical and geographical sense and should not be taken to imply linguistic or cultural essences. Some of the geographical areas treated in the present essay had mixed linguistic and cultural profiles, while other areas not discussed here (such as Bohemia and Moravia) also included German-speaking minorities.

1 German Cities as Sites of Performance, Circulation, and Exchange

The widely distributed governmental apparatus of the Holy Roman Empire led to close political and cultural contacts between the Habsburg courts and various German territories and cities. Six of the seven electors of the Empire, who collectively determined the imperial succession, were based largely in German-speaking territory: the prince-archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne; the count Palatine of the Rhine; and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. The seventh, the king of Bohemia (presiding over a majority Czech-speaking population), normally succeeded to the imperial throne in due course. Each of these in turn enjoyed archaic, symbolic dignities within the Empire, the three archbishops as imperial archchancellors (*Erzkanzler*) and the four secular electors as the high steward (*Erztruchsess*, for the count Palatine), arch-marshal (*Erzmarschall*, for the elector of Saxony), arch-chamberlain (*Erzkämmerer*, for the elector of Brandenburg), and arch-cupbearer (*Erzmundschenk*, for the king of Bohemia). In the late Middle Ages the emperor-elect was normally proclaimed King of the Germans at Aachen before formally receiving the imperial crown from the Pope in Rome, but from the time of Maximilian I forward the Roman coronation was no longer obligatory, and the German ceremony alone was considered binding for the emperor's election. From the election of Maximilian II in 1562 forward the imperial coronation took place exclusively at the cathedral in Frankfurt am Main, the site of increasingly elaborate ceremonies featuring the musicians of the imperial chapel.⁴

Before the site of the imperial diet moved permanently to Regensburg in 1594, the assembly was held in varied locations in Germany. The Constance diet of 1507 was graced by the presence of Maximilian I's court chapel, including Isaac and Ludwig Senfl (c. 1489/91-1543); both men, moreover, spent periods of time in Constance between 1504 and 1508.⁵ The diet itself probably saw the performance of Isaac's six-voice motet *Virgo prudentissima* and

4 We know, for example, that in 1486 the famed organist Paul Hofhaimer was present at Aachen and Frankfurt for the election of Maximilian I, whom he would later serve as court organist; he likely performed on this occasion and would regularly do so at subsequent imperial diets. See Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London, 1973), 49. Many years later in 1658, the coronation ceremonies for Leopold I at Frankfurt were particularly impressive, with large-scale compositions by Antonio Bertali directed, presumably, by Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer. Unfortunately, Johann Mattheson's claim (*Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* [Hamburg, 1740], 135 ff.) that Johann Kaspar Kerll improvised on the organ to great acclaim and premiered a new mass on this occasion is not borne out by the surviving evidence. See Arno Paduch, 'Die Mainzer Hofkapelle', in *Wahl und Krönung in Zeiten des Umbruchs*, ed. Ludolf Pelizaeus (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 115-16.

5 Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, 72-74.

four-voice motet *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*,⁶ and, as is well known, Isaac's stay in the city resulted in a commission by the Constance cathedral chapter for the mass propers of the so-called *Choralis Constantinus*, which would be printed posthumously – and in greatly augmented form – at Nuremberg in the 1550s (see below). Up to the mid-sixteenth century, the imperial and wealthy merchant city of Augsburg was a frequent host for imperial visits and diets, not least because the Habsburg emperors drew upon the ample resources of Augsburg's Fugger and Welser banking families to finance their political and military objectives. To the northeast on the Danube River, the imperial city of Regensburg hosted the imperial diet from 1594 onward, leading to the frequent presence of imperial musicians and spectacular performances. The Duchy of Bavaria and Electorate of Saxony, moreover, enjoyed very close relations with the imperial court and its chapel due to their considerable political and economic influence. Particularly during the reign of Maximilian I, whose court was often underway within the Empire, the imperial chapel provided a powerful model for other German princes, who gradually augmented their musical forces and drew on musical repertoires associated with the Habsburg courts to adorn liturgical and secular occasions.

1.1 *Augsburg*

Maximilian I's frequent presence in the imperial city of Augsburg had much to do with his relations with the powerful Fugger banking dynasty, led by Jakob Fugger 'the Rich' (1459–1525), who did much to secure the fortunes of the Emperor both personally and politically. Maximilian is known to have stayed in the city on at least seventeen occasions, and he obtained a dwelling there in 1501, earning him the moniker of 'Bürgermeister of Augsburg'.⁷ Senfl most likely accompanied Maximilian to the imperial diet there in 1500, and in 1507 the Emperor's famed organist Paul Hofhaimer (1459–1537) settled there at the Emperor's request.⁸ Isaac, moreover, cultivated connections to the city through the patronage of the Augsburg native Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, whose diplomatic meeting at Rome in December 1513 with the newly elected

6 See David J. Rothenberg, 'The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I', in *Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011), 35.

7 Bernd Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs* (Munich, 2005), 103.

8 Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Paul Hofhaimer, Kaiser Maximilians "obrigster organist", als Komponist geistlicher und weltlicher Lieder', in *Die Wiener Hofkapelle: Georg von Slatkonia und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle*, ed. Theophil Antonicek et al. (Vienna, 1999), 233.

Pope Leo x was the occasion for Isaac's grand six-voice motet *Optime divino*, praising the new Pope and Maximilian alike.⁹

The imperial diets held at Augsburg in the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century were heavily implicated in the religious divisions in the Empire heralded by Martin Luther's Reformation.¹⁰ Senfl perhaps met Luther in the home of the patrician Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547) during the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, during which the reformer refused to recant his beliefs in the presence of Cardinal Cajetan; Senfl is believed to have sympathized with Luther's views, and some years later the two would exchange correspondence and musical compositions.¹¹ Imperial musicians were certainly present at the 1530 diet, which saw the official introduction of the Augsburg Confession; at the 1547-48 diet, during which Charles v imposed the Interim in the Empire in the wake of his victories during the Schmalkaldic War; and at the 1555 diet that approved the Peace of Augsburg, which regulated confessional relations within the Empire until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

The close relations between the imperial court and Augsburg helps explain the city's importance as a printing outlet for Habsburg musicians, although Nuremberg would surpass the Swabian city in importance by the late sixteenth century (see below).¹² Erhard Oeglin, who practiced his trade in Augsburg between 1502 and c. 1520, received numerous commissions from Maximilian I and often featured imperial musicians in his prints. Among the earliest examples of music printing from moveable type north of the Alps are the four-voice Horatian odes by Petrus Tritonius, the *Melopoiae sive Harmoniae tetracenticae*

9 For discussion of *Optime divino*, see Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480 bis 1555* (Utrecht, 1970), 45-53.

10 On music at the Augsburg imperial diets, with particular emphasis on the diets of 1530, 1547-48, 1559, and 1566, see Moritz Kelber, *Die Musik der Augsburger Reichstage im 16. Jahrhundert*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 79 (Munich, 2018).

11 Senfl's relationship with Luther is explored in Andreas Lindner, 'Non moriar sed vivam: Luther, Senfl und die Reformation des Hochstifts Naumburg-Zeitz', in *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 36 (1997), 208-17. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, in 'Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court', in *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 199-225, notes Senfl's ability to maintain his position at the Catholic Bavarian court despite his beliefs; on the other hand, it is unlikely that he could have expressed these openly without incurring great risk, as argued by Grantley McDonald in 'The Life and Trials of Lutheran Musicians at the Courts of Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X of Bavaria', in *Senfl-Studien* 2, ed. Stefan Gasch and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing, 2013), 23-42.

12 An overview of the history of music printing in Augsburg may be found in Thomas Röder and Theodor Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden, 1997), 291-331.

(1507) [RISM T1249] on poetry by Conrad Celtis, a poet and humanist much patronized by Maximilian.¹³ As we shall see below in connection with the German Lied, Oeglin's two known collections of songs (1512 and 1513) are mainly by anonymous composers, but those who are identified were connected with the imperial chapel: Hofhaimer, Isaac, Adam Renner, and Senfl. Imperial connections are also significant for the first anthology of Latin motets published in the German orbit, the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, printed at Augsburg in 1520 by the firm of Sigismund Grimm and Marcus Wirsung.¹⁴ Famous as an especially reliable and influential source for the music of Josquin des Prez,¹⁵ the print was likely prompted by Conrad Peutinger (who wrote an afterword) and dedicated by the printers to Cardinal Matthäus Lang. Apart from the work of Josquin, the print includes five motets by Isaac – including the great ceremonial motet *Virgo prudentissima* from the 1507 Constance diet – and seven by Senfl, who appears to have been intimately involved with the print's preparation in Augsburg following Maximilian's death. Printed in choirbook format, it has been suggested that the anthology was originally intended for Maximilian's chapel, or even initiated by the Emperor as part of his ambitious print programme, but the latter's death in 1519 caused it to be rededicated to Lang, who had long served the Emperor and his predecessor Frederick III.¹⁶

The continuing importance of Augsburg and the Fugger house for the ambitions of Maximilian's successor Charles V is apparent in Sigmund Salming's anthology *Cantiones selectissimae* (1548), dedicated to the banking family and consisting of motets by four of the Emperor's musicians, his chapel master

13 Celtis's play *Ludus Dianae*, performed for Maximilian and his consort Bianca Maria Sforza at Linz in 1501, contains choruses strongly resembling Tritonius' odes. See Peter Bergquist and Stephen Keyl, 'Celtis [Celtes], Conradus Protucius [Bickel, Conrad; Pickel, Conrad]', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 25, 749–50.

14 *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant sex quinque & quatuor vocum* (Augsburg, 1520) [RISM 15204]. See also the discussion of this print in Chapter 11 of this volume.

15 Stephanie P. Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the "German Josquin Renaissance"', in *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002), 564–615. For a discussion of the motets in particular see also Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 45–56.

16 Röder and Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck', 299. A detailed argument favoring the volume's origins as a print project for Maximilian is in Elisabeth Giselbrecht and L. Elizabeth Upper, 'Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music: Decoding the Elaborate Printing Techniques, Purpose and Patronage of the *Liber selectarum cantionum*', in *Senfl-Studien* 1, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing, 2011), 17–67, esp. 50–52.

Cornelius Canis, Thomas Crecquillon, Nicholas Payen, and Jean Lestainnier.¹⁷ Hans Jakob Fugger, one of Augsburg's burgomasters (1548-50) and later a close associate of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, received the dedication of a much older layer of imperial repertoire, the second and third volumes of Isaac's posthumous *Choralis Constantinus*, printed at Nuremberg in 1555 and financed by the Augsburg bookseller Georg Willer.¹⁸ Nuremberg soon displaced Augsburg as the main centre for music printing, including that of Habsburg musicians, but individual prints and compositions continued to appear at regular intervals. Philipp Ulhart, who had printed the 'imperial' motets by Charles v's musicians in 1548, likewise printed the first two motet books (1559) of Johannes de Cleve (d. 1582), a tenorist in Ferdinand I's chapel and chapel master to Archduke Charles II at Graz (1564-70); Cleve eventually retired to the Swabian city, where he instructed the future cathedral chapel master Bernhard Klingenstein and brought out a final volume of motets.¹⁹ Klingenstein, in turn, solicited imperial contributions for his 1604 *Rosetum Marianum*, an anthology of polyphonic settings of the German Marian Lied 'Maria zart' and an important musical document of the German Counter-Reformation: Here we find offerings by the Habsburg musicians Lambert de Sayve, Jacob Regnart, Carl Luython, and Franz Sales.²⁰

17 *Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor Vocum. Ab eximiis et praestantibus Caesareae Maiestatis Capellae musicis. M. Cornelio Cane. Thoma Crequilone. Nicolao Payen & Johanne Lestainnier organista ...* (Augsburg, 1548) [RISM 1548²]. The print was a major German source for the music of Payen, who succeeded Canis as imperial chapelmaster in 1555. See Ignace Bossuyt, 'Nicolas Payen, an Unknown Chapelmaster of Charles v and Philip II', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García, and Tess Knighton, trans. Yolanda Acker, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 3 (Woodbridge, 2005), 126-27. For more on this print, see Chapter 11 of this volume.

18 Röder and Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck', 319-20.

19 The early motet books are the *Cantiones sacrae, quae vulgo muteta vocantur, quatuor, quinque, & sex vocum ... liber primus* and *Cantiones sacrae ... liber secundus* (Augsburg, 1559) [RISM C3203, C3204]. The first book contains several canons on Habsburg figures as well as the 'soggetto cavato' *Ferdinandus Imperator Romanus Primus* as a cantus firmus, integrated into a woodcut coat of arms. See Röder and Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck', 307-8. The third book is the *Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae (quas vulgo moteta vocant)* (Augsburg, 1579) [RISM C3205]. See also Chapter 11 of this volume.

20 Bernhard Klingenstein, *Rosetum Marianum: Unser lieben Frawen Rosengertlein von drey und dreyssig lieblichen schönen Rosen oder Lobgesangen Gott dem Almechtigen, und dessen würdigsten Mutter und Junckfrawen Marie, durch drey und dreyssig beriebte Musicos und Componisten ... mit fünff Stimmen componirt ...* (Dillingen, 1604) [RISM 1604⁷]. A modern edition is Bernhard Klingenstein, *Rosetum Marianum*, ed. William E. Hettrick, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 24-25 (Madison, 1977).

The Fugger family continued to be an ongoing source of patronage for musicians with imperial connections well into the late sixteenth century and beyond.²¹ As Maximilian I before them, Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I continued to rely on the family's credit to finance their military campaigns – some of which were directed against the German Protestant estates – and guaranteed that musical connections between the Swabian city and the Habsburg court remained robust. Members of the Fugger dynasty received dedications from a number of Habsburg musicians, including Luython, Regnart, Philippe de Monte, and Blasius Ammon.²² Moreover, Jakob Hassler, brother of the famed Hans Leo Hassler and chamber organist to Christoph Fugger, joined Rudolph II's chapel as organist in 1602.²³ Well into the seventeenth century the Fugger house remained a venue for Habsburg music: The imperial chapel master Antonio Draghi, for example, premiered his operas *Il Telemaco* and *La regina de' Volschi* in late 1689 and early 1690 at the Fugger residence, where Emperor Leopold I resided on the occasion of the crowning of his consort Eleonora Magdalena as empress and his son Joseph I as King of the Romans (19 and 26 January 1690, respectively).²⁴ The long engagement of the Fugger dynasty with music would be felt even in the imperial capital itself, as the outstanding music library of Philipp Eduard Fugger was sold to the Viennese court in 1655 by his nephew Albrecht, eventually becoming a core component of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek's music collection.²⁵

1.2 Bavaria

The dissolution of Maximilian I's chapel in 1519 had a centrifugal effect, spreading Habsburg music and musical culture to various parts of the Empire. In

21 On musical dedications to the Fugger family in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Stefanie Bilmayer-Frank, *Illustri ac generoso Domino: Gedruckte Musikalienwidmungen an die Familie Fugger im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg, 2016).

22 See Franz Krautwurst, 'Die Fugger und die Musik', in *Die Fugger und die Musik: Lautenschlagen lernen und leben: Anton Fugger zum 500. Geburtstag* (Augsburg, 1993), 41–48. The prints include Carl Luython, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1582) [RISM L3115], dedicated to Hans Fugger; Philippe de Monte, *Il primo libro di madrigali spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1583) [RISM M3318], also dedicated to Hans Fugger; Jakob Regnart, *Aliquot cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae* (Nuremberg, 1577) [RISM R732], dedicated to Victor August Fugger; and Blasius Ammon, *Breves et selectae quaedam motetae* (Munich, 1593) [RISM A944], dedicated to Jakob Fugger the Elder.

23 Adolf Layer, *Musik und Musiker der Fuggerzeit* (Augsburg, 1959), 73.

24 Bernd Herbert Wanger, *Kaiserwahl und Krönung im Frankfurt des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 140.

25 Monika Franz, 'Die Handschriften aus dem Besitz des Philipp Eduard Fugger mit Berücksichtigung der Handschriften des Johannes Schöner in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek', in *Codices Manuscripti* 14 (1988), 61–133.

Salzburg, for example, Cardinal and Archbishop Matthäus Lang engaged the former imperial musicians Heinrich Finck (1444/45-1527) and Hofhaimer, the latter of whom established a noteworthy school of organists ('Paulomimes') who would be active in Constance, Switzerland, Vienna, and likely elsewhere within the Empire.²⁶ But it was the nearby ducal court of Bavaria in Munich that profited most readily from this cataclysmic event. In 1523 Duke Wilhelm IV (r. 1508-50) appointed Senfl as his court composer, who immediately set out to reorganize the Bavarian chapel along imperial lines. Crucial for Senfl was the creation of a suitable polyphonic repertory for the mass proper that would demonstrate the opulence of the Bavarian liturgy and undergird the dynastic ambitions of the Wittelsbach family. The traditional view that Senfl brought with him to Munich choirbooks that had been previously copied for the imperial chapel is no longer widely held; nevertheless, the choirbooks copied at Munich under Senfl's supervision, including a wide range of proper settings dominated by his music and that of his mentor Isaac, illustrate the archetypal character of Maximilian's chapel for other ambitious courts in the Empire (see further discussion below of the legacy of imperial proper composition in the German orbit).²⁷

As the Bavarian chapel waxed under the music-loving Dukes Albrecht V (r. 1550-79) and Wilhelm V (r. 1579-97), musical exchanges between the Munich and Habsburg courts increased rapidly. This followed partly from numerous dynastic marriages between the Wittelsbach and Habsburg families:

26 Certainly among this school are Hans Buchner (organist at Constance Cathedral), Hans Kotter (organist of the collegiate church of St. Nikolaus, Fribourg), Fridolin Sicher (organist at Bischofzell and St. Hall), and Leonhard Kleber (organist at Pforzheim). See William Young, 'Keyboard Music to 1600, I', in *Musica disciplina* 16 (1962), 130. Manfred Schuler also identifies Dionisio Memmo (organist of St. Mark's, Venice), Conrad Bruman (organist of the Speyer Cathedral), Johann Schachinger (organist of the Passau Cathedral), and Wolfgang Grefinger (organist of the cathedral of St. Stephen, Vienna) as being among Hofhaimer's students; see 'Hofhaimer, Paul', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 11, 601-2.

27 On the origin of the Munich choirbooks see esp. Birgit Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks: The Emperor's or the Duke's?' in *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Theodor Göllner and Bernhold Schmid (Munich, 2006), 224-33. Her argument for the Munich, rather than imperial, origin for these choirbooks is supported by David J. Burn, 'On the Transmission and Preservation of Mass-Propers at the Bavarian Court', in *Die Münchner Hofkapelle des 16. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Theodor Göllner and Bernhold Schmid (Munich, 2006), 319-33. Stefan Gasch has traced the transmission of Senfl's own propers in 'Beyond Munich: Senfl's Propers in Prints and Manuscripts', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 319-44.

most notably, Albrecht v with Ferdinand I's daughter Anna (1528-90) in 1546; their daughter Maria (1551-1608) with Archduke Charles II in 1571; Wilhelm v's daughter Maria Anna (1574-1616) with Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor Ferdinand II) in 1600; and, in turn, their daughter Maria Anna (1610-65) with her own uncle, Maximilian I of Bavaria, in 1635. But great influence was also exerted by the most famous musician of the late sixteenth century, the Bavarian chapel master Orlando di Lasso. His highly expressive motets were widely prized in Habsburg circles: *Tityre, tu patulae*, for instance, was adapted twice, first by Maximilian II's chapel master Jacobus Vaet in his masses *Tityre, tu patulae* and *Vitam quae faciunt beatiorum*; and later in a mass by Luython, who served Rudolph II at Prague.²⁸ Moreover, four of the *Octo missae* by George de la Hèle, in the service of King Philip II in Spain, are based on Lasso's motets.²⁹ Luython's colleague at Prague, Philippe de Monte, seems to have been on friendly terms with Lasso as well, complaining to him in a 1578 letter about the Emperor's unwillingness to allow him to retire to Cambrai; Lasso would go on to imitate one of Monte's chansons, *Dittes maistresse*, in a mass published in 1589.³⁰ Lasso's music seems to have been most highly prized at the Habsburg court in Graz, where Archduke Charles II's Bavarian consort Maria especially enjoyed his litany settings, soon to be imitated by composers of the archducal chapel and copied into its choirbooks.³¹ Lasso's impressive contribution to the imitation Magnificat, moreover, did not fail to attract attention: Gernot Gruber

28 The imperial vice-chancellor Georg Seld reported to Albrecht v from Vienna in 1559 that he had heard one of Lasso's motets set as a mass by Vaet; see Bossuyt, 'Nicolas Payen', 129. Possibly this refers to the mass on *Tityre, tu patulae*. On Luython's mass, see Carmelo Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the Mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576-1612)*, Musicology Series 4 (New York, 1987), 71.

29 These are the motets *Fremuit spiritus Jesu*, *Gustate et videte*, *Oculi omnium in te sperant Domine*, and *Quare tristis es*. See L. J. Wagner, 'The *Octo Missae* of George de La Hèle' (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1957).

30 Robert Lindell, 'An Unknown Letter of Filippo di Monte to Orlando di Lasso', in *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stephan Hörner and Bernhold Schmid (Tutzing, 1993), 261-71.

31 Among these composers are Pietro Antonio Bianco, Giovanni Battista Galeno, Simone Gatto, and Francesco Rovigo. See Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich, 1564-1619* (Mainz, 1967), 23. On Lasso's litanies generally see also David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, 1994), 75. On Lasso's relations with Maria Anna, see Linda Maria Koldau, 'Maria von Bayern (1551-1608) am Hof zu Graz', in *Frauen – Musik – Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2005), 69-79. Also of note is a five-voice drinking song by Lasso originally published in 1567, *Der Wein der schmeckt also wol*, found etched into the limestone surface of a table fashioned for Maria Anna. See Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1912), 62ff.

has demonstrated the enthusiastic embrace of the form at Graz by Andreas Zweiller, Francesco Rovigo, Simone Gatto, and Pietro Antonio Bianco, among others.³² Notably, Lasso's last collection of motets, the *Cantiones sacrae sex vocum*, was printed in Graz in 1594 by Charles II's court printer Georg Widmanstetter, who had worked for eighteen years as a typesetter and proofreader for Adam Berg in Munich and had enjoyed a long relationship with the composer.³³ Lasso appears to have been closely connected with the archducal court until his death, which his wife Regina reported in a personal letter to the Archduchess that was penned less than a week after the unhappy event.³⁴

Apart from the figure of Lasso, musical connections between the Habsburg and Wittelsbach courts were strengthened by the large number of musicians that circulated between these establishments: Those who served the Munich court and later entered Habsburg service included Simone Gatto, Giovanni Battista Pinello di Gherardi, Franz Sales, Giovanni Battista Galeno, and Bernardino Borlasca, while several musicians in Habsburg employ were later found at Munich, including Ludovico Zacconi, Orazio Sega, and Ferdinand de Vento.³⁵ The Munich court printer Adam Berg also proved to be an important publisher of sacred music and German Lieder by Habsburg musicians, particularly those active at the nearby court of Innsbruck under Archdukes of Tyrol Ferdinand II and Maximilian III, including Christian Hollander, Regnart, Sales, Ammon, Paul Sartorius, and Johann Stadlmayr.³⁶ Although the international

32 Gernot Gruber (ed.), *Parodiemagnificat aus dem Umkreis der Grazer Hofkapelle: 1564-1619*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 133 (Graz, 1981). The influence of Lasso's Magnificats in the Habsburg orbit was still felt as late as 1641, when the Innsbruck chapel master Johann Stadlmayr issued his 'Magnificat super Magnificat Orlandi', an expanded arrangement of Lasso's Magnificat *Aria de un Sonetto*. In the previous decades Stadlmayr had made many of his own contributions to the genre of the imitation Magnificat. See Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, 28-29.

33 See David Crook (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso. The Complete Motets 16: Cantiones sacrae sex vocum*, Graz, 1594, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 131 (Middleton, WI, 2002), xiv-xv.

34 Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1976-77), vol. 1, 215-16.

35 Information on the music personnel at the Bavarian court before 1600 is in Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso. Drittes Buch: Dokumente. Erster Theil* (Leipzig, 1895), indexed in Horst Leuchtman, 'Namenslisten zur Bayerischen Musikgeschichte. II. Musik in München 1550-1600', in *Musik in Bayern* 10 (1975), 51-63; 11 (1975), 87-100; 12 (1976), 54-68; 13 (1976), 83-104; 14 (1977), 107-25. For the period after 1600, records are preserved in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Kurbayern, Hofzahlamt.

36 Among the more significant of these volumes, all printed in Munich by Adam Berg, are Christian Hollander, *Neue Teutsche Geistliche und Weltliche Liedlein* (1570) [RISM H6322]; Jakob Regnart, *Sacrae aliquot cantiones* (1575) [RISM R731]; Blasius Amon, *Sacrae cantiones, quas vulgo moteta vocant* (1590) [RISM A943] and *Patrocinium musices, missae*

importance of the Munich chapel waned after Lasso's death, connections between the Wittelsbach and Habsburg courts remained vibrant (it may be no accident that Orlando named two of his sons after Habsburg princes; both Ferdinand (c. 1560-1609) and Rudolph (c. 1563-1625) would eventually enter Bavarian service in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries). Particularly notable is the figure of Johann Caspar Kerll (1627-93), a student of both Giovanni Valentini in Vienna and of Giacomo Carissimi in Rome, who was organist for Emperor Ferdinand III's brother Archduke Leopold Wilhelm at Brussels before joining the Munich court as chapel master in 1656. Kerll's career took him back and forth between Munich and Vienna during the 1670s and 1680s, a period during which he made notable contributions to church music, opera, and keyboard music.³⁷

1.3 Saxony

Like the Wittelsbach court at Munich, music at the Saxon electoral court at Dresden benefited both directly and indirectly from relations with the house of Habsburg. Elector Frederick the Wise (r. 1486-1525) presided over a massive reorganization and expansion of his court music, seemingly inspired by the example of Emperor Maximilian I's chapel.³⁸ Frederick's court music reached an impressive scale with the assistance of Adam Renner (c. 1485-c. 1520), a student of Isaac and former imperial choirboy. Having arrived at Frederick's chapel at Torgau by 1507, Renner embarked on the composition of large-scale proper cycles following Isaac's example, and he was likely involved in the editing of the so-called 'Jena choirbooks', copied for Frederick's Castle Church of All Saints in Wittenberg, transmitting a sophisticated Netherlandish repertory by himself, Isaac, Josquin, Obrecht, and many others.³⁹ The young Martin Luther

cum breves tum quatuor vocum laudatissime concinnatae (1591) [RISM A942]; Franz Sales, *Patrocinium musices: missarum solenniorum ... primus tomus* (1589) [RISM S392] and *Patrocinium musices: In natalem domini Iesu Christi ... Mutetum quinque vocum, & Missa, ad eius imitationem composita* (1598) [RISM S398]; Paul Sartorius, *Missae tres octonis vocibus decantandae* (1599) [RISM S1079]; and Johann Stadlmayr, *Sacrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae canticum* (1603) [RISM S4282].

37 On Kerll, see Adolf Sandberger (ed.), *Ausgewählte Werke des kurfürstlich bayerischen Hofkapellmeisters Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693), Erster Teil*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern 2, part 2 (Leipzig, 1901).

38 On musical practice at the Saxon court under Frederick the Wise, see Jürgen Heidrich, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen: Ein Beitrag zur mittel-deutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500* (Baden-Baden, 1993). On music manuscripts from the Habsburg-Burgundian court that came into the possession of Frederick the Wise (either as gifts, commissions, or other means), see Chapter 10 of this volume.

39 On the Jena Choirbooks see Heidrich, *Die deutschen Chorbücher*; Kathryn Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittenberg under Frederick the

certainly would have heard much of this repertoire, whose example helped to inspire an ample role for polyphony in the Lutheran liturgy. Luther's followers included another former imperial choirboy and Isaac student, Balthasar Resinarius (c. 1485-1544), who converted to the new teachings and was appointed as Bishop of Leipa, subsequently composing a large amount of Lutheran chorale-based service music closely following the model of Johann Walter, Luther's principal musical collaborator.⁴⁰

Music by Habsburg musicians was prominently featured in the vast printing program of Georg Rhau at Wittenberg for the fledgling Lutheran church from the late 1530s onward. The music of Senfl, Isaac, and Rener is commonly found in these volumes: Note, for example, a series of Senfl motets in the *Selectae harmoniae ... de Passione Domini* (1538) [RISM 1538¹] and *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538) [RISM 1538⁸], a collection made famous by Luther's preface lavishly praising church polyphony, and the Magnificat cycle on the eight tones by Rener in the *Postremum Vespertini officii opus ... Magnificat octo modorum seu tonorum* (1544) [RISM 1544⁴]. Perhaps the most explicitly 'Habsburg'-related print by Rhau is the *Officiorum ... de Nativitate, Circumcisione, Epiphania Domini* (1545) [RISM 1545⁵], a volume of over seventy Latin compositions with substantial contributions by Isaac (eleven works), Senfl (ten works), Resinarius (four works), and especially Rener (twenty works). Naturally this music represents a somewhat older layer of repertoire, and not all of it was directly connected to Maximilian I's court, which had dissolved some two decades prior; nevertheless, the musical legacy of this institution remained very present in the Lutheran orbit at mid-century. Even later, Habsburg musicians were welcomed at the Saxon court: Alessandro Orologio from Rudolph II's Prague court frequently travelled to Dresden, and he had his second book of madrigals printed there,⁴¹ while the Innsbruck archducal musicians Alexander Utendal and Regnart were both (unsuccessfully) courted in 1580 to become the Dresden chapel master, a post that eventually went to Giovanni Battista Pinello di Gherardi, formerly of the same chapel.⁴²

Wise, Elector of Saxony' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995); and Robert E. Gerken, 'The Polyphonic Cycles of the Proper of the Mass in the Trent Codex 88 and Jena Choirbooks 30 and 35' (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1969). See also Chapter 10 of this volume.

40 On Resinarius, see Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel, 1965), 49, 54-55; and Victor H. Mattfeld, 'Resinarius, Balthasar', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 21, 211-12.

41 Alessandro Orologio, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a quatro, a cinque, & a sei voci* (Dresden, 1589) [RISM O121 and 1589¹⁵].

42 Dane O. Heuchemer, 'Pinello di Gherardi, Giovanni Battista', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 19, 751-52.

1.4 Nuremberg

A number of German cities, including Augsburg, Munich, and Frankfurt am Main, hosted printers who issued music by Habsburg musicians in the sixteenth century. None of these, however, would approach the importance of Nuremberg, which became the most dominant printing centre in the German-speaking lands. Presiding over a staunchly Protestant city, Nuremberg's city council was compelled to maintain carefully calibrated relationships with the imperial court, a circumstance that encouraged an ecumenical production in the field of sacred music.⁴³ Latin motets and German Lieder by Isaac, Senfl, and Hofhaimer figured prominently in prints going back to the 1530s by Hieronymus Formschneider and Johannes Petreius, and it was Formschneider who issued the first printed editions of Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* in 1550 and 1555.⁴⁴ The dominant printing firm of the succeeding generation, that of Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, often featured in its well-circulated motet anthologies composers of the imperial court under Charles v and Ferdinand I, notably Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon, Cornelius Canis, Nicholas Payen, Johannes de Cleve, and Jacobus Vaet; the latter, chapel master to Archduke and later Emperor Maximilian II, is especially well represented in Berg and Neuber's anthology series *Thesaurus musicus*, with no fewer than nineteen motets for four to six voices.⁴⁵

43 On the changing nature of liturgical music in Nuremberg in this complex political context, see esp. Bartlett Russell Butler, 'Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg: A Socio-Musical Study' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1970).

44 These prints are too numerous to describe in detail here. For Hieronymus Formschneider, see his volume of Masses [RISM 1539²], and especially those of German Lieder, in which Senfl is especially well represented [RISM 1532¹³, 1534¹⁷, 1544²⁰, and 1546³¹]. Prints by Johann Petreius containing music of Isaac, Senfl, and Hofhaimer include volumes of motets [RISM 1538⁷, 1540⁶, and 1541²], a lute book [RISM 1536¹²], German Lieder [RISM 1539²⁷ and 1540²¹], and Hofhaimer's *Harmoniae poeticae*, settings of Horatian odes [RISM 1539²⁶]. The *Choralis Constantinus* prints, all printed by Formschneider, are the *Primus tomus ... Coralis Constantini, ut vulgo vocant, opus insigne & praeclarum, vereque coelestis harmoniae* (1550) [RISM 189]; the *Tomus secundus Choralis Constantini (ut vulgo vocant) continens partem primam historiarum de sanctis, quae diebus festis in templis canuntur* (1555) [RISM 190]; and the *Historiarum Choralis Henrici Isaac. Tertius tomus. De sanctis* (1555) [RISM 191]. The first volume was published by Hans Ott's widow Elsbeth Ott, the latter two volumes by the Augsburg publisher and bookseller Georg Willer. An extensive discussion of the printing history of the *Choralis Constantinus* can be found in Royston Gustavson, 'Commercialising the *Choralis Constantinus*: The Printing and Publishing of the First Edition', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 215-68.

45 Relevant prints by Berg and Neuber are RISM 1553⁴, 1553⁵, 1553⁶, 1554¹⁰, 1554¹¹, 1555¹⁰, 1555¹¹, 1555¹², 1556⁸, [1556]⁹, 1558⁴, 1559¹, 1559², 1560¹, 1560², 1564¹⁻⁵ (the *Thesaurus musicus* series),

But above all it was the Innsbruck archducal musicians Alexander Utendal (c. 1530/40–81) and Regnart (c. 1540/45–99) who enjoyed an especially wide dissemination from Nuremberg presses during their lifetimes. The Gerlach family (Theodor, Dietrich, and Katharina) patronized the work of Utendal, bringing out eight collections of his Latin motets, psalms, and vernacular songs in the German and French styles between 1570 and 1587.⁴⁶ Even more prolific was Regnart, a chief exponent of the German Lied in the style of the Italian villanella. No less than fifteen prints of Regnart's music, mostly German Lieder along with a sprinkling of motets, appeared from Gerlach printing houses between 1574 and 1593; two more were issued by Katharina Gerlach's heir Paul Kauffmann in 1595.⁴⁷ Despite mounting economic difficulties and the trials of the Thirty Years' War, Nuremberg presses continued to bring out music by Habsburg musicians in the next century, including that of the Nuremberg native Paul Sartorius, a musician of Archduke and *Deutschmeister* Maximilian III of Tyrol, and the violinist and composer Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer, chapel master to Emperor Leopold I.⁴⁸

1.5 Regensburg

The imperial city of Regensburg, with its impressive cathedral and *Reichssaal*, was often frequented by Habsburg musicians accompanying the periodic festival entries of their lords during the sixteenth century;⁴⁹ these visits became

and 1568⁸. On Berg and Neuber see esp. Susan Jackson, 'Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg' (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1998).

46 See Utendal's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Theodor Gerlach, 1570) [RISM U119]; his three books of *Sacrae cantiones* (Theodor Gerlach, 1571 and 1573, and Katharina Gerlach, 1587) [RISM U120, U121, and U125]; his *Tres missae ... item Magnificat* (Theodor Gerlach, 1573) [RISM U122]; and two books of German and French songs (Dietrich Gerlach, 1574, and Katharina Gerlach, 1586) [RISM U123 and U124]. Valentin Neuber printed Utendal's *Responsoria quae annum ... cantari solent* in 1586 [no RISM number].

47 See the volumes RISM R732, R739–R754, R756, R756b, and R758. For discussion of the Italianate Lieder of Regnart and others in the German orbit, see Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. 77–116. See also Elisabeth Gisellbrecht, 'Crossing Boundaries: The Printed Dissemination of Italian Sacred Music in German-Speaking Areas (1580–1620)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2012), esp. 98–103.

48 See Paul Sartorius, *Sonetti spirituali, a sei voci* (1601) [RISM S1082] and *Neue Teutsche Liedlein, mit vier Stimmen, nach art der Welschen Canzonette, auff allerley Instrumenten zu gebrauchen* (1601) [RISM S1083]; and Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer, *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus fidium aliorumque instrumentorum* (1662) [RISM S1658] and *Sonatae unarum fidium, seu a violino solo* (1664) [RISM S1659].

49 Note the periodic entries in the Regensburg chronicle by Leonhard Widmann (1511–33, 1552–55), printed in Karl von Hegel (ed.), *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 15, *Die Chroniken der bayerischen Städte. Regensburg. Landshut. Mühldorf.*

more regular beginning in 1594, when Regensburg was designated as the sole meeting place for the imperial diet. During the next seventy years, the emperor, electors, imperial officials, and their retinues arrived in the Danubian city at irregular intervals to conduct the business of the Empire, enjoying at times lavish performances of both church and theatrical music. A notable example, and one of great confessional symbolism during the early phases of the Thirty Years' War, was the ceremony surrounding the canonization of Saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier in 1622, an event that was widely celebrated in German cities with Jesuit residences. Emperor Ferdinand II was not on hand for the initial celebrations in May of that year, but his arrival for electoral meetings in November – during which the electoral dignity was bestowed upon Maximilian I of Bavaria, following the Catholic victory over the Elector Palatine and the Protestant Bohemian estates in 1620 – featured lavish observances on and around the new feast day of St. Francis Xavier (3 December). No fewer than fifty-nine of Ferdinand's musicians (not including the fourteen members of his trumpet corps) had accompanied him to Regensburg for the meetings; many of these performed at a festal Mass for St. Francis Xavier attended by the Emperor, Empress, and many Catholic princes, which featured polychoral music of massive scope, including one choir containing no fewer than fifteen trumpets and another consisting of 'cornua' (trombones?). At least some of the music performed was likely by Ferdinand's chapel master Giovanni Priuli (c. 1575-1626), whom the Emperor had commissioned to compose something appropriate for the occasion.⁵⁰ Sadly this work appears to be lost, but it is possible to imagine the sonic power of this music, which projected an atmosphere of Catholic triumph within a Lutheran-majority city. In February 1623 the delegates also enjoyed a so-called *Invenzione con un balletto*; it is unclear whether this was an opera or ballet, but we do know that famed singers were on hand, including the Milanese virtuoso Antonio Pistagallo and Francesco Campagnolo, a Mantuan singer highly esteemed by Claudio Monteverdi.⁵¹

München (Leipzig, 1878), e.g. 110 (1532), 165 (1542), 230 (1552). The chapel also performed for the exequies at the death of Maximilian II in 1576; see Kelber, *Die Musik der Augsburger Reichstage*, 303.

⁵⁰ See Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 20. For a discussion of the music and ceremony surrounding the canonization of ss. Ignatius and Francis Xavier in several German cities, see also Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York, 2014), 233-35.

⁵¹ Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 125. See also Christoph Meixner, 'Musik und Theater in der Zeit der Reichstage', in *Musikgeschichte Regensburgs*, ed. Thomas Emmerig (Regensburg, 2006), 133.

Music of impressive scope was heard again in Regensburg eight years later at the electoral meeting in the spring of 1630, the occasion of Eleonora Gonzaga's coronation as Empress. No fewer than seventy-four imperial musicians accompanied the imperial couple to Regensburg, and as they entered the city in June they were greeted with a grand double-choir motet, *Ferdinande bonum patriae*, by the local Latin schoolmaster Paul Homburger. (Ironically, Homburger had been one of a number of Protestant musicians attached to the archducal court at Graz who were forced to emigrate for religious reasons during Ferdinand's reign.)⁵² A surviving engraving by Johann Hauer of the coronation ceremonies, perhaps the best illustration of the imperial chapel during Ferdinand's reign, demonstrates the presence of at least forty musicians in the Cathedral of Regensburg, including a multitude of singers, trombonists, trumpeters, and drummers stationed on the choir screen over the ceremonial action (see Figure 13.1).⁵³

The Danubian city also proved to be a site of great significance for Emperor Ferdinand III, whose military reputation was burnished by his role at the victory at nearby Nördlingen in 1634 and in the subsequent conquest of Regensburg.⁵⁴ Ferdinand's coronation as King of the Romans was celebrated at Regensburg in December 1636 with splendid large-scale music – for both the coronation Mass and the following banquet – by his chapel master Giovanni Valentini as well as by Antonio Bertali, whose now-lost *Missa Ratisbonensis* surely enhanced the celebrations with multiple choirs of singers and instrumentalists.⁵⁵ There is also an intriguing possibility that the delegates heard Monteverdi's two *balli*, *Volgendo il ciel* and *Il ballo delle ingrato*, both of whose

52 On the events of 1630, see Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 21, citing VienNB 10100, fols. 74-80. Homburger had previously provided music for the entry of the Emperor Matthias in 1612; see Raimund W. Sterl, 'Evangelische Kirchenmusik', in *Musikgeschichte Regensburgs*, ed. Thomas Emmerig (Regensburg, 2006), 115-16; on Homburger generally, see Sterl, *Musiker und Musikpflege in Regensburg bis um 1600* (Munich, 1971), 82-84 and Meixner, 'Musik und Theater', 134-35. The representative significance of Homburger's occasional motet is confirmed by its having been printed in partbooks by the city council's printer Christoph Fischer.

53 See Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 199-200, citing the *Crönungs Handlung: Eygentliche Abbild und Erklärung welcher Gestalt ... Eleonora ... den 7. Novemb. (28 Ocktob.) des Jahres ... zur Römischen Käyserin soleniter gekrönet worden* (Nuremberg, [1630]).

54 Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 17ff.

55 See Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 15-16, as well as Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 202-3, and Siegfried Gmeinwieser, 'Katholische Kirchenmusik', in *Musikgeschichte Regensburgs*, ed. Thomas Emmerig (Regensburg, 2006), 78-79.

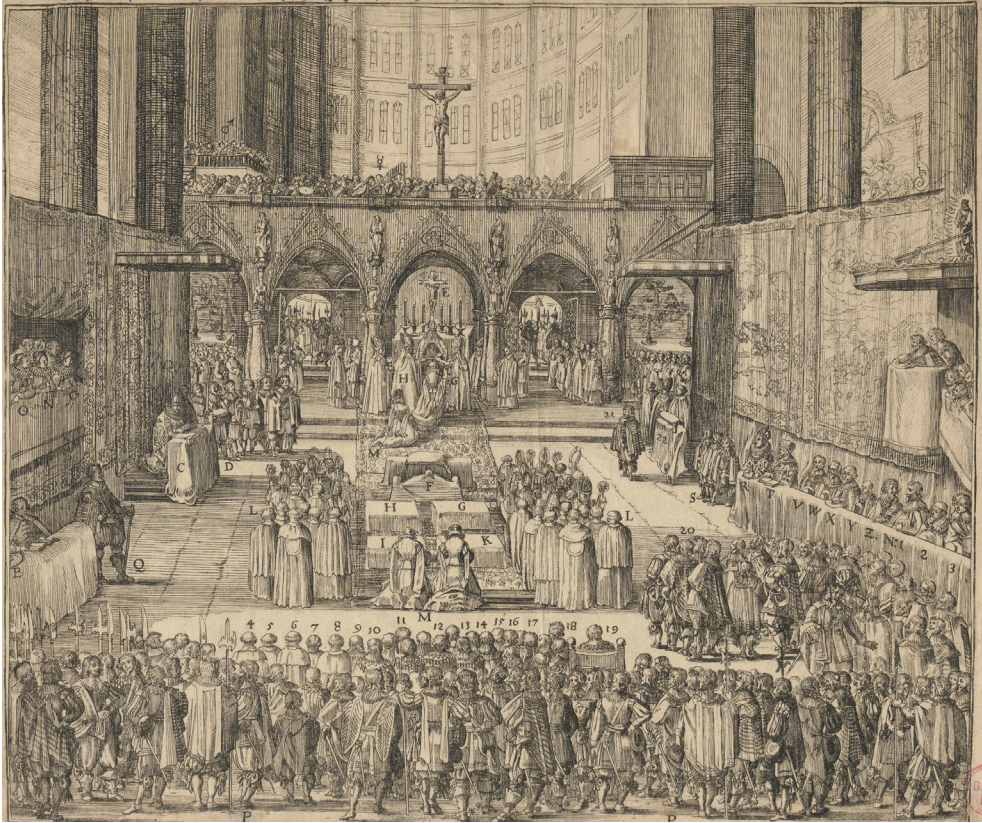


FIGURE 13.1 Eleonora Gonzaga's coronation as Empress in the Regensburg Cathedral, 1630, engraving from *Crönungs Handlung: Eygentliche Abbild und Erklärung welcher Gestalt ... Eleonora ... den 7. Novemb. (28 Ockto.) des Jahres ... zur Römischen Käyserin soleniter gekrönet worden* (Nuremberg, 1630)

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texts as printed in his Eighth Book of Madrigals of 1638 – dedicated to none other than Ferdinand III – make reference to his coronation.⁵⁶

Operatic productions increasingly became the highlight of subsequent meetings of the imperial diet in Regensburg, alongside large-scale church music to mark major dynastic occasions. In the summer of 1641, for example, the birthdays of the Emperor and Empress, respectively, were celebrated with

⁵⁶ Meixner, 'Musik und Theater', 135-37. Herbert Seifert also argues for the likelihood of a Regensburg performance of the two *balli* in *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tützing, 1985), 16-17.

operas on the subject of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (the composer is unknown) and another entitled *Ariadne abbandonata da Theseo*, with text by Francesco Bonacossi and possibly some music written by Emperor himself.⁵⁷ The diet of 1653-54, during which Ferdinand IV was crowned King of the Romans, saw two impressive productions of Bertali's *L'Inganno d'Amore*, a massive and expensive affair that reportedly overwhelmed audiences with virtuosic singing and dazzling machinery.⁵⁸ The coronation ceremonies in the Cathedral were likely enhanced by some of Bertali's large-scale liturgical works, including the *Missa Spiritu Sancto*, *Missa consecrationis*, *Missa novo regis*, a grand *Te Deum*, and perhaps the *Missa Ratisbonensis* as well; all of these works were in 'colossal' scorings with trumpets and other brass and string instruments.⁵⁹ No fewer than forty trumpeters and timpani are reported to have accompanied a grand procession for the feast of Corpus Christi in 1653, in which the Emperor participated.⁶⁰ Outside of these ceremonial and liturgical occasions, the diet also enjoyed several performances of *Philothea* – a sacred opera with an impressive orchestration by the Munich Jesuit Johannes Paullin – and possibly also an oratorio for Holy Week with a text by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.⁶¹ In these and other ways the wealth and prestige of the Habsburg court was projected onto this small but symbolically important city on the Danube. After 1663, when the Regensburg diet was declared 'perpetual' and the Emperor engaged a Principal Commissar as his permanent representative, the city ceased to be the site of such lavish ceremony on behalf of the imperial court.

2 Musical Influences and Exchange: Liturgical Music and Lieder

The sixteenth century was a time of especially close connections between the Habsburg courts and musicians in the German-speaking orbit, leading to distinctive lines of musical influence. This is most readily evident in two broad

57 Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 36, 72-73; and Meixner, 'Musik und Theater', 137-38, who credits Seifert for identifying the two works in *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 439.

58 Meixner, 'Musik und Theater', 138-39. The surviving sources for Bertali's opera are discussed in Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 373-75.

59 Meixner, 'Musik und Theater', 138-42.

60 Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 199.

61 See Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 75, 261. On *Philothea*, see Karl Schwämmlein, "Philothea", in *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 131 (1991), 73-114, esp. 110-12; and his transcription of the score as *Philothea: Das erste Oratorium auf deutschem Boden im Bistum Regensburg. III. Notenteil Zweitfassung. München 1669 – Straubing 1679*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. ms. app. I 2023-3 [1991].

genres of music that merit closer exploration here: polyphonic music for the proper of the Mass and the German Lied.

2.1 *Proper Cycles*

The cultivation of liturgical polyphony at Maximilian I's court was an attractive model for institutions in the German-speaking orbit. While internationally prestigious mass ordinary cycles circulated widely in Germany (as elsewhere), the important sub-tradition of proper cycles established by Isaac proved to be of lasting importance.⁶² The *Choralis Constantinus*, as it was called in the three posthumous volumes printed at Nuremberg in 1550 and 1555, stemmed only in part from the original commission by the Constance cathedral chapter in April 1508: Twenty-five cycles from this project would appear in the second volume (1555), but the music of the first and third volumes was likely first intended for the imperial chapel, for their texts follow closely the Archdiocesan Gradual of Passau that governed Viennese usage.⁶³ Isaac's colleague Senfl was among those who compiled these proper settings for later use: Four Munich choirbooks (MunBS 35, MunBS 36, MunBS 37, and MunBS 38, the so-called *Opus musicum*) contain many of the cycles later published in the third volume of the *Choralis Constantinus*, along with considerable proper music by Senfl himself, who identifies himself therein as Isaac's student and successor.⁶⁴ It seems unlikely that Senfl had any direct role in the project to publish Isaac's mass proper in the German orbit, first announced by the Nuremberg publisher Hans Ott in 1537 in the preface to his motet anthology *Novum insigne opus musicum*, a book that itself featured many motets by Senfl, Josquin, and other prominent

62 While Isaac's effort is impressive in its scope, possible precedents may be found in the previous century, notably in two manuscripts at Trent: TrentC 88 and TrentC 93. Reinhard Strohm, in 'The Medieval Mass Proper, and the Arrival of Polyphonic Proper Settings in Central Europe', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 31-57, has suggested the Wiener Neustadt chapel of St. George, residence of Frederick III, as one Habsburg court that may have cultivated such cycles prior to the era of Maximilian I.

63 The provenance of the *Choralis Constantinus* cycles is known largely through the work of Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig, in 'Liturgische Grundlagen und handschriftliche Überlieferung von Heinrich Isaacs "Choralis Constantinus"' (Ph.D. diss., University of Tübingen, 1956) and 'Heinrich Isaacs "Choralis Constantinus": Eine posthume Werksammlung', in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Kassel 1962*, ed. Georg Reichert and Martin Just (Kassel, 1963), 114-18. See also David J. Burn, 'What Did Isaac Write for Constance?' in *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), 45-72.

64 See Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks', 231-32.

contemporaries.⁶⁵ Ott's original intention was to publish only the Constance commission, but he appears to have changed his mind when he became aware of Isaac's imperial cycles. The result, ultimately printed after Ott's death by Hieronymus Formschneider in three volumes in 1550 (1) and 1555 (2 and 3), created intricate challenges for later scholars who have tried to disentangle the original Constance material from later additions.⁶⁶

The legacy of proper cycle composition at Maximilian I's court also decisively influenced liturgical music in Saxony, both before and after the Reformation. A key figure here was the former imperial choirboy and composer Renner, who helped introduce the manner of Habsburg liturgical music to the Saxon court during his career as Frederick the Wise's chapel master at Torgau between 1507 and 1520. Renner may have had some part in supervising the preparation and copying of some of the so-called Jena Choirbooks, likely for the Castle Church of All Saints in Wittenberg, which preserve significant amounts of both ordinary and proper music. The manuscripts JenaU 30, JenaU 33, JenaU 35, and WeimB A are devoted to music for the proper and largely contain intonations, alleluias, sequences, communions, and tracts; much of the music is unattributed, although attributions to Renner appear in JenaU 33, and to both Renner and Isaac in JenaU 36 (which contains ordinary cycles). But it has been argued on stylistic grounds that the propers of JenaU 30 (music for the Sancto-rale) and JenaU 35 (music for both the Temporale and Sancto-rale) are the work of Renner, and in fact about a third of the propers in WeimB A have been identified as Isaac's work.⁶⁷ Further connections between the Saxon court and imperial traditions of proper cycles in the post-Reformation period may be found in

65 *Novum insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537) [RISM 1537¹]. Senfl surely had considerable proper music by Isaac in his possession, but doubt has been cast on him as a source for Ott in Nuremberg; see Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks', 230–32, and Gustavson, 'Commercialising the *Choralis Constantinus*', who suggests instead that Count-Palatine Ottheinrich of Pfalz-Neuburg may have been Ott's source for the 'imperial' portion of Isaac's propers after 1537.

66 See Gustavson, 'Commercialising the *Choralis Constantinus*', 234–36, who describes the contentious legal dispute in 1549–50 between Hans Ott's widow Elsbeth Ott and Georg Forster, who announced his own intention to publish the music in the bass partbook of his third book of German Lieder [RISM 1549³⁷], presumably using the firm of Berg and Neuber. Further recent discussions of the provenance of the *Choralis Constantinus* repertory may be found in David Rothenberg, 'Isaac's Unfinished Imperial Cycle: A New Hypothesis', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 125–40.

67 On Renner's possible authorship of this music see Gerken, 'The Polyphonic Cycles of the Proper of the Mass' and Robert E. Gerken (ed.), *Three Mass Proper Cycles from Jena 35*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 53 (Madison, 1982), viii. See also Heidrich, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen*, 369ff., on

the person of Senfl, who (as mentioned above) enjoyed close relations with Luther. Senfl's liturgical music for the Munich court of Wilhelm IV did not circulate widely during his lifetime, as the source manuscripts were likely intended for the private use of the Duke's chapel.⁶⁸ Some of it, however, did find its way into the liturgical prints of Georg Rhau, and especially into the Torgau manuscripts copied under the direction of Johann Walter, Rener's successor in Wittenberg.⁶⁹ To the extent that Senfl's liturgical music achieved a wider circulation, it did so largely in Protestant contexts, forging a decades-long link between the musical practices of Maximilian I's chapel and those of the maturing Lutheran Church.⁷⁰

As for Isaac's proper cycles, the Formschneider prints of 1550 and 1555 were not the end of their history and influence in the German orbit. It is plausible that this repertoire, beyond its artistic value, became useful as an imperial symbol for various German Benedictine monasteries that sought to assert their independence – that is, their direct submission to the emperor alone, or *Reichsunmittelbarkeit* – vis-à-vis their neighbouring cities, states, and ecclesiastical princes. Extant manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries show that the Benedictines of ss. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, for example, prized Isaac's proper music alongside much newer liturgical music by the local composer and organist Christian Erbach and by contemporary Italians.⁷¹ A similar regard for Isaac's music may also be seen in a manuscript preserving his propers belonging to the Benedictines of Neresheim, who struggled to assert the abbey's imperial status against powerful neighbours.⁷² At Munich,

Rener's possible contributions to JenaU 34 and JenaU 35. Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks', studies JenaU 30 in detail, without ascribing the music to Rener or anyone else.

68 Gasch, 'Beyond Munich', 335–36.

69 NurGN 83795, and KrakJ 40 043 were both copied under Walter's supervision between 1539 and 1545 and used for the Torgau choir. On Walter's relationship to Frederick's *Hofkapelle* see Willibald Gurlitt, *Johannes Walter und die Musik der Reformationszeit* (Munich, [1933]). Senfl's music is sparsely represented in Rhau's prints, with the exception of RISM 1545⁵, which contains eleven of his compositions. See Gasch, 'Beyond Munich', 326–27.

70 Gasch, 'Beyond Munich', 335–6.

71 Music by Isaac is preserved in the choirbooks AugS 7 and AugS 23. See Tobias Rimek, 'Mass Propers in the Choirbooks of the Benedictine Abbey of ss. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (1575–1614), between Tradition and Reform', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 345–68, and David J. Burn, 'Mass-Propers by Henricus Isaac Not Included in the *Choralis Constantinus*: The Case of Two Augsburg Sources', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 60 (2003), 186–220.

72 RegT 48 Abth. II. See Barbara Eichner, 'Getting Proper-ly Started: Heinrich Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* and the Introduction of Polyphonic Mass Propers in South-German

Isaac's propers were cultivated throughout the sixteenth century, constantly being adapted and supplemented by more recent music by Senfl, Matthaeus Le Maistre, and Lasso.⁷³

While the liturgical music of the Benedictines and of the Munich court was largely transmitted in manuscript, there were also new printed cycles of proper music that may have been influenced by Isaac's precedent in the *Choralis Constantinus*. In Protestant Wrocław (Breslau), for example, Johann Knöfel issued a volume of *Cantus choralis* in 1575 containing introits, alleluias, and sequences for the entire liturgical year, pieces that alternate choral settings of Latin chant with restatements by the organ.⁷⁴ Prominent in German Catholic usage are the cantus firmus proper cycles of Franz Sales and Christian Erbach. Sales, who sang at the Hechingen and Munich courts before taking positions at Hall in Tyrol in 1591 and eventually in Prague under Rudolph II, issued a volume of mass propers in Adam Berg's *Patrocinium musices* series at Munich in 1589; these were followed by a three-volume set of *Officiorum Missalium* including introits, alleluias, and communions for five and six voices, all published in Prague by 1596.⁷⁵ Erbach, moreover, issued his own three-volume cycle of *Modorum sacrorum* for five voices at Augsburg between 1604 and 1606, rather conservative settings of introits, alleluias, and communions with the cantus firmus in the lowest part; perhaps not coincidentally, two of these volumes were dedicated to Benedictine imperial abbeys in Augsburg and Kempten.⁷⁶ Into the early seventeenth century, then, the century-old legacy of imperial proper cy-

Monasteries', in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), 269-95. Further copies of Isaac's propers for the German Benedictines may be found in OttB 3.

73 Burn, 'On the Transmission and Preservation', 319-33.

74 Johann Knöfel, *Cantus choralis, musicis numeris quinque vocum inclusus, eo ordine, quo per totum anni curriculum praecipuis diebus festis in ecclesia cantari solent* (Nuremberg, 1575) [RISM K990]. On Knöfel, see Christian Thomas Leitmeir, 'Lutheran Propers for Wrocław/Breslau: The *Cantus Choralis* (1575) of Johannes Knöfel', in *The Musical Culture of Silesia Before 1742: New Contexts – New Perspectives*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk (Frankfurt etc., 2013), 89-113; Fritz Feldmann, 'Der Laubaner Johannes Knöfel, insbesondere sein "Cantus choralis"', in *Die schlesische Kirchenmusik im Wandel der Zeiten* (Lübeck, 1975), 40-52; and Lini Hübsch-Pfleger, 'Knöfel, Johann', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), vol. 13, 697-98.

75 RISM S392 and Franz Sales, *Officiorum Missalium, quibus Introitus, Alleluia et Communiones de omnibus omnium sanctorum, per totum anni circulum* (Prague, 1594, 1596, and 1596) [RISM S395, S396, and S397]. RISM S369, the *liber primus* published in 1596, is presumably a second edition of an earlier, lost print. Sales also had further music published by Adam Berg at Munich: *Officia quaedam domini N. J. Christi necnon B. v. Mariae et aliquorum sanctorum* (1589) [RISM S393] and RISM S398.

76 Christian Erbach, *Modorum sacrorum tripertitorum* (Dillingen, 1604 [volume 1], 1606 [volumes 2 and 3]) [RISM E728, E729, and E730].

cles continued to be felt keenly in Germany, even if they represented a relatively archaic stylistic practice.

2.2 *The German Lied*

The prominence of composers of German heritage in the Habsburg chapels of the sixteenth century made the Lied a second major vector of musical exchange.⁷⁷ Composers like Hofhaimer, Isaac, and Senfl helped to popularize a largely four-voice format with borrowed material in the tenor voice (thus the moniker *Tenorlied*): The tenor, typically derived from popular tunes, usually moves in relatively steady rhythmic values, while the remaining voices weave faster, intricate counterpoint above and below it (Isaac's famous *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen* is uncharacteristic in this regard). Even before the dissolution of Maximilian I's court chapel in 1519, the printing houses of Erhard Oeglin in Augsburg, Peter Schöffer in Mainz, and Arnt von Aich in Cologne issued significant early collections of Lieder, most of which were unattributed; however, the three aforementioned composers are among those who were identified the most often in later editions of these collections.⁷⁸ By the second third of the century, unsurprisingly, it was Nuremberg presses that dominated Lied production; prints by Hieronymus Formschneider – many commissioned by the publisher Hans Ott – featured Senfl's Lieder above all, though relatively few of these may stem from his time in Habsburg service. His music, for example, dominates the *Hundert und ainundzweintzig neue Lieder* of 1534 (eighty-one out of 121 songs) and the *Hundert und fünfftzehnen guter, newer Liedlein* of 1544 (sixty out of 150 songs), both financed by Ott and printed by Formschneider.⁷⁹

77 On the German Lied around 1500, see Nicole Schwindt, *Maximilians Lieder: Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500* (Kassel, 2019).

78 *Aus sonderer kunstlicher art, und mit höchstem fleiss seind diss gesangk buecher ... Corgiert worden, in d. Kayserlichen unnd dess hailigen reichs Stat Augspurg, unn[d] durch Erhart öglin getruckt und volendt ...* (Augsburg, 1512) [RISM 1512¹]; for the second print, containing sixty-eight works, only a discant partbook survives [RISM c. 1513³]. See Röder and Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck', 294–97, and Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 31. See also the collection of thirty-six mostly anonymous Lieder printed by Peter Schöffer in Mainz [RISM {c. 1515}³], with four songs attributed to Hofhaimer; and the seventy-seven songs in *In dissem buechlyn fynt man Lxxv. hübscher lieder myt Discant. Alt. Bas. und Tenor. lustick zu syngen. Auch etlich zu fleiten, schwegelen, und anderen Musicalisch Instrumenten artlichen zu gebrauchen* (Cologne, c. 1519) [RISM {1519}⁵], which are also mostly anonymous but do include some attributions to Hofhaimer, Isaac, and Renner.

79 *Der erst teil. Hundert und ainundzweintzig neue Lieder, von berühmtenn dieser kunst gesetzt, lustig zu singen, und auff allerley Instrument dienstlich, vormals dergleichen im Truck nyeausgangen* (Nuremberg, 1534) [RISM 1534¹⁷]; *Hundert und fünfftzehnen guter*

After 1550 the traditional format of the *Tenorlied* began to break down under the influence of the modern French and Italian genres of chanson, madrigal, villanella, and canzonetta; Lasso's *Neue teütsche Liedlein* for five voices (1567) set a new tone for the genre and was widely imitated.⁸⁰ Polyphonic fabrics became more equally balanced, homophonic, and infused with word-painting techniques especially typical of the motet and madrigal. Here again, composers with Habsburg connections were prominent in the German orbit, such as Christian Hollander from the archducal court at Innsbruck (*Neue teutsche, geistliche und weltliche Liedlein*, first printed at Munich in 1570) and Lambert de Sayve from the court of Archduke Matthias in Vienna (*Teutsche Liedlein mit vier Stimmen componiert*, printed there in 1602 and again in Wolfenbüttel in 1611).⁸¹ But far better circulated, as we have seen, were the songs of Regnart, who popularized German Lieder in imitation of the Italian villanella. Most of these works are scored for three voices, unfold in a light, accessible homophony, and feature texts of a rustic and frequently erotic profile. Highly fashionable, these Lieder were widely cultivated in amateur urban circles – the ambitious private music societies or *Kränzlein* of Nuremberg, where most of these songs were published, were especially prominent – and in the more musically ambitious courts of the Empire, notably in Prague and Munich. Regnart's Lieder were disseminated not only in their original vocal forms but also as intabulations for lute, a dominant instrument in more cultivated German homes.⁸² And those who found Regnart's wildly popular songs to be too 'base' could turn to Leon-

newer Liedlein, mit vier, fünff, sechs stimmen (Nuremberg, 1544) [RISM 1544²⁰]. Johann Petreius of Nuremberg also printed songs by Hofhaimer, Senfl, and Isaac in the *Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1536) [RISM 1536¹²] and in *Ein ausszug guter alter und newer Teutscher liedlein* (Nuremberg, 1539) [RISM 1539²⁷].

80 Orlando di Lasso, *Neue teütsche Liedlein mit fünffstimmen, wölche gantz lieblich zu singen, unnd auff allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen* (Munich, 1567) [RISM L830]. The history of the German secular Lied in this period is treated thoroughly in Katharina Bruns, *Das deutsche weltliche Lied von Lasso bis Schein* (Kassel, 2008); on Italian influences see also Nicole Schwindt, "Philonellae" – Die Anfänge der deutschen Villanella zwischen Tricinium und Napolitana', in *Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Zywiets, Volker Honemann, and Christian Bettels (Münster, 2005), 243–83.

81 Christian Hollander, *Neue teutsche, geistliche und weltliche Liedlein* (Munich, 1570) [RISM H6322], revised in 1574 as *Neue ausserlesene teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1574) [RISM H6323]. See also Lambert de Sayve, *Teutsche Liedlein mit vier Stimmen componiert* (Vienna, 1602) [RISM 1602¹], which was reissued by Michael Praetorius in 1611 (Wolfenbüttel, 1611) [RISM 1611¹⁹].

82 See, for example, the tablatures by Elias Ammerbach, *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch* (Nuremberg, 1583) [RISM 1583²²]; Gregor Krengel, *Tabulatura nova* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1584) [RISM 1584¹⁴]; and Matthäus Waissel, *Tabulatura Guter gemeiner Deudtscher Tentze* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1592) [RISM W78].

hard Lechner's madrigalesque arrangements of them for five voices, printed in Nuremberg as *Neue Teutsche Lieder* in 1579.⁸³

3 Conclusion

Following the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, musical relations between the Habsburg courts and the German states of the Empire changed significantly, as most areas of northern Europe fell under the thrall of Italianate theatrical music, and court chapels in particular were increasingly staffed with Italians. The music of individual composers of the Habsburg courts did continue to circulate widely in the German orbit, of course. The Württemberg native Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-67), for example, enjoyed close connections with the archiepiscopal court of Johann Philipp von Schönborn at Mainz, where he performed in 1665 shortly before his death; indeed, the first major publications of Froberger's keyboard music were posthumously issued in Mainz by Ludwig Bourgeat.⁸⁴ While the best-known manuscripts of Froberger's keyboard music are of Austrian provenance, important sources have recently been found that stem from Strasbourg and Hamburg.⁸⁵ His influence was felt strongly by numerous composers in the German orbit, including Weckmann, Kerll, Pachelbel, Buxtehude, Böhm, Kirnberger, and ultimately Bach and Handel. Froberger's contemporary Johann Heinrich Schmelzter, who was ennobled by his patron Leopold I in 1673, likewise inspired many in the field of instrumental music, providing decisive models in the areas of the ensemble suite and instrumental sonata. Much of his string music was in fact published at Nuremberg, including the *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus fidium aliorumque instrumentorum* (1662) and the *Sonatae unarum fidium, seu a violino solo* (1664).⁸⁶ But viewed from a broader perspective, it can be said that by the later seventeenth century the Habsburg courts and the German territories of the Empire shared a

83 Leonhard Lechner, *Neue Teutsche Lieder, Erstlich durch den Fürnemen und Berhümbten Jacobum Regnart* (Nuremberg, 1579) [RISM L1293].

84 Matthias Schneider, 'Froberger-Editionen', in *Musikeditionen im Wandel der Geschichte*, ed. Reinmar Emans (Berlin, 2015), 130-31. See also Adam Gottron, *Mainzer Musikgeschichte von 1500 bis 1800* (Mainz, 1959), 72-73.

85 Peter Wollny and the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (ed.), *Johann Jacob Froberger: Toccaten, Suiten, Lamenti: Die Handschrift SA 4450 der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin* (Kassel, 2006); and Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *Vingt et une suites pour le clavecin de Johann Jacob Froberger et d'autres auteurs: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 1-T-595 (Strasbourg, 1675)* (Stuttgart, 2000).

86 See note 48 above.

common enthusiasm for Italian opera and oratorio, which decisively transformed musical cultures in Central Europe and beyond.

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Milan: Imperial City and 'Theatre of the World'

Christine Getz

When Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, repaired to Carimate with 2,000 troops on 2 September 1499 in the hopes of evading the invading French, he unwittingly set into motion a series of events that would ultimately place his only allies, the Habsburgs, in possession of the Duchy of Milan. Long claimed as a fiefdom of France through intermarriage of the Valois and Visconti and subject to the political fallout of shifting papal and imperial alliances, between 1499 and 1530 the once flourishing 'door to Italy' was ravaged by war, famine, and plague as French and imperial forces competed for control of it. Even the restoration and imperial investiture of the Duchy of Milan to Francesco II Sforza at the close of 1529 came at a price that left the city heavily indebted not only to its military defences in the Swiss Cantons, but also to the Habsburg Emperor Charles v. In an effort to improve relations with his Habsburg benefactors and stabilize political and economic conditions, Francesco II entered into a marriage contract with the Emperor's niece Christina of Denmark in 1534. But Francesco II's premature death on 1 November 1535 following a long illness left the Duchy of Milan without a legitimate heir, and it reverted to the possession of Charles v. Thus began the period extending from 1535 to 1706 commonly known as the 'Spanish domination', in which the Duchy of Milan was an imperial fiefdom of the Spanish Habsburgs.¹

As Domenico Sella has noted, the Habsburg inheritance of Milan in 1535 only minimally affected day-to-day life in the city. The existing governmental structures were retained, and a series of governors were appointed to oversee local operations and insure the primacy of Habsburg interests. The first governors were drawn from among loyal Italian military figures, but by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Italian appointees had been supplanted by Spanish ones.² Even under the Spanish governors, however, local patrician families retained control of many municipal offices and enjoyed certain tax

1 Caterina Santoro, *Gli Sforza: La casata nobiliare che resse il ducato di Milano dal 1450 al 1535* (Milan, 1994), 325-98.

2 A complete list of governors of Milan can be found in Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia e calendario perpetuo: Tavole cronografiche e quadri sinottici per verificare le date storiche dal principio dell'età Cristiana ai giorni nostri* (Milan, 1906), 320-24.

exemptions and judicial privileges that were not available to the rural population.³ The power of governors (and the aristocracy) in Milan, moreover, was further diluted in the 1560s by the ascent of Cardinal Archbishop Charles Borromeo, who succeeding in elevating the political influence of the church to such a level that secular entertainments were outpaced, if not replaced, by sacred pursuits for nearly a century.⁴ In Milan, the music associated with the gubernatorial court remained fundamentally Italian in character, and tangible manifestations of Habsburg power featuring music largely took the form of staged entries of Habsburg family members and the governors that represented them, theatrical presentations, organized celebrations of Habsburg births and funerals, and commemorative music prints featuring the city's composers. Various Milanese musical institutions, including the musical chapel of the Duomo of Milan, contributed to the staging of Habsburg shows of power, but none was more closely associated with the Habsburgs than the royal ducal chapel at Santa Maria della Scala.

1 Habsburg Chapels in Milan

1.1 *The Royal Ducal Chapel at Santa Maria della Scala*

Shortly after his investiture, Francesco II Sforza embarked on an ambitious project to ensconce ducal chapels within the church of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan and the cathedral of Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano by increasing the number of existing ducal benefices, through the transfer of benefices existing elsewhere, and through the sale of properties held by the Sforza. The former institution, which was founded by Barnabò Visconti in 1384 in honour of his wife Beatrice della Scala, was located directly North of the Duomo of Milan and the Palazzo Ducale in the space now occupied by the Teatro alla Scala,⁵ while the latter completed the quadrangle of the Piazza Ducale in Vigevano. By

3 Domenico Sella, *Lo stato di Milano in età spagnola* (Milan, 1987), 21–23, and Domenico Sella, *Crisis and Continuity: The Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), 32–33. On this period, see also Stefano d'Amico, *Spanish Milan: A City within the Empire, 1535–1706* (New York, 2012).

4 See d'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, 93–115, and Angelo Turchini, 'Il governo della festa nella Milano spagnola di Carlo Borromeo', in *La scena della gloria: Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola*, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan, 1995), 509–44.

5 The church was razed by Empress Maria Theresa of Austria in 1776 in order to make way for a new court theatre. On the history of Santa Maria della Scala, see Mario Caciagli, Jaqueline Ceresoli, and Pantaleo di Marzo, *Milano, le chiese scomparse*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1998), vol. 1, 170–202. An incision of the complex dating from 1773 is shown in Daniele Torelli, *Benedetto Binago e il motetto a Milano* (Lucca, 2004), 82.

adopting the strategy of expanding the existing forces of each, Francesco II ingeniously avoided the economic pressures and organizational demands of starting from scratch and was able to capitalize on the existing liturgical strengths of each chapel. Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano specialized in performance of the Roman rite, and in December 1530 its chapter consisted of a provost and seven canons. To this were added four additional dignitaries (an archpresbyter, an archdeacon, a deacon, and a cantor), five additional canons, and sixteen choral beneficiaries (two mansionarii, two deacons, two sacristans, two custodians, and eight clerics), and three years later, an organist. The chapter at Santa Maria della Scala was founded for the express purpose of performing the daily offices in the Ambrosian rite, and in December 1530 its benefices included twenty canonicates (four of which were vacant), positions for four clerics and two custodians, and a provostship. To these were added eight choral beneficiaries (two mansionarii, four chaplains, and two levites). Because the primary duty of the choral beneficiaries was to sing the Ambrosian offices (Matutino, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, Compline) and chapter Mass, the appointments appear, at least initially, to have been awarded to well-connected candidates who were proficient in the singing of Ambrosian chant.⁶ Yet the accumulation of a library of polyphonic music at Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano and the presence at the early gubernatorial courts of musicians who composed sacred repertoire, including Hoste da Reggio and Vincenzo Ruffo, suggest that polyphony, including that on Roman texts, was performed on special occasions, which included approximately thirty feasts listed in the 1539 statutes.⁷ A document dated 1597, moreover, indicates that by the end of the century a motet was typically sung during the offertory of Mass, and further, that polyphony may have been sung regularly during the Confractorium and Transitorium (roughly corresponding to the Roman Agnus Dei and communion).⁸ The extant archival and printed evidence discovered to date further confirms that despite an influx of Spanish governors, the chapel at Santa Maria della Scala continued to perform the Ambrosian liturgy alongside motets, sacred concerti, and other polyphonic repertoire on Roman texts during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The resident Spanish population reportedly congregated at San Protasio ad Monachos (also 'al Castello' or 'al

6 Christine Getz, 'The Sforza Restoration and the Founding of the Ducal Chapels at Santa Maria della Scala and Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano', in *Early Music History* 17 (1998), 111-33.

7 Getz, 'The Sforza Restoration', 133. At least ten more sanctoral and Christological feasts were added by the early seventeenth century. See Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 93, and Marina Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio e la musica in Santa Maria della Scala* (Lucca, 2004), 6.

8 Getz, 'The Sforza Restoration', 138.

Porto Gioivo'),⁹ and it is possible that the liturgy as heard in Madrid had some influence there.

Paolo Morigia's *Calendare volgare* of 1620 reports that Santa Maria della Scala was an especially important civic gathering place for the feasts of the Assumption, St. Barbara, and St. Bibiana,¹⁰ and polyphony appears to have been sung there on these occasions. Vincenzo Ruffo's 1542 book of five-voice motets, which was published by Giovanni Battista Castiglione of Milan while he was a musician in the household of Governor Alfonso d'Avalos, includes motets for the feasts of the Assumption, St. Barbara, and the Common of Virgins,¹¹ and the collections of Orfeo Vecchi and Giovanni Battista Stefanini, both of whom served as *maestri* in the chapel, also include several works appropriate for the Assumption and Common of Virgins. Other evidence suggests that the musicians of the city assembled at Santa Maria della Scala, at least during the first decade of the seventeenth century, on the feast of St. Cecilia. In 1599 Agostino Tradate published a sermon on St. Cecelia given at Santa Maria della Scala by Cherubini Ferrari that makes reference to the 'many instruments' and 'one hundred voices' present there during the festivities,¹² and the printed repertoire from the era that is clearly identified as composed for the institution contains at least two motets for the feast. The first, Vecchi's *Cantantibus Organis Caeciliae Virgo*, is for six voices,¹³ while the second, Stefanini's *O beata Caecilia*, is scored for eight voices divided into two SATB choirs.¹⁴ Although Paolo Morigia reported in 1620 that it had become customary for the musicians of

9 MilASD Q. 19. The document concerns a Confraternity of the Rosary installed there before 1582.

10 Paolo Morigia, *Calendario volgare* (Milan, 1620), s.p.

11 Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Milan, 1542) [RISM R3047]. A modern edition is available in Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Milan, 1542), ed. Richard Sherr, *Sixteenth-Century Motet 19* (New York-London, 1988).

12 Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 72.

13 Guglielmo Berti (ed.), *Messe, motetti, et un Magnificat, a sei voci. Di diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Milan, 1610) [RISM 1610¹]. The collection's frontispiece identifies Berti as the collector and a musician at Santa Maria della Scala, and its contents feature compositions by musicians from Santa Maria della Scala and the attached instrumental chapel. It contains two masses, sixteen motets (several of which are psalm settings), and a Magnificat in the second tone and is catalogued in Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnobelen (eds.), *A Catalogue of Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music 1516-1770*, JSCM Instrumenta 2, <<http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2/>> (accessed 28 June 2020). See also Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 81 n. 41.

14 Giovanni Battista Stefanini, *Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci, cioè motetti, messa, salmi, magnificat con Letanie della Beata Vergine* (Rome, 1614) [RISM S4730]. The collection, which contains six motets (two of which are settings of Marian antiphons), a mass, a Magnificat in the second tone, two psalms, and a litany for the Virgin, is catalogued in Kurtzman and Schnobelen, *A Catalogue*.

the city to gather at either San Simpliciano or San Lorenzo for the feast, it is likely that the feast of St. Cecelia also continued to be celebrated, at least by the court musicians, at Santa Maria della Scala.

Under the Spanish governors the ducal chapel at Santa Maria della Scala was gradually transformed into a 'royal' ducal chapel in service of the Habsburgs, in much the same manner that the existing legislative structures of the Sforza were adopted as the gubernatorial ones. Daily performance of the liturgical rituals largely remained unchanged, and new beneficiaries were nominated by the governors instead of by Francesco II. Yet the documentary evidence pertaining to the ducal chapel at Santa Maria della Scala is spotty for the years 1535 to 1580 and seems largely associated with disputes between the ecclesiastics and local authorities or amongst the beneficiaries themselves.¹⁵ Two pastoral visits made by Archbishop Charles Borromeo, the highly controversial one of 1569 and a second visit in 1574, however, initiated a series of reforms, several of which were musically related.¹⁶ The most important of these included the requirement that all musical beneficiaries be resident for the singing of the canonical hours and High Mass and a provision that the chants be sung from the books and, further, that certain proper items performed to psalm tone formulas such as the epistle and gospel be rehearsed.¹⁷ It is unclear from the fragmentary documentary evidence whether or not Borromeo's pastoral visits contributed to the chapel's rise to a level of musical prominence that rivalled that of the Duomo, Santa Maria presso San Celso, and San Francesco Grande at the outset of the seventeenth century. The first reference to a *maestro di cappella*, however, is found soon after his second visit, in 1580, with the appointment of Orfeo Vecchi to the post.¹⁸ The first reference to an organist, Girolamo Baglioni, follows in 1608 in the frontispiece of his *Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus*.¹⁹ Although the documentation regarding the other

15 Christine Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan* (Aldershot, 2005), 61-63.

16 A refusal of the chapter to participate in the 1569 visit on the grounds that Borromeo lacked the proper authority to order them into residence resulted in the excommunication of several beneficiaries. See Mario Bendiscioli, 'Carlo Borromeo cardinale nipote arcivescovo di Milano e la riforma della Chiesa milanese', in *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols. (Milan, 1957), vol. 10, 187-89, and Gaspare Bugati, *L'aggiunta dell'istoria universale, et delle cose di Milano ... dall'1566. fin'al 1581* (Milan, 1587), 66.

17 Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 62-63.

18 MilASD XI11/5-6. First cited in Laura Mauri Vigevari, 'Orfeo Vecchi, maestro di cappella di S. Maria della Scala', in *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 7, no. 4 (1986), 351.

19 Girolamo Baglioni, *Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus* (Milan, 1608) [RISM B644], frontispiece. Transcribed in RISM Printed Sacred Music in Europe 1500-1800, <<http://www.printed-sacred-music.org/manuscripts/0000000000335>> (accessed 28 June 2020). See also Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 16.

personnel and the size of the forces that performed polyphony on festal occasions during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is more fragmentary than that which survives for the Duomo and Santa Maria presso San Celso, the extant archival and musical evidence suggests six to eight singers in addition to the organist and *maestro di cappella*.

From the time of Vecchi's appointment as *maestro di cappella*, if not before, the chapter appears to have observed a clear distinction between the positions of *maestro di coro* and *maestro di cappella*, although Vecchi held both posts simultaneously between 1598 and his death in 1603.²⁰ The designation 'maestro di coro' typically referred to the mansionarius in charge of leading the singing of Ambrosian plainchant in the tradition established with the founding of the choral benefices in 1539,²¹ whereas the title 'maestro di cappella' was given to the individual tasked with the supervision (and perhaps composition) of polyphonic music. Between 1580 and 1620, for example, the *maestri di coro* included one prete Bernardino (c. 1580),²² Vecchi (1598-1603), Giovanni Battista Ardemanio (1604-c. 1619), and Giovanni Battista Lambrugo (c. 1627-36), all mansionarii, and the *maestri di cappella* included Vecchi (1587/88-1603), Stefanini (1606-8), and Benedetto Binago (1611-19), all well-known North Italian composers.²³ Over twenty volumes of polyphony printed by the Tradate, Tini, and Lomazzo firms in Milan during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries feature the sacred compositions of Vecchi, Stefanini, and Binago,²⁴ but Vecchi was decidedly the most prolific of the three. His output included some fifteen volumes of masses, motets, Magnificats, spiritual madrigals, and hymns, several of which were reprinted in Milan and Antwerp. His motets are perhaps the most representative of the festal repertoire regularly performed at Santa Maria della Scala during the late sixteenth century in terms of both their scoring, which is mostly for five and six voices, and their applicability to a variety of Marian and sanctoral feasts.²⁵ Stefanini's *Il secondo libro delli motetti a*

20 Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 13-15.

21 For discussion of the original role of the mansionarius, see Getz, 'The Sforza Restoration', 129.

22 Probably the mansionarius Bernadinus Medicinus. See Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 87 n. 54.

23 Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 12-15; Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 67-80.

24 See Mariangela Donà, *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700* (Florence, 1961), 29-40, 74-116.

25 Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1650* (Oxford-New York, 2002), 70. Modern editions of many of Vecchi's compositions are still lacking despite the numerous extant Milanese prints devoted exclusively to his sacred music and the dissemination of selected works across northern European sources. The existing critical and performing editions include Orfeo Vecchi, *Missarum quatuor vocibus. Liber primus*, ed. Ottavio Beretta (Lucca, 1991) and Orfeo Vecchi, *La donna vestita di sole coronata di stelle, calcante la luna*, 3 vols., ed. Dolores Mather-Pike and Kent Carlson (Frankfurt am Main, 2006). Transcriptions of

cinque, sei, sette, et otto voci (Venice, 1608) [RISM S4729] and *Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci, cioè motetti, messa, salmi, magnificat con Letanie della Beata Vergine* (Rome, 1614) [RISM S4730], both of which contain compositions dating from his tenure at Santa Maria della Scala, show a similar range of repertoire but also exploit expanded voicing and an ensemble of two SATB choirs that must have been the standard at least on special occasions in the first decade of the seventeenth century.²⁶ As Robert Kendrick has noted, other repertoire emanating from the chapel during the same period, such as the masses, motets, and Magnificat collected by Berti and published by Agostino Tradate in 1610, feature the six-voice scoring preferred by Vecchi, although they are more of a departure in terms of their occasional function.²⁷ At some point during the first two decades, however, solo concerti must also have been introduced into the repertoire at Santa Maria della Scala, perhaps by Stefanini. His first book of two- and three-voice motets published by Filippo Lomazzo in 1606, even if composed in Turin immediately prior to when he accepted the position of *maestro di cappella*, shares a textural and stylistic affinity with the dialogues and small sacred concerti of the later *maestro* Giulio Cesare Ardemanio (c. 1580-1650).²⁸

Santa Maria della Scala's *maestri*, however, were not the only musicians who brought distinction to the chapel. At least four singers who held appointments as chaplains or mansionarii at Santa Maria della Scala during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century also sang at the Duomo on the feasts of the Nativity of the Virgin and San Carlo (Damiano Scaribelli, Glicerio Guaialupi, Giovanni Battista Lambrugo, and Giovanni Domenico Giacobbi). Of these the most famous was Lambrugo, a tenor who served as a mansionarius at Santa

the motets are found in Laura Mauri Vigevari, 'Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi, maestro di cappella di Santa Maria della Scala di Milano' (Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Pavia, 1984); Penny Kaye Draper, 'A Comprehensive Study and Critical Edition of Orfeo Vecchi's *Scielta de madrigali à cinque voci*' (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1997); and Laura Mauri Vigevari, 'In convertendo Dominus, "Dialogo a due chori" di Orfeo Vecchi', in *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (Venice, 2012), 70-79. In addition, a Magnificat, a Te Deum, and several hymns from the *Hymni totius anni secundum consuetudinem S. R. E. quatuor vocibus* (Milan, 1600) [RISM V1068] are available in octavo through Calcografica Musica Sacra (Milan, 1896-1900).

26 The 1608 collection contains eight five-voice motets, six six-voice motets, three seven-voice motets, four eight-voice motets, and a Litany of the Virgin and is catalogued in the RISM Sacred Music Database, <<http://www.printed-sacred-music.org/manuscripts/0000000002988>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

27 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 73.

28 Giovanni Battista Stefanini, *Motetti ... Libro primo, a due, e tre voci* (Milan, 1606) [RISM S4728]. The collection contains ten two-voice and eleven three-voice motets. Several of Ardemanio's concerti are transcribed in Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 238-44, 263-66.

Maria della Scala from approximately 1609 until 1636.²⁹ Lambrugo was the dedicatee of an individual motet in Giovanni Paolo Cima's *Concerti ecclesiastici* of 1610;³⁰ he was identified in the dedication of Serafino Cantone's *Motetti concertati alla moderna con il basso continuo, libro quarto* (Venice, 1625) [RISM C887] as one of four skilled singers who sang the motets it contains during Saturday evening Marian Vespers at San Simpliciano;³¹ and he further is identified as one of Santa Maria della Scala's virtuosi along with the organist Giulio Cesare Ardemanio in a brief description of the chapter found in Giovanni Battista Villa's 1627 history of the seven stationary churches.³² A poem by Giovanni Magistri Milanese written on the occasion of the translation of various relics to the community of Castano, an event in which Lambrugo evidently participated along with the famous Milanese bass Francesco Lucino, describes his voice as resonant and flexible and praises his virtuosity in declaiming dramatic texts, singing florid passages, and varying his vocal colour.³³ Lucino's virtuoso singing was itself the subject of two dedicatory poems, one by Giovanni Magistri Milanese and another by Cherubino Ferrari, and several sacred concerti were expressly dedicated to him by Milanese composers.³⁴

1.2 *The Royal Court Chapel*

The royal ducal chapel at Santa Maria della Scala served the Habsburg governors in tandem with the royal court chapel, which Kendrick argues was housed at San Gottardo in Corte by the early seventeenth century. The documentary evidence of musical activity at San Gottardo in Corte is uncomfortably fragmentary for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the earliest reference

29 The surviving documentation regarding Lambrugo's career at Santa Maria della Scala is reported in Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 12-15, 68-72, and Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 67-68. See also the brief discussion in Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 73.

30 *Iubilare Deo* for cantus and alto. Giovanni Paolo Cima, *Concerti ecclesiastici à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. & 8. voci* (Milan, 1610) [RISM 16104], reprinted in Archivium Musicum 24 (Florence, 1986).

31 The other singers include Antonio Pestagallo, a contralto in the royal court chapel; Giovanni Maria Brasca, a contralto from the Duomo; and Giovanni Baccino, a bass from the Duomo. See also Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 111.

32 Giovanni Battista Villa, *Le Sette Chiese o siano basiliche stationali della città di Milano, secondo Roma* (Milan, 1627), 210. Cited in Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 68 n. 7.

33 G. Magistri Milanese, *Descrittione dell'apparato fatto dal Borgo di Castano, diocesi di Milano, per ricevere sante reliquie* (Milan, 1610), reproduced in facsimile in Biblioteca Milanese 18, ed E. Paccagnini and B. Baita (Milan, 2009), 21-24. Cited in Marina Toffetti, "Lucino è un lampo, e la sua voce è un tuono": Francesco Lucino cantore a Milano nel primo Seicento', in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 39, no. 1 (2004), 32. As Toffetti notes on 32 n. 100, the poem is a reworking of a text by Battista Guarini.

34 Toffetti, "Lucino è un lampo, e la sua voce è un tuono", 20-38.

to its use as a gubernatorial court chapel occurs sometime after 1538 in connection with Holy Week. In addition to singing a semi-private Office before the Governor every day after the midday meal beginning on Tuesday of Holy Week, officials at San Gottardo provided a High Mass and candlelight procession on Maundy Thursday; a Mass, a passion in plainchant alternatim, a sung Adoration of the Cross, and Vespers on Good Friday; and the blessing of the paschal candle followed by High Mass in the Roman rite on Holy Saturday. Although no polyphony by composers associated directly with the court has surfaced in connection with the court's Holy Week services, the 1555 collection of five-voice motets by Hermann Matthias Werrecore, who served as *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo of Milan from 1522 to 1550, contains a motet in four sections titled *Popule meus* for the Adoration of the Cross. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Werrecore's *Popule meus* was sung at San Gottardo in Corte rather than at the Duomo during Holy Week, and nothing is currently known of the forces that would have performed the Holy Week music for the gubernatorial court there.³⁵

Kendrick claims, primarily on the basis of a poem by Fabio Varese, that by the early seventeenth century the vocal forces at San Gottardo included six to seven singers and a *maestro di cappella* who performed masses and motets for selected feasts and state occasions. Varese, who was himself a member of the court chapel, names a number of the musicians with whom he performed.³⁶ Several of the singers mentioned by him, including Lambrugo from Santa Maria della Scala and Pestagallo, who sang regularly for the Duomo and San Simpliciano, also sang for other institutions in the city.³⁷ Milanese singers and organists appear to have been contracted for jobs in multiple institutions during the era. The Duomo both gave its musicians permission to sing elsewhere and hired extra music from nearby churches on special occasions,³⁸ and

35 Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 65. An edition of Werrecore's *Popule meus* is in Hermann Matthias Werrecore, *Camtuum quinque vocum quos motetta vocant ... liber primus* (1559), ed. Christine Getz, *Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance* 151 (Middleton, 2008), 147-64. The collection is dated 1559 on the title page but 1555 on the dedication page.

36 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 74-75.

37 On Pestagallo see Cantone, *Motetti concertati*, dedication, and Marina Toffetti, 'La cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano: Considerazioni sullo status dei musicisti e sull'evoluzione dei loro salari dal 1600 al 1630', in *Barocco Padano 2: Atti del X Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII-XVIII*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 2002), 538-40.

38 On the lending and borrowing of musicians at the Duomo see Toffetti, 'La cappella musicale del Duomo', 502-511, 528-545, and Marina Toffetti, 'Nuovi documenti sulla cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano e sul suo repertorio nei primi trent'anni del

Battista Bagarotto, a singer and rector at the nearby church of Santa Maria Segreta, sang at numerous churches throughout the city during the late sixteenth century.³⁹ It is thus likely that performing for the court chapel was not a full-time job but rather an appointment that was one of several from which local singers could cobble together an income.

1.3 *The Gubernatorial Court Ensemble*

The documentation for the gubernatorial court ensemble is equally spotty for the sixteenth century. The core instrumental complement consisted of four to six civic and two court trumpeters who were paid out of the state treasury; the former seem to have been primarily responsible for issuing proclamations in the city, while the latter delivered missives and secret communiques abroad and travelled with diplomatic delegations.⁴⁰ Other musicians selected by the governor appear to have been employed on an irregular basis. Ferrante Gonzaga, who served as governor of Milan from 1546 to 1555, for example, employed the lutenist and spy Pietro Borrono, as well as a band of approximately nine wind players led by the virtuoso cornettist Ludovico Visconte, called 'il Moscatello'.⁴¹ Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos, who held the appointment of interim governor for Consalvo-Fernando di Cordova from 1560 to 1563, brought Giaches de Wert to the Milanese court, where his vocal works reportedly were performed 'with viols as was customary'.⁴²

Entries in the chancery pay registers reported by Davide Daolmi for the year 1601, 1602, and 1608 reveal that the court's 'palace' or gubernatorial ensemble had grown in size by the early seventeenth century. It included seventeen musicians during the second half of 1600, eighteen musicians the year following, and nineteen in 1607.⁴³ The instrumentation of the gubernatorial ensemble is not specified in the extant sources, but it is possible that six or seven of the musicians were the singers from San Gottardo in Corte identified in the poem by Varese. If this is in fact the case, then the singers regularly were joined by ten

Seicento', in *Barocco Padano 3: Atti dell'XI Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 2004), 350-52.

39 A diary recording Bagarotti's engagements and the remunerations he received for them during the years 1579 and 1580 is preserved in MilAS 1824.

40 Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 157-66. In 1604 the four court and two civic trumpeters were receiving the same salaries that the six court and two civic trumpeters were assigned in 1537 (MilAS XII/46, 154r).

41 Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 166-70, 179-82.

42 Giaches de Wert, *Letters and Documents*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Abbeville, 1999), 88.

43 Davide Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano (1598-1649)* (Turnhout, 1998), 276, 278, 281 (Documents 17, 21, 25).

to twelve instrumentalists, and the instrumental complement did not differ greatly in size from that of the 1550s. If, on the other hand, the singers from San Gottardo in Corte were not included among these numbers, the instrumental ensemble had doubled in size since the 1550s. Unfortunately, the pay registers name only one musician, Camillo Gabrieli, noting that in addition to his salary for March through December 1607, he was to receive an advance of nine months.⁴⁴ A supplication for a raise in salary advanced by him on 18 February 1605 indicates that he had been playing in the ensemble since 1587.⁴⁵

Camillo Gabrieli's son Gabriel was one of six Milanese violinists playing in the royal chapel of Philip III in Madrid during the first decade of the sixteenth century. The others included Stefano Limido, who is identified in a supplication dated 13 November 1608 as the leader of the viol ensemble,⁴⁶ Bernardo Bianchi, Onoratio Michele, Francesco Olegio, and Giovanni Battista Ardemanio. All six were established at the Spanish court by 1599 and returned to Milan, at least temporarily, between 1603 and 1608.⁴⁷ They made various supplications from Milan for sums of between 100 and 500 scudi to support travel and sustain their families, which were subsequently granted by the Spanish court.⁴⁸ An important detail concerning the distinction between musicians serving in the royal chapel and those employed in the gubernatorial one, however, is found in the extant documents associated with the Milanese violinists of this era. Those documents pertaining to the six violinists serving in Madrid unflinchingly identify them as musicians in his majesty's royal chapel, while those for Camillo Gabrieli clearly describe him as a musician in the chapel of the governor of Milan. Thus, there does not appear to have been fluidity of movement between the two ensembles.

Two other documents that have surfaced from the years 1649 and 1650 suggest that the size of the gubernatorial court ensemble was either reduced gradually over the years or declined sharply following the plague of 1630. They authorize payments to four chaplains, who perhaps were singers, and nine musicians serving the palace chapel.⁴⁹ One of them further orders that a remuneration of ninety-six scudi be paid to Biagio Marini for his service in the

44 Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 281 (Document 25).

45 MilAS 47, 19 febbraio 1605. The documentation suggests, but does not specify, that Camillo Gabrieli was a violinist.

46 MilAS 48-49, 13 November 1608.

47 Toffetti, *Gli Ardemanio*, 21-33, but see especially 21 n. 16.

48 MilAS 46, busta 1603, fols. 80, 81, 103; MilAS 46, busta 1604, fols. 44, 45, 46, 79; MilAS 48-49, 13 November 1608; and MilAS x11/46, fols. 92r, 122v.

49 Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 339, 343 (Documents 94 and 100).

gubernatorial chapel from 23 September 1631 to 23 November 1632.⁵⁰ Marini married the Milanese noblewoman Margherita Taegia, and a list of the contributors found in Giorgio Rolla's *Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici* of 1649 identifies him as *maestro di cappella* in the royal ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala, so it is possible that his tenure at the gubernatorial court in Milan spanned some twenty years.⁵¹ How long Marini remained after 1649 is unclear, although he appears to have travelled extensively in Northern Italy after 1650. As Daniele Torelli has noted, moreover, there is little scholarship available on music and musicians in the royal ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala during the second half of the seventeenth century, but the extant documentation suggests that financial instabilities led to a temporary decline mid century in the quality of the music heard there.⁵²

2 Public Musical Expressions of Habsburg Power in Milan

2.1 *Music in Habsburg Triumphal Entries, 1533-48*

For those inhabitants of Milan who lacked access to the gubernatorial court, the primary exposure to musical displays of Habsburg power took place during the triumphal entries of members of the Habsburg family and their governors on the occasion of their investiture and marriage.⁵³ Between 1533 and 1548, the Spanish Habsburgs organized four triumphal entries into Milan, and these established the protocol that would be adapted for many of the Habsburg progressions that followed. The first Habsburg entries included two made by Charles V himself, one in 1533 en route from his papal meeting with Clement VII at Bologna and another in 1541 on the occasion of the liberation of Vienna and the impending imperial expedition to Algiers. The other two entries were the progression of his niece Christina of Denmark (daughter of his sister Isabella of Austria) in 1534, celebrating her short-lived marriage to Francesco II Sforza, and the triumphal entry of his son Philip II in 1548, made in anticipation of his succession to the Spanish throne. For the Spanish Habsburgs, the

50 Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 339 (Document 94).

51 *Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici a due, tre, e quattro voci di diversi celebri e nomati autori* (Milan, 1649) [RISM 1649¹]. Catalogued in Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, *A Catalogue* and cited in Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 88 n. 57. As Torelli reports, Franco Piperno posits that Marini's association with Santa Maria della Scala extended back to 1617 or before on the basis of the dedication of one of his sinfonias to Ignazio Albano, a canon in the chapter there. See Biago Marini, *Affetti Musicali. Opera Prima*, ed. Franco Piperno, *Opere di antichi musicisti bresciani* 4 (Milan, 1990), xvii.

52 Torelli, *Benedetto Binago*, 88-92.

53 On triumphal entries for the Habsburgs in Rome, see Chapter 16 of this volume.

purpose of such progressions was to reinforce imperial authority and encourage civic identification with the dynasty. To that end, the progressions were modelled on those of ancient Rome by appropriating and reinventing the main elements of the Roman military triumph: the entry into the city, the service of thanksgiving in the temple, and the banquet celebration. The structure of the Roman military triumph, and, in particular the entry, was well known to Renaissance audiences not only through the dissemination of such texts as Titus Livius' *Ab urbe condita*, Flavio Biondo's *Roma triumphans*, Plutarch's *Triumph of Aemilius Paulus*, and Appian's *Triumph of Scipio Africanus*, but also in their depiction in both ancient and modern iconography.⁵⁴ Among the most famous contemporary representations is Andrea Mantegna's *The Triumphs of Caesar*, a series of nine paintings commissioned by Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua during the 1490s that re-imagine Caesar's entry into Rome;⁵⁵ it captures the panoply of the ancient Roman entry as Renaissance audiences might have envisioned it. The ancient Roman models on which the entry relied, the specific imperial themes which the Habsburgs wished to project, and the retinues accompanying the Habsburg princes on their progresses imposed some continuity on the form and style of the progression from one city to the next, but the processional route of the *entrata*, its decoration, and the religious services and entertainments prepared for the event provided opportunities for each city visited to distinguish itself.⁵⁶

The Habsburg entry procession served to redefine the civic space as an imperial rather than ducal one by reinterpreting it according to its ancient Roman heritage. To this end, a series of triumphal arches and other similar *apparati* were employed, and these were strategically placed along the processional route, which typically wound its way from a designated city gate, usually the Porta Ticinese or Porta Romana, to the Duomo. At least one of them usually featured Charles's motto 'Plus ultra', along with his imperial impresa of the two-headed eagle, and made allegorical references to the Roman God Jupiter

54 Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984), 42-50; Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna* (Oxford, 1986), 143-45; and Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 134-41. See also Plutarch, *Lives of Dion and Brutus, Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, ed. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA, 1943), and Appian, *Roman History*, trans. Horace White (New York, 1912).

55 Richmond, Hampton Court Palace. See Lightbown, *Mantegna*, 143-45.

56 See, for example, the essays of C.A. Marsden and Jean Jacquot on Spanish and Italian entries in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquet (Paris, 1960) and George Lawrence Gorse, 'Between Empire and Republic: Triumphal Entries into Genoa during the Sixteenth Century', in *Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, *Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University* 6 (University Park, 1990), 188-256.

and the Roman military general Caesar, the two Roman figures after whom Charles's public persona was styled. The *apparati* further featured stock symbols that defined Milan as one of eight cities in the Milanese state with imperial ties to ancient Rome, and other mythological, Biblical, or sanctoral figures were appropriated to allegorically communicate the political motivation for the visit.⁵⁷ Written descriptions of the early *apparati* remain, and woodcuts of the four arches designed by Giulio Romano and his collaborators for Charles v's 1541 entry are included in the chronicle of Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante. These not only have assisted art historians in identifying the original designs for two of the arches,⁵⁸ but they also demonstrate how Roman themes were incorporated into the visual display that marked the processional route. The first (Figure 14.1), placed at the bridge to the Porta Romana, features the aforementioned heraldry of Charles v and makes allegorical reference to the eight imperial cities and four major rivers of the state of Milan, while the fourth (Figure 14.2) depicts the Emperor as Jupiter on horseback subduing the enemies of Catholicism in Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the New World. *Apparati* such as these demarcated the civic stage on which the drama unfolded and politically contextualized it for the onlookers. The actors who processed across them included not only members of the imperial retinue, but also a Milanese delegation drawn from the local aristocracy, the Milanese council and senate, the ranking ecclesiastics in the diocese, and functionaries of the gubernatorial court. They were dressed in specifically appointed costumes and accompanied by the court trumpeters playing fanfares, in much the same way that the processors of ancient Rome were accompanied by singing and dancing processors.

57 The aspects of the decorations are described in the chronicles and histories of the era, including Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante, *Trattato dell' intrar in Milano di Carlo v* (Milan, 1541); Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante, *Al gran Maximiliano d'Austria arciduca. Intrada di Milano di Don Philippo d'Austria, Re di Spagna* (Milan, 1549); Cerbonio Besozzi, *Cronaca delle solennità, guerre ed altri successi ... dal potentissimo Carlo v imperatore*, ed. Cesare Malfatti (Trent, 1967); Gaspare Bugati Milanese, *Histoire universale* (Venice, 1571); Margo Burigozzi, *Cronaca milanese ... dal 1500 al 1544* (Milan, 1587), reprinted in *Archivio storico italiano* 3 (Florence, 1842), 421ff.; Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe Don Felipe* (Anvers, 1552; reprint, Madrid, 1930); Alfonso Ulloa, *Vita e fatti dell'invittissimo Imperator Carlo Quinto* (Venice, 1562); and Alberto Volterano, *La triomphale entrata del serenissimo prence di Spagna nell'inclitta città di Milano* (Milan, 1548). See also Silvio Leydi, *Sub umbra imperialis aquilae: Immagini del potere e consenso politico nella Milano di Carlo v* (Florence, 1999), 33-182.

58 The original designs are preserved in Paris, Louvre 3575. See Ernst Hans Gombrich and Sergio Polano (eds.), *Giulio Romano, 1499-1546* (Milan, 1989), 500-1.

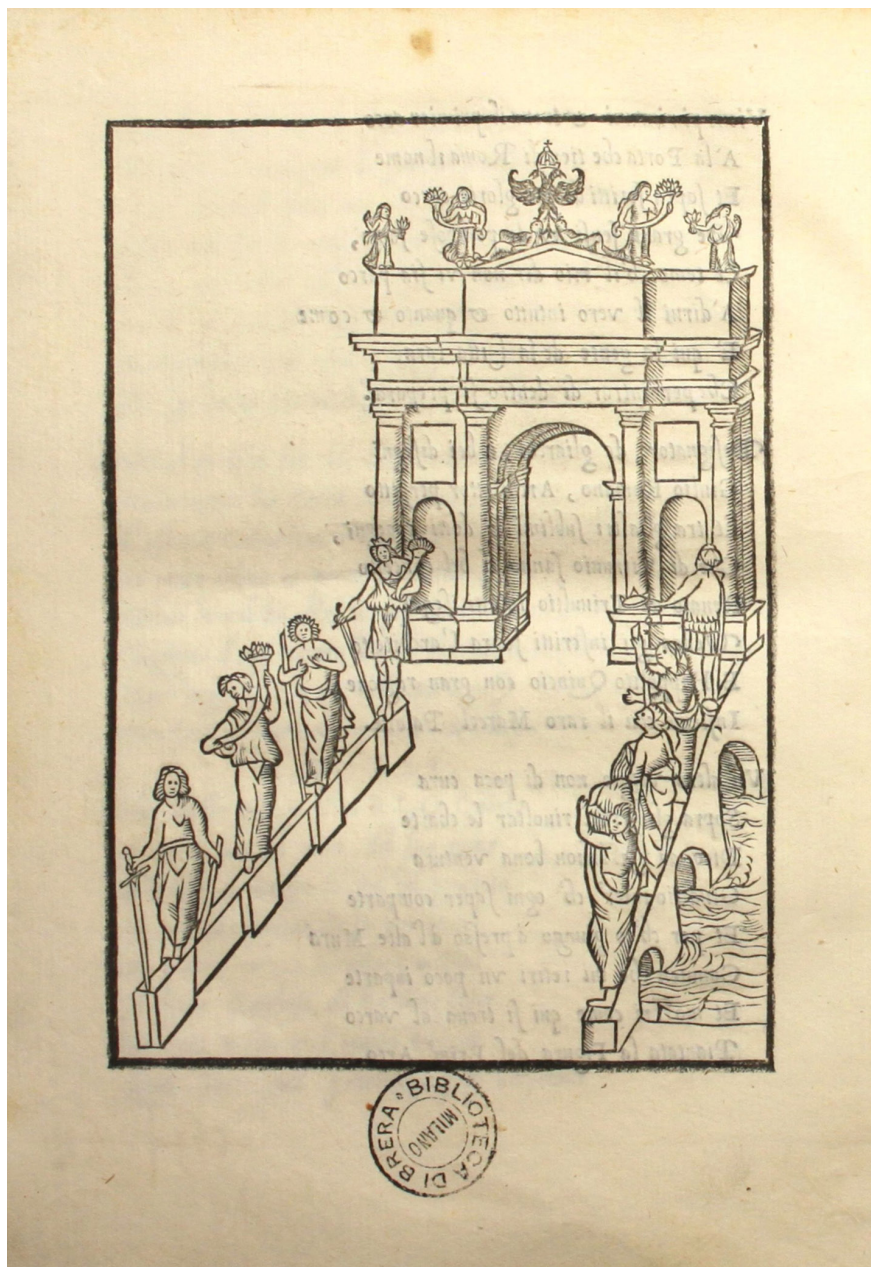


FIGURE 14.1 The first arch at the bridge of the Porta Romana for Charles v's 1541 triumphal entry into Milan, woodcut in Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante, *Trattato del'intrar in Milano di Carlo v* (Milan, 1541)
 MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO,
 BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE BRAIDENSE, USED WITH PERMISSION

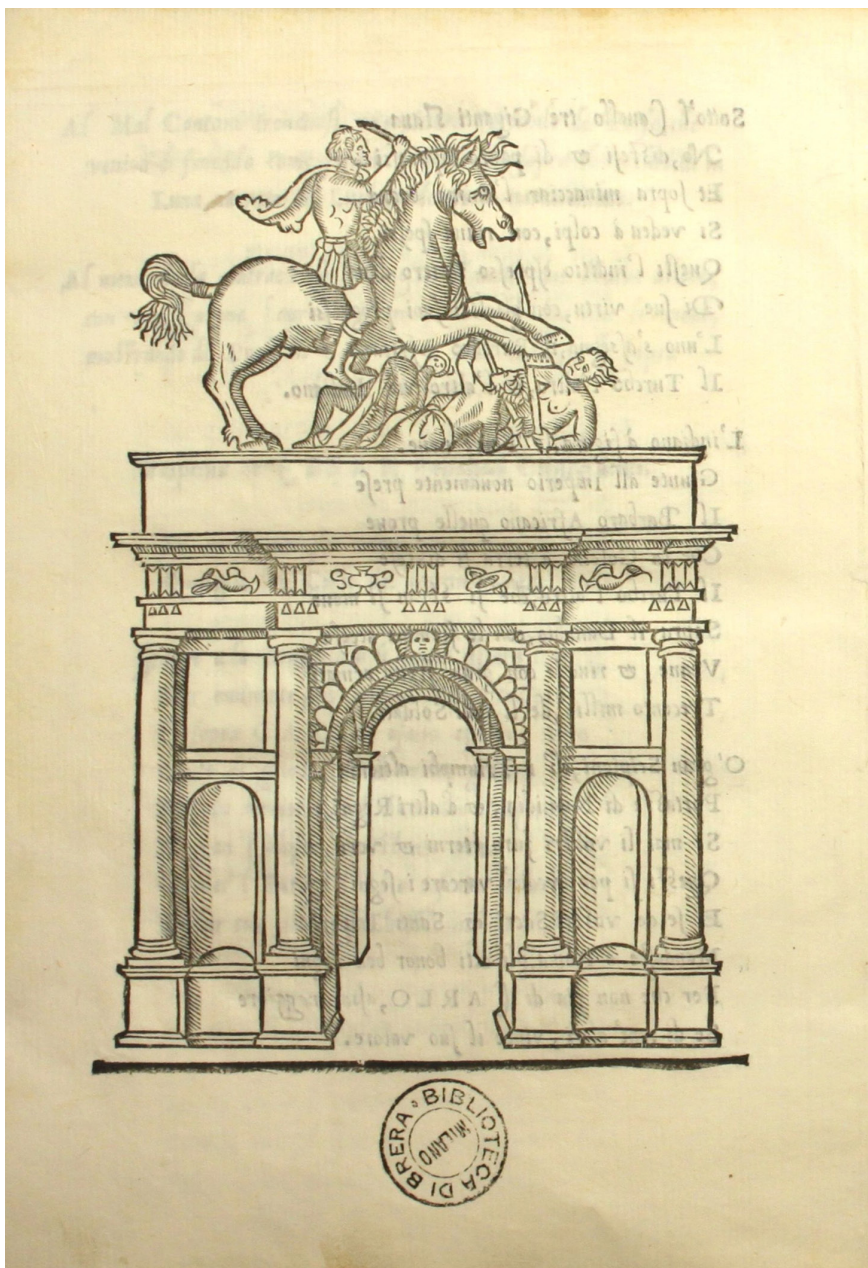


FIGURE 14.2 Arch at the entrance to the Piazza Duomo for Charles v's 1541 triumphal entry into Milan, woodcut in Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante, *Trattato del'intrar in Milano di Carlo v* (Milan, 1541)
 MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO,
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Either immediately following the entry or on the next day, the processors wound their way to the Duomo of Milan to hear religious services. The chronicles are rarely specific about the service performed and never provide descriptions of the compositions sung. However, Margo Burigozzi specifies that a Mass in the Ambrosian rite was performed in the Duomo midday on the occasion of Charles V's 1533 entry,⁵⁹ and further that Christina of Denmark heard Vespers during her 1534 entry into Milan.⁶⁰ It is therefore likely that either a High Mass or Vespers were sung for most of the entries, depending upon the time of day that the retinue was scheduled to reach the Duomo. The poetic chronicles that commemorate the early Habsburg entries, the majority of which are written in *ottava rima*, typically feature a pair of stanzas dedicated to the religiosity displayed by the ruler and the sumptuousness of the plainchant and polyphony performed. In describing the services in the Duomo during Charles V's 1541 entry, for example, Albicante highlights the humility, dignity, and reverence displayed by the Emperor against the harmonious backdrop of the voices:

CAESAR dismounts from his horse. Intent, full of religion, and with great faith he contentedly goes forward step by step. And they anoint his head with the sacred waters. Here one does not see a sorrowful heart because all play, recite, and sing. Many instruments resound sweetly, and the tone reverberates to the skies. As he approaches the altar of true sacrifice, the reminder of the vow of Christ, CHARLES kneels with a sincere heart and with holy and devout gestures. And in the middle of the consistory of the sacred clergy and of the faithful, he hears our sacerdots sing the ritual anew, and he offers thanks to the eternal Jove.⁶¹

Although the usefulness of such descriptions are limited by both their formulaic and their metaphorical nature, they serve to underscore the important role that performance of liturgy in an ecclesiastical space played in presenting the

59 Burigozzi, *Cronaca milanese*, 513-14. See also Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 138.

60 Burigozzi, *Cronaca milanese*, 518-19. See also Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 39.

61 'Dismonta CESAR da Cavallo intento / Pieno di Religione con Fede tanta / E à passo à passo inanzi v'è contento / (Et nel viso li danno, L'aqua Santa) / Qui non si vede, un cor che si stia lento / Per che si sona parla s'ode, e canta / Tanti stormenti, di soave sono / Ch'in fino al Cielo, ne ribomba il Tuono. / Giunto al'Altar del Sacrificio vero / Che rimembra di Christo, i Santi voti / CARLO si'inchina, con il cor Sincero / Con gesti Imperiali Santi, e Devoti / E'n mezo al Concistor, del Sacro Clero, / Et de la Fede, nostri i Sacerdoti, / Sente Cantare le Ceremonie nove, / Et possi a ringratiar, l'eterno Giove' (Albincante, *Tratatto del'intrar in Milano*, s.p.). See also Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 168, which reports part of this passage with a slightly different translation.

Habsburg rulers as anointed by God and the purveyors of the harmony of the realm.

Music was equally important to the official entertainments at court, which comprised the third phase of the Habsburg progression. Whereas its ancient Roman counterpart had focused primarily upon banquet entertainments, the Habsburg entertainments were expanded to include tournaments and games, balls, and comedies, all of which featured music, whether as accompaniment to the presentation of dishes at banquets and to dancing during the balls, in the form of fanfares at outdoor events, or as *intermedii* for the theatrical entertainments. The entertainments following the progressions of Philip II's 1548 entry, for example, included tournaments and games, at least two balls, and two comedies. According to the Spanish chronicler Juan Cristóbal Calvete, the first of the two balls comprised numerous pavaues and galliards;⁶² these dance forms were especially popular in the repertoire of mid-century Milanese lutenists such as Pietro Paolo Borrono.⁶³ Of the two comedies performed, Alessandro Piccolomini's *L'Alessandro* (1543) and Nicolò Secco's *L'Interesse*, only a description of the *intermedii* for the latter is available. In addition to a prologue in which 'one of seven ancient nymphs crowned Italy' to the accompaniment of a vihuela, the *intermedii* included four scenes set on the canals of Venice: a 'symphony' followed by the instrumentally accompanied entrance of Bacchus and Silène; a choir of seven dancing nymphs and seven dancing shepherds accompanied by instruments; six musicians on a barge singing to the accompaniment of lutes, zithers, and an organ; and a choir of the nine muses also afloat on a barge. It is not entirely clear from the description what the *intermedii* were intended to convey, but they culminated in an homage to Philip II delivered by Mercury, and the audience would have recognized the introduction of this Roman god of commerce and son of Jupiter as acknowledgement of the future investiture of the Milanese state to its visiting Prince.⁶⁴ The surviving documentation regarding Philip II's 1548 progressions indicates that he brought eighteen singers, ten trumpeters, ten additional instrumentalists, a scribe, and the royal court organists Antonio and Juan de Cabezón with him to

62 Calvete, *El felicísimo viaje*, vol. 1, 81-85. See also Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 139.

63 Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Intavolatura di lauto* (Venice, 1548) [RISM B3772]. See the discussion in Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 138-39.

64 Calvete, *El felicísimo viaje*, vol. 1, 84-86. Also see Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 139, 153 n. 81.

Italy, and these musicians likely performed alongside or in lieu of the gubernatorial chapel at some of the entertainments and religious services in Milan.⁶⁵

At least three occasional motets for Charles V and one for Philip II are associated with Habsburg progressions of the period. It is possible that some of them were brought by the imperial retinue and performed in the Duomo during the ceremonies in Milan, but there is no evidence that firmly attaches any one of them to the Milanese entries. The first, Nicholas Gombert's *Qui colis Ausoniam*, refers to the pact between Charles V and Clement VII that was the subject of the 1533 progression. Two others, Jean Courtois's *Venite populi terrae* and Pierre de Manchicourt's *Nunc enim si centum*, praise Charles V's leadership and military prowess, topics that conform vaguely to the liberation of Vienna and expedition to Algiers that were the impetus for the 1541 progression. The other, Jachet of Mantua's *Hesperiae ultimae / Philippe, te descendente*, which is thought to have been composed for a progression into Mantua in 1548, might have been performed during Philip's entry into Milan as well.⁶⁶ But whether or not these pieces were treated as portable musical emblems by the imperial court is unclear.

The surviving works by local composers active in Milan during the period of the entries do not include occasional works that address the Habsburg rulers. A motet by Werrecore, then *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo of Milan, may, however, have been performed during Charles V's 1541 progression. As part of the nine-day series of festivities that followed his entry into Milan, the Emperor stood as the baptismal sponsor of Carlo d'Avalos, the seventh child of Governor Alfonso d'Avalos and his spouse Maria d'Aragona. The baptismal rites reportedly were sung in the Duomo, and during them the Emperor conferred the Order of Alcántara upon the child.⁶⁷ Werrecore's motet, *Beati omnes*, first appears in the *Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus* of 1543, a collection of motets edited by the Milanese paper merchant Bernardino Calusco and

65 Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V*, Monumentos de la música española 2 (Barcelona, 1944), 107-9, and Marcario Santiago Kastner, 'Il soggiorno italiano di Antonio e Juan de Cabezon', in *L'Organo* 1 (January 1960), 58-61.

66 See Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 141-56. See also Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette, 1480-1555* (Utrecht, 1970), 147-49 and 333, and Nanie Bridgeman, 'La participation musicale à l'entrée de Charles Quint à Cambrai le 20 janvier 1540', in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot, Les fêtes de la Renaissance, 3 vols. (Paris, 1960), vol. 2, 235-54.

67 F. Fiorentino, 'Donna Maria d'Aragona, marchesa del Vasto', in *Nuova Antologia: Rivista di scienze, lettere e arti* 19, no. 1 (1884), 224, and Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venice, 1967), 20-21. See also Albincante, *Trattato del' intrar in Milano*, s.p.

dedicated to d'Avalos.⁶⁸ It draws its text from the opening verses of Psalm 127 from the Ambrosian cursus for Lenten Vespers. The psalm's third verse, 'Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans', which in Werrecore's motet is stated as a long-note cantus firmus in the contratenor voice, also appears as the text of a baptismal motet for Hermes Visconti found in Vincenzo Ruffo's first book of motets (RISM R3047), printed in Milan and dedicated to d'Avalos the previous year.⁶⁹

D'Avalos, commander general of the imperial armies from approximately 1536 and Governor of Milan from 1538 to 1546, was in fact himself honoured with an occasional motet for four voices that would have been fitting for a triumphal progression. The motet, *Nomine si vastus*, was composed by Ernold Caussin, *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma from 1534 to 1539, and published in Jacques Moderne's fourth volume of *Motetti del Fiore* (Lyon, 1539) [RISM 1539¹¹]. Its text mentions d'Avalos's appointment as Charles v's commander and identifies him as the son of Mars to Charles's Caesar:

If you are great in name, you shine far greater in battle. And Caesar rightly gives you the prize as commander. Powerful Bellona gave birth to you from the seed of Mars. Mars the father gives you the weapons; you have the rest from your mother. I have been faithful to you from childhood, a quality that descended naturally from the protection of a patron. To serve you, therefore, is prudent of me.⁷⁰

The text unfolds musically via points of imitation, and the motet makes no use of cantus firmi or other similar devices often employed in occasional works of this sort. It likely was intended to mark d'Avalos's ascent to commander general upon Antonio Leyva's death in 1536 or his entry into Milan as governor in 1538. Around the same time, Tiziano Vercellio painted a portrait of d'Avalos in

68 Bernadino Calusco (ed.), *Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus* (Milan, 1543) [RISM 1543³]. On the relationship between Calusco and the printer Giovanni Antonio Castiglione, see Arnaldo Ganda, 'Giovanni Antonio Castiglione e la stampa musicale a Milano', in *La Bibliofilia* 100, no. 2-3 (1998), 310-13.

69 Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 51-54.

70 'Nomine si vastus praefulges maior in armis, et merito Caesar dat tibi primus duci, te peperit Bellona potens de semine Martis, Mars dedit arma pater caetera matris habes. Me fidum a teneris, genuit natura clientem, inservire tibi sis memor ergo mei.' The motet is transcribed in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Moderne Motet Anthologies: Four-Voice Motets from the Motetti del Fiore Series Part 11, Sixteenth-Century Motet 10* (New York-London, 1999), 284-92. See also the brief discussion in Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 146-47.

full armour and wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁷¹ Although less is known about the festivities that accompanied his 1538 entry into Milan, both d'Avalos and his successor Ferrante Gonzaga, Prince of Molfetta and Count of Guastalla, did process through the city with a delegation of aristocrats and civic officials to the accompaniment of trumpets, heard sung services in the Duomo, and retired to the nearby ducal palace for further festivities.⁷² Their entries therefore, replicated those designed by the Habsburgs, albeit perhaps on a more modest scale.

2.2 *Theatre in the Habsburg Entries of 1599 and 1649*

The progression into Milan of Margarita of Austria on 30 November 1598 on the occasion of her marriage to Philip III of Spain reveals that the basic design of the Habsburg progression had changed little in the intervening fifty years. The themes underscored by the *apparati* changed somewhat with each entry, but the imperial eagle, allegorical references to the god Jupiter and his family, and decoration that referred to Milan's imperial Roman heritage still prevailed. Margarita was accompanied from Ferrara by a large retinue that included Archduchess Isabella Clara and Archduke Albrecht VII of the Spanish Netherlands, themselves newlyweds. Her entourage was met at the city gates by a delegation of Milanese aristocrats and officials, where they were saluted first by an artillery display and then by the castle musicians and city trumpeters, who played antiphonal fanfares on long silver trumpets from their positions on the city walls. Seven arches marked a processional route along the Corso Romana from the Porta Romana to the Duomo,⁷³ which, as Kendrick has observed, 'retraced the *via porticata* and the *cardo maximus* of Roman *Mediolanum*'.⁷⁴ As the procession passed each arch, the participants were greeted with music performed by voices and instruments. The processional body arrived at the Duomo after sunset, whereupon it entered the church, presumably for Vespers or Compline, and heard a *Te Deum* and several motets. The processors then made their way to the palace to the sound of artillery fire.⁷⁵ While she was in the city, Margarita's retinue reportedly also attended services

71 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. For an image, see <<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/223011/titian-tiziano-vecellio-portrait-of-alfonso-d-avalos-marchese-del-vasto-in-armor-with-a-page-italian-probably-january-february-1533/>> (accessed 28 June 2020). The painting is thought to have been executed in Bologna in 1533.

72 Landolfo Verità, *L'entrata in Milano di Don Ferrante Gonzaga* (Milan, 1546), s.p.

73 Guido Mazenta, *Apparato fatto dalla Città di Milano per ricevere la Serenissima Regina D. Margarita d'Austria* (Milan, 1598), s.p. See also Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 3-4.

74 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 3.

75 Mazenta, *Apparato fatto dalla Città di Milano*, s.p.

at the Marian pilgrimage church of Santa Maria presso San Celso and heard polyphonic Vespers at San Bernardino delle Monache.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, Albrecht and Isabella must have arranged for the purchase of music prints; an inventory of their chapel library from 1607 lists several volumes of sacred music by composers active in Milan during their visit.⁷⁷

What is immediately noticeable about the Milanese progression of Margarita, Albrecht, and Isabella is the importance that theatricality had come to occupy in the consciousness of both the organizers and the observers. In the introduction to his published account of the entry, Guido Mazenta states that on the occasion 'Milan had become the most spacious theatre in all the world';⁷⁸ an argument that would be made repeatedly in the coming decade in connection with other civic celebrations, including the commemorations of the death of former Archbishop Charles Borromeo.⁷⁹ The city, as a demarcated space, had become a stage across which the differing actors moved, and this view is reflected in other records of the entry as well. In his *Le gratie d'amore* of 1602, for example, the Milanese dancing master Cesare Negri provides not only a brief description of the entry, the balls, and battle scenes that were staged in Margarita's honour, but also a detailed account of the balls and *intermedii* performed on Albrecht and Isabella's return progression through the city in July 1599. The latter often include the names of the participants, descriptions of their dress, mention of the instruments played, a recounting of how the choreography was performed, and sometimes even the music itself.⁸⁰

Despite the attention to detail and the availability of archival documents associated with both the planning and the performances, we unfortunately know little more about the music performed in honour of Margarita than we

76 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 5; see also 51 and 434 n. 169. The retinue may have heard the liturgy in other convents as well. On 15 December 1598 Maria of Bavaria, who was a member of Margarita's retinue, wrote to her son from Milan praising the singing in the convents, particularly at Santa Marta, and enclosing an Agnus Dei that she had obtained from the nuns. See *Sechsendvierzig Briefe der Erzherzogin Maria an ihren Sohn Ferdinand aus den Jahren 1598 und 1599*, ed. Ferdinand Khull (Graz, 1898), 48.

77 Anne Elizabeth Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Early Seventeenth-Century Brussels: An Examination of the Small-Scale Motets, Including an Edition of *Deliciae sacrae* (1616)', 2 vols. (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 2008), vol. 1, 67-74.

78 '& che Milano divenuto fosse di tutto il Mondo amplissimo Teatro'; Mazenta, *Apparato fatto dalla Città di Milano*, s.p. See also Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 4.

79 The theme appears in several of the sermons given after 1600 for the annual commemorations of Carlo Borromeo's death, beginning with the sermon of Aluigi Bosso in 1601: Aluigi Bosso, *Oratione delle lodi del Beato Carlo Cardinale di S. Prassade, Arcivescovo di Milano, composta è recitata nel Duomo di Milano ... in occasione della prima solennità fatta nel giorno* (Milan, 1601).

80 Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602; facsimile reprint, New York, 1969), 12-16.

do of that organized a half century before for the entries of Charles v and Philip II. Kendrick has pointed out, however, that Serafino Cantone's *Missa de le perle* on Claudio Merulo's five-voice madrigal *Dalle perle e rubini* makes a clear reference to the first of the seven arches that marked Margarita's entry, which was decorated with a large pearl, an obvious play on the Italian translation of her name 'Margarita' (pearl). The mass was published in a 1599 collection of eight-voice motets by Cantone dedicated to her, which strengthens the theory that it was performed during her 1598 progression. Kendrick further suggests that Cantone's eight-voice motet *Audite me* from the same collection may also have been sung during the progression. Its text, taken from a Matins canticle for the feasts of virgin saints and the feast of the Visitation found in the Benedictine breviary, metaphorically blesses the marriage unions of both Margarita and Philip and Isabella and Albrecht. It is formally organized as a canzona for two four-voice choirs that antiphonally exchange motivic material, thus relating to the canzona-motet tradition fostered in early seventeenth-century Milan.⁸¹

According to Negri's *Le gratie d'amore*, two torch dances in the form of a series of quadrilles were performed during a ball that was held in the Palazzo Ducale in honour of Albrecht and Isabella on 18 July 1599. The first of the two torch dances, 'Austria felice', was accompanied by a harp and a lute and also featured a canzona in praise of the royal union addressed to Isabella. The second, the 'Ballo fatto da sei cavalieri', was accompanied by four harps and four lutes and included a recitation by Amor. During both dances, participants passed torches rapidly from the right to the left hands while performing complex choreography. Negri's treatise provides the music for both dances, as well as the text of the canzona for Isabella. It indicates that the canzona was authored by Gherardo Borgogni of the *Accademia degl'Inquieti*, a literary academy that was active in Milan during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and boasted membership from across the entire peninsula.⁸²

81 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 5-9. Both the mass and the motet were published in Serafino Cantone, *Sacrae cantiones ... octonis vocibus* (Milan, 1599) [RISM C884]. On the canzona-motet in Milan during the early seventeenth century, see Giuseppe Vecchi, 'La canzona strumentale e la canzone-motetto a Milano nella prima metà del Seicento', in *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Como, 31 maggio-2 giugno 1985*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 1988), 81-97.

82 Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, 14-16, 270-76. See also Monica Tizzoni, 'L'istanza tragicomica tra diletto di corte e moralità: La rappresentazione dell' "Arminia" di Giovanni Battista Visconti', in *La scena della gloria: Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola*, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan, 1995), 233-36. An analysis and

Albrecht and Isabella were further treated to a performance of Giovanni Battista Visconti's pastorale *L'Arminia* in the newly reconstructed theatre of the Palazzo Ducale.⁸³ Between its five acts, a series of *intermedii* by Carlo Schiafenati were performed, and Negri provides a fairly detailed accounting of them. According to Negri, the *intermedii* drew together the four elements (earth, wind, air, and fire) and featured scenes in the Elysian fields, in the inferno, on the water, and in the sky. The first *intermedio* related the fable of Orfeo primarily through a series of solo songs and dialogues. The climactic musical moment appears to have been Orfeo's lament with echo on the death of Euridice, for it is the only song from the evening for which Negri reproduces the text. The second and third *intermedii* were devoted to the fable of Jason and the Argonauts, and they featured canzonettas, madrigals, and battle music played by trumpets. The final *intermedio* recounted the contest of Pallas Athena and Neptune over who should rule the city of Athens, a theme that had figured previously in entertainments for Albrecht and Isabella elsewhere. The text again was delivered via solo songs and small ensembles, and the singing was accompanied by tritons and other sea creatures playing instruments.⁸⁴ As in Valenciennes, Pallas Athena, who signified Isabella, arrived with Bellona and Victory in a chariot drawn by serpents, and according to Monica Stensland, her victory over Neptune, representing Albrecht, communicated a preference across the Empire for female rule.⁸⁵ Philip II and Philip III also appeared in their usual mythological roles as Jupiter and Mercury respectively amidst an elaborate marine tableau complete with bridges, a giant conch shell, seahorses, and machines that descended from the sky. Each *intermedio* closed with an ensemble for voices and instruments, and the pastorale to which the *intermedii* were attached concluded with an elaborate scene in which clouds descended from the heavens bearing musicians who sang a madrigal and played several other concerted selections.⁸⁶ The entertainments for the evening culminated with a circle dance with ten variations in honour of Margarita entitled the 'Brando detto Alta Regina'. Its melody with lute accompaniment is

reconstruction of the torch dances is found in Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan: Cesare Negri's Torch Dances', in *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (May 1986), 182-92.

83 On the construction of the theatre and the preparations for the production of *L'Arminia* see Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 35-61. For an analysis of the libretto of *L'Arminia* and the dramatic traditions that influenced it, see Tizzoni, 'L'istanza tragicomica tra diletto e moralità', 219-64.

84 Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, 285-89. See also Tizzoni, 'L'istanza tragicomica tra diletto e moralità', 237-40.

85 Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam, 2012), 148.

86 Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, 290.

preserved in Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* along with an elaborate description of the choreography.⁸⁷

The chronicles for Mariana of Austria's progression into Milan on 17 June 1649 as the future bride of Philip IV similarly emphasize the city's function as a 'theatre of the world' and report that some 1,500 inhabitants lined the streets to view the unfolding Habsburg drama.⁸⁸ Mariana's retinue, which included her brother Ferdinand IV, King of Hungary and Bohemia, was met at the Porta Tosa (now known as the Porta Vittoria) by Governor Don Luigi de Benavidez of Carillo and Toledo, Marchese of Caracena, knights and officials from the court, and the Milanese clergy, the latter of whom processed while singing psalms.⁸⁹ An image of the entry surviving in the Raccolta Bertarelli in Milan suggests that the combined retinues of Mariana of Austria and the Governor of Milan included at least ten trumpeters, and other accounts mention drummers as well.⁹⁰ Four arches marked the processional route to the Duomo, and as the processors arrived at each, music was performed, as during the entry of Margarita fifty years before.⁹¹ At the Porta Tosa, for example, the combined choirs of the royal ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala and the Duomo sang antiphons, whereas at the arch marking the Crocetta of the Porta Romana, singers and instrumentalists reportedly performed concerted selections. Before the doors of the Duomo a motet and the Te Deum were sung, and another motet was performed as the processional body exited the Duomo ceremonies.⁹² Kendrick has reported that a motet surviving in the repertoire of the Duomo of Milan, Antonio Maria Turati's eight-voice *Ingrederere, augusta proles*, bears a notation indicating that it was intended to be sung upon Mariana's entry into the Duomo, and its text indeed invites her to pass through its doors. Kendrick further posits that another of Turati's motets dedicated to her, *Cantemus hilares*,

87 Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, 291-95.

88 Elena Cenzato, 'La festa barocca: La real solenne entrata di Maria Anna d'Austria a Milano nel 1649', in *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 113 (1987), 52-53.

89 *La pompa della solenne entrata fatta dalla serenissima Maria Anna austriaca figlia dell'inuitissima Imperante Ferdinando Terzo* (Milan, 1651), 46, and *Real solenne entrata in Milano della maestà della Regina Maria Anna moglie del Re Cattolico N.S. Filippo Quarto* (Milan, 1649), 3-7.

90 Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 56, and *Real solenne entrata in Milano della maestà della Regina Maria Anna*, 5, 8, 11.

91 Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 53-54. *La pompa della solenne entrata fatta dalla serenissima Maria Anna* includes engravings of some of the arches. An online file of the copy in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense is available at <http://www.urfm.braidense.it/rd/zCC_V_01_0001.pdf> (accessed 28 June 2020).

92 *La pompa della solenne entrata fatta dalla serenissima Maria Anna*, 46, and *Real solenne entrata in Milano della maestà della Regina Maria Anna*, 9, 17.

was sung upon her departure, and a document discovered by him further outlines the singing of motets and Michele Grancini's setting of the responsory *Iste est speciosa* during the section of the Duomo ceremony in which Mariana approached and kissed a cross.⁹³

Preparations for Mariana's entry were begun in the fall of 1648, and the commission charged with organizing it attempted to model the plans after Margarita's entry of 1598 and at the same time limit the expenses to 1,300 scudi. The architect Carlo Bozio was tasked with designing the triumphal arches that lined the procession route, while Francesco Maria Richini was enlisted to expand the palace theatre by creating a gallery that would allow the new Queen direct access to it via her chambers.⁹⁴ Two theatrical performances were organized in Mariana's honour, the pastorale *Teseo*, which was performed in Latin by the Jesuit school of the Brera, and Cicognini's opera *Giasone*, which was performed by Giovanni Battista Balbi's touring 'Febiarmonici'. Although there is inconsistent testimony in the contemporary sources regarding where the performances were staged and whether *Giasone* was presented as part of the wedding festivities at all, recently discovered documentation seems to confirm that *Teseo* was performed on 20 June and *Giasone* on 8 July, both with set and machine designs by Curzio Manara.⁹⁵ Whereas *Teseo* underscored the Habsburgs' just rule and valour via the figure of Theseus, who is described as 'the personification of the sun that rises from the sea and crossing it, illuminates the sky',⁹⁶ *Giasone* reiterated the power of the marriage union by reviving a mythological theme from the *intermedii* for the Habsburg nuptial celebrations of 1598 and 1599.⁹⁷

The festivities in honour of Mariana also included balls, banquets, and staged tournaments, some of which featured instrumental music.⁹⁸ In addition, during the two months in which she remained in Milan, the new queen and her retinue maintained an ambitious schedule of visits to churches,

93 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 366-77 and 394-95 (Document 21).

94 Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 49-50. See also p. 70, where Cenzato suggests that *Teseo* may have been performed in the gallery.

95 *Teseo* is also described in the sources as a tragedy with *lieto fine*. See Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 69-99, and Nicola Michelassi, 'Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First "Road Shows" of *Giasone* (1649-1653)', in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Dorchester, 2013), 308-10; see especially p. 309 n. 5. Maria Grazia Profeti has argued, for example, that Lope de Vega's *El velloncino de oro* was performed instead of *Giasone*.

96 '...personificazione del sole che sorge del mare e attraverso, risplendendo, il cielo' (Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 73).

97 Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 71-73; Michelassi, 'Balbi's Febiarmonici', 309.

98 Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 59-68.

monasteries, and convents, where she undoubtedly heard plainchant and polyphony. Among the institutions she visited were the Duomo, Santa Maria presso San Celso, Sant'Eustorgio, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Santa Maria dell'Annunziata, and Santa Margherita, all of which were well known for their virtuoso organists, singers, and composers.⁹⁹ Her visit culminated with the arrival of apostolic legate Niccolò Albergati Ludovisi, who was honoured by yet another motet composed by Turati titled *Exultet populus*.¹⁰⁰

2.3 *Royal Obsequies and Royal Births*

Obsequies for fallen governors and monarchs and celebrations of the births of royal children also provided occasions for reinforcing Habsburg sovereignty, albeit typically through a virtual rather than physical presence. The first Habsburg obsequies organized in Milan were staged in honour of Charles V and the wife of his son Philip II (Mary Tudor of England) in 1559. For Charles V's funeral, the architect Vincenzo Seregni designed an octagonal catafalque reminiscent of a baptistery, which was placed in the centre of the Duomo, a direct iconographical appeal for the preservation of the late Emperor's soul.¹⁰¹ The Duomo was draped in black and illuminated by candles, and its bells were rung from the middle of the night until daybreak on the day of the funeral ceremony. The civic and gubernatorial officials, local ecclesiastics, and visiting ambassadors assembled mid-morning and processed to the singing of the Office of the Dead and the litany of the saints, after which a Requiem was sung in the Duomo.¹⁰²

The funeral services for the Milanese governor Alfonso d'Avalos that had occurred some thirteen years earlier differed markedly, primarily because his body was in the custody of the state of Milan and his appointment as commander general of the imperial armies required a military exercise. The body lay in state at the church of San Cristoforo sopra il Naviglio from 31 March until 12 April, when it was transported in solemn procession to the Duomo. According to the surviving accounts, the processional body included 500 monastics, the cavalry on horseback dressed in brown with their lances 'torn to the

99 See the list compiled in Cenzato, 'La festa barocca', 58-59.

100 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 367.

101 Marinella Pigozzi, "Descrittione de l'edificio, et di tutto l'apparato" per le esequie di Anna d'Austria', in *Arte Lombarda*, Nuova serie 94/95 (1990), 129-30. Seregni's designs for the catafalque, which are preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, are shown here as well.

102 *Essequie celebrate con solenne pompa nella chiesa del Domo di Milano per la Cesarea Maestà di Carlo Quinto Imperatore Romano, et per la Serenissima Regina Maria d'Inghilterra* (Milan, 1559), s.p.

ground; mercenary soldiers draped in brown mantles, and other armed cavalry and infantry divisions draped in black and brown. The Governor's remains, preceded by a riderless horse and escorted by footmen, trumpeters, and drummers dressed in black and brown, brought up the rear of the procession. Upon the procession's arrival in the Duomo, a Requiem was sung, and the ceremonies also most certainly featured a five-voice funeral motet for d'Avalos composed by *maestro di cappella* Werrecore.¹⁰³ The motet, *Proh dolor*, laments the fallen commander's passing and its ramifications for the military protection of Italy. It unfolds in slow, syllabic declamation and largely eschews pervasive imitation, achieving a sense of forward motion through slightly staggered entrances, short melismas in a single voice, and faster-moving rhythms in one or two voices at a time.¹⁰⁴ The weight of the moment is rarely captured so poignantly in occasional compositions associated with the city during the sixteenth century.

Both Kendrick and Marinella Pigozzi argue that the 1581 obsequies for Anna of Austria, the fourth wife of Philip II, represented a point of departure from those that had preceded it and established the standard for Habsburg funerals of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵ The catafalque, which was designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi, retained the octagonal base of Seregni's, but it abandoned the prototypical pyramid structure in favour of an amphitheatre in which statues allegorically representing the states under imperial control, the fleeting qualities of temporal existence, and the moral attributes of the queen were strategically arranged as actors on a theatrical set.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the nave of the Duomo was hung with twelve histories of the life of the queen painted in gold on a black background, and these were accompanied by explanatory inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ Death was now presented as an event in the 'theatre of the world', and other emblematic metaphors describing the effect of a Habsburg death on such an expansive stage, including the descending sun and ruptured cosmic harmonies, were to be applied to it.¹⁰⁸ At the hour of one in the morning dur-

103 A description of the obsequies transcribed from a lost source is found in Giulio Porro, *Catalogo dei Codici Manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Turin, 1884), 320. See also Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience*, 56-58.

104 An edition of the motet is in Werrecore, *Camtuum quinque vocum*, 113-16.

105 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 153; Pigozzi, "Descrittione de l'edificio", 128-29.

106 Pigozzi, "Descrittione de l'edificio", 130-32.

107 Sonia G. Grandis, 'Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà: Trionfo della morte e trionfo del re nelle pompe funebri regali', in *La scena della gloria: Drammaturgia e spettacolo a Milano in età spagnola*, ed. Annamaria Cascetta and Roberta Carpani (Milan, 1995), 668-69.

108 On the metaphorical and allegorical symbolism of Spanish Habsburg obsequies during the seventeenth century, see Sara González Castrejón, 'An Iconography of Chaos: Music

ing the night preceding the funeral, all of the bells of the city sounded for the space of an hour and then fell silent. They were set in motion for another hour at noon the following day, at which time the clergy were called to assemble. At two in the afternoon, the nobility, court dignitaries, and civic and state officials processed two by two to the Duomo, where Cardinal Archbishop Charles Borromeo and four bishops presided over Matins, Lauds, and a Requiem sung in plainchant alternatim, but with the insertion of a Miserere, several psalms, and the canticle of Lauds in polyphony, as well as several motets, all for double choirs.¹⁰⁹ Kendrick suggests that the Duomo choir may have been expanded by the addition of singers from Santa Maria della Scala, a practice that would become standard for Habsburg funerals during the seventeenth century,¹¹⁰ but the surviving accounts do not mention the exact size or composition of the performing forces. Metaphorically speaking, however, the now discordant harmony of the temporal world wrought by the loss of a Habsburg ruler had been replaced by the celestial harmonies of the eternal.

Perhaps the most elaborate Habsburg obsequies of the seventeenth century were those for Philip III in 1621. Sonia Grandis describes them as 'rhetorical' in that the religious rites, decorations, funeral oration, and music were integrated into a drama dependent upon the intertextuality of the individual elements and the decoding of a century's worth of allegorical layering. The now standard Matins, Lauds, and Requiem in the Duomo were preceded by the exposition of the sacrament for forty hours in all the collegiate churches of the Diocese and a procession from the Duomo to Sant'Ambrogio marked by visits to the seven stational ecclesiastical institutions of the city (the Duomo, Sant'Ambrogio, San Lorenzo, San Nazaro, San Simpliciano, San Stefano in Brolio, and San Vittore al Corpo), thereby extending the theatrical stage to the entire city centre. The funeral decorations in the Duomo included *apparati*, a catafalque in the spirit of Pellegrini's that was designed by Tolomeo Rinaldi, and additional statues along the isles, many of which were accompanied by inscriptions prepared by Emanuele Tesauro, the Jesuit lecturer in rhetoric at the Brera. The program defined the boundaries of the stage as the four corners of the world (Europe, Asia, Africa, America) and allegorically recognized the provinces of the Empire, Philip III's Habsburg lineage, his accomplishments and virtues, and the imperial heritage of the city of Milan.¹¹¹ Although it admittedly is not clear

Images in the Royal Funerals of Philip III, Philip IV, and Charles II of Spain', in *Art and Music* 31, no. 1-2 (2006), 143-52.

109 Pigozzi, "Descrittione de l'edificio", 139-40. Transcribed from the *Descrittione de l'edificio, et di tutto l'apparato à l'essequie de la Serenissima D. Anna d'Austria* (Milan, 1581).

110 Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 153.

111 Grandis, 'Teatri di sontuosissima e orrida maestà', 673-89.

what polyphony was performed, the musical component appears to have been less metaphorical, and according to Kendrick, it emphasized city-wide morning and penance. In addition to calling for the Forty Hours' Devotion and the civic procession to the seven churches, Archbishop Federico Borromeo arranged for the Office of the Dead be sung in all the city's convents daily. The music for the funeral service itself was organized by Vincenzo Pellegrini, then *maestro di cappella*, and involved forty-eight singers from the Duomo and Santa Maria della Scala. The multiple-choir polyphony performed by them in the course of Matins, Lauds, and the Requiem, some of which was likely composed by Pellegrini and Pietro Maria Giussani, included the Miserere, psalms, responses, and the canticle of Lauds.¹¹²

Royal births were also an occasion for the virtual expression of Habsburg dominion, and the arrival of the future Philip IV in April 1605 was met in Milan with perhaps the most sumptuous festivity accorded the birth of a Habsburg during the seventeenth century. The Milanese celebration of the birth is recorded in a chronicle by Cesare Parona, which reports staged tournaments and other events organized by the various confraternities, convents, and neighbourhoods of the city, including a shoemaker's procession that included musicians playing on a cart. The official services in the Duomo on 16 April 1605 featured a Te Deum and a Marian Mass, followed by a procession to Santa Maria presso San Celso. The Te Deum and Marian Mass were replicated at Santa Maria della Scala eleven days later and included music for three choirs and trumpet fanfares upon the entrance of the Governor and at the elevation of the Host. Still another Mass of the Holy Spirit was held in honour of the Prince at Santa Maria presso San Celso on 14 May 1605, and it likely included polyphony by composers working there, possibly Giovanni Paolo Cima or Orazio Nantermi.¹¹³

2.4 *Printed Musical Commemorations*

One of the most interesting commemorations of the birth of Philip IV is Stefano Limido's *Regii concenti spirituali ... Libro primo à 5. & 6. voci* (Milan, 1605) [RISM L2422]. The collection, which is dedicated to Philip III of Spain and his spouse Margarita of Austria on the event of the Prince's birth, contains four spiritual madrigals, one of which is on a text by Angelo Grillo and divided into

¹¹² Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 154-56.

¹¹³ Cesare Parona, *Feste di Milano nel felicissimo nascimento del serenissimo principe di Spagna don Filippo Dominico Vittorio* (Milan, 1607). See the summaries of the musical events in Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano*, 78-86, and Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 159.

TABLE 14.1 Milanese prints dedicated to the Habsburgs

Date	Composer	Place of employment	Title of volume	Publisher	Dedicatee(s)
1598	Lucrezio Quinziani	S. Ambrogio	<i>Missae tres, ac quinque divinae laudes ... liber primus</i>	heirs of Simon Tini & Francesco Besozzo	Albrecht VII, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, and Count of Tyrol
1599	Serafino Cantone	organist, S. Sempliciano	<i>Sacrae cantiones ... octonis vocibus</i>	Agostino Tradate	Margarita of Austria
1599	Guglielmo Arnone	organist, Duomo of Milan	<i>Partitura del secondo libro delli motetti a cinque, et otto voci</i>	heirs of Simon Tini & Francesco Besozzo	partitura to Sig. Lucio Castelnovate; motetti to Albrecht, Archduke of Austria
1602/ 1604	Cesare Negri	maestro di ballo, Milan	<i>Le gratie d'amore</i>	heirs of Pacifico Ponzio & Giovanni Battista Piccaglia (1602) / Girolamo Bordone (1604)	Philip III
1605	Stefano Limido	supervisor of the violins in Philip III's chamber	<i>Regii concenti spirituali</i>	Agostino Tradate	Philip III (but also mentions Margarita of Austria)
1649	Carlo Cozzi	maestro di cappella, S. Sempliciano	<i>Messa e salmi correnti per tutto l'anno a otto voci ... opera prima</i>	Carlo Camagno and Giorgio Rolla	Mariana of Austria
1649	Giorgio Rolla (ed.)	Milanese printer and musician	<i>Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici</i>	Giorgio Rolla	Card. Francesco Peretti di Montalto (in Mariana of Austria's retinue)
1650	Chiara Margarita Cozzolani	nun, S. Radegonda	<i>Salmi a otto voci concertati</i>	Alessandro Vincenti (in Venice)	Mons. Badoaro, Vescovo di Crema (but dedication notes inspiration of Mariana of Austria)
1651	Teodoro Casati	organist, Duomo of Milan and S. Fedele	<i>Concerti ecclesiastici a due, tre, e quattro voci</i>	Carlo Camagno	Gio. Battista Homodeo, questore del Magistrato ordinario (but dedication mentions that pieces were inspired by entry of Mariana of Austria)

nine parts, and four settings of Castilian texts for five and six voices.¹¹⁴ Although the volume was printed by the house of Agostino Tradate of Milan in 1605, its multilingual repertoire not only reflects the secular tradition at the imperial court, but it also addresses the musical tastes of the local population, which included a considerable contingent of Spanish residents concentrated in the parish of San Protasio in campo.

The royal entries of the seventeenth century also produced tangible 'musical products' (see Table 14.1). The entry of Margarita of Austria, Archduke Albrecht, and Archduchess Isabella, for example, generated three motet volumes printed in Milan, one by Serafino Cantone for Margarita, one by Lucrezio Quinziani for Albrecht, and another for Albrecht by Guglielmo Arnone, as well as Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore*. Similarly, the entry of Mariana of Austria in 1649 inspired all or part of four collections containing contributions by musicians working in Milanese churches and convents, and their dedications suggest that they likely include compositions that were heard during the course of her visit.¹¹⁵ The content of these dedicatory volumes most certainly played a crucial role in infusing the Milanese consciousness with a Habsburg identity, an identity that was articulated both visually and sonically on a civic stage whose monuments and institutions derived from an era devoid of Habsburg control.

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¹¹⁴ On the relationship of the collection, and in particular the setting of Grillo's text, to Spanish veneration of the Madonna del Parto, see Christine Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan* (Bloomington, 2013), 135-41.

¹¹⁵ Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan*, 5, 367, and Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 146-49, 286-87.

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Musical Connections between the Austrian Habsburgs and Venice in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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The Venetian Republic loomed large in the culture and the economy of early modern Europe. For centuries it had been a centre of trade, a nexus for the distribution of goods throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea to and from Italy and elsewhere in Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it became a magnet for musicians, as well as a mecca for tradesmen and tourists; its musical offerings at the ducal basilica of St. Mark's, the *scuole grandi* (confraternities), the nunneries, and the *ospedali* (orphanages) were widely known and celebrated. As a centre for music commerce and printing, Venice was also a frequent destination for Habsburg musicians, who went there to engage singers, instrumentalists, librettists, dancers, and stage designers, as well as to buy instruments and music. Young musicians such as Hans Leo Hassler, Heinrich Schütz, and the Habsburg court composer Alessandro Tadei also came to study with such renowned composers as Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and Claudio Monteverdi; through them, and through numerous musical prints and manuscripts, 'Venetian' works formed part of the repertoire at the Habsburg courts, and these works were influences on – and at times explicit models for – Habsburg court composers.

But how should we define the term 'Venetian'? The Venetian republic comprised a wide swath of northern Italy, including the cities of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and even Udine in the Friuli. Moreover, a number of musicians from elsewhere either passed through Venice itself (remaining for weeks, months, or years) or settled there permanently. Performers might attain a coveted position in St. Mark's (at the same time performing in operas and in the feasts held by numerous *scuole*),¹ or they might settle there as teachers or free-lance musicians, without performing any service to St. Mark's. Painters and other artists, too, settled in Venice, either temporarily or permanently – not only those from the Veneto, such as Titian and Veronese, but also those

1 Olga Termini, 'Singers at San Marco in Venice: The Competition between Church and Theatre c. 1675-c.1725', in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981), 65–96.

from outside the Venetian mainland territories. Giovanni Burnacini, a native of Cesena, for example, worked for a number of years as a scenographer in Venice's theatres before moving to Vienna in 1651 to serve Emperor Ferdinand III. He took with him his family, including his young son Lodovico (possibly born in Mantua), who would become the leading Viennese scenographer for much of the latter half of the seventeenth century, and into the eighteenth.²

That many musicians from elsewhere but who worked, at least for significant stretches of time, in Venice were dubbed as 'Venetian' is evident from a letter written by Atto Melani from Habsburg Innsbruck to his patron Mattias de' Medici (22 June 1653):

Because a few Venetian musicians [here] influence the minds of both the archduchess and archduke – for reasons I will tell Your Highness at the proper time – I have realized that they are trying to hold me back by every possible means. But because I'm truly superior to all these things, I laugh to myself about it.³

Who were these 'Venetian' musicians Melani spoke of? They were apparently the Tuscan Antonio Cesti (1623-69), from Arezzo (who was, as we shall see, the protégé of the Venetian nobleman Vettor Grimani Calergi), as well as Filippo Bombaglia, from Perugia, who maintained close ties with the Santa Maria Formosa Grimani (and often lived in their palace) for most of his adult life.⁴ Many other musicians, such as Giulio Cesare Donati, Giuseppe Maria Donati, Tomaso Bovi (all from Bologna), and Stefano Boni (from Caorle, near Venice), all of them with connections to the Venetian musical establishment, would soon find their way to Austria.

Other connections between the Habsburgs and Italian musicians, not always 'Venetian', resulted from intermarriages among the great Italian families of northern Italy who patronized music and the rulers of various Austrian and German states, creating a network of international contacts facilitating musicians' careers and their movement from one geographical location to another. By the late sixteenth century, it had become a mark of distinction for Catholic rulers north of the Alps to have a musical chapel staffed by Italians. The

2 Flora Biach-Schiffmann, *Giovanni und Ludovico Burnacini: Theater und Feste am Wiener Hofe* (Vienna-Berlin, 1931).

3 Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (New York, 2009), 78-79.

4 Melani tells Mattias that, for singing, Archduke Ferdinand Charles prefers to hear Morello (Filippo Bombaglia), and that Cesti 'is his god of music' (Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 79).

Habsburgs' musical ties to Venice and the Veneto in the early modern era were thus extensive and multi-layered.

Musical influences from Venice and the Veneto were particularly crucial at three junctures: at the Inner Austrian court in Graz in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, where Venetian polychoral works dominated the sacred repertoire; at the imperial court during the first half of the seventeenth century, where Habsburg emperors and their families were the recipients of a flood of dedications from prominent Italian musicians, most notably Monteverdi; and later in the seventeenth century, when Venetian-influenced opera assumed a preeminent role at the courts in Innsbruck and Vienna.

1 The Inner Austrian Courts at Graz

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the majority of the Austrian Habsburgs still employed court musicians from the Low Countries; the notable exception was the archducal court at Graz. When Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I died in July 1564, his lands were divided among his three sons, Maximilian II, Ferdinand II, and Charles II. The music-loving Charles not only inherited the territories of Inner Austria, but he also managed to secure the services of many of the musicians from his father's dissolved musical chapel.⁵ When Charles moved from Vienna to the traditional archducal residence at Graz, his chapel was still staffed primarily by Franco-Flemish musicians from the imperial court. However, after chapel master Johannes de Cleve (1528/29–82) left his service in 1570, the Archduke began to refashion his chapel so that musicians from Venice predominated. The monarch knew Venetian music at first hand; during a trip from Madrid to Vienna in 1569, he had made a stop in Venice, where Andrea Gabrieli wrote a madrigal, *Felici d'Adria*, in his honour;⁶ later, Gabrieli would dedicate the *Primus liber missarum* (Venice, 1572) [RISM G53] to him.⁷

Cleve's successor as the leader of the Graz musical chapel was Annibale Padovano (1527–75), who had served as organist at St. Mark's between 1552 and 1565. Padovano became the first in a long line of Venetian-born or Venetian-trained

5 For a more detailed account of music at the courts of Archduke Charles II and his son Ferdinand of Inner Austria (later Emperor Ferdinand II), see Chapter 5 of this volume.

6 Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz, 1967), 27.

7 Andrea Gabrieli also dedicated his *Secondo libro di madrigali a 5 voci, insieme doi a 6 et uno dialogo á 8* (Venice, 1570) [RISM G62] to Charles's brother Ferdinand II, Archduke of Lower Austria.

chapel masters who for the next eighty years would serve Charles, his son Emperor Ferdinand II, and his grandson Emperor Ferdinand III. Padovano's relationship with the Archduke predated his appointment at court, as is clear from another Venetian dedication to Charles, that of Padovano's *Primo libro de madrigali* (Venice, 1564) [RISM A1249].⁸ Among the important Venetian musicians in Charles's employ were Padovano's successor as chapel master, Simone Gatto (1540/50-before 1595, served 1581-90), and the organists Mabrianus Gallo and Annibale Perini.

An even more decisive turn toward Venice took place under Charles's son, the future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II. Once he became of legal age to reign, in 1595, he began to constitute a musical chapel dominated by Italians. Like his father before him, Ferdinand made a tour of Italy; however, his Italian journey had consequences, both political and musical, that resonated for decades. One of the stops during Ferdinand's 1598 travels was the pilgrimage site at the Holy House of Loreto, where, according to his confessor, Ferdinand made a vow to expel Protestants from Inner Austria.⁹ This ardent dedication to the Counter-Reformation proved to be a precipitating factor in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). It was during his stopover in Venice, however, that Ferdinand's widely acknowledged love for music was most clearly on display. The Archduke attended Vespers at St. Mark's, met Giovanni Croce, and heard the organ playing of Giovanni Gabrieli.¹⁰ Venetian singers entertained him at one meal, keeping him up unusually late, according to a contemporary account.¹¹ Court documents from a few years later record a payment of fifty florins to the 'Capelmaister zu Venedig', probably Baldassare Donato, for motets dedicated to the Archduke.¹²

A choirbook prepared for the Graz court, VienNB Mus. 16703, constitutes a musical memento of this sojourn. Most of the works in the collection are polychoral motets by composers with Venetian background or training, including many of the musicians whom Ferdinand had met in Venice. The manuscript contains works by Croce, Ruggero Giovanelli, Costanzo Porta, Asprilio Pacelli, the Gabrielis, Gatto, and Perini. One of Croce's motets from the manuscript, *Percussit Saul mille*, served as the model for both a parody mass and a parody

8 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 103.

9 Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter-Reformation Emperor, 1578-1637* (Cambridge, 2014), 28-29.

10 Theophil Antonicek, 'Italienische Musikerlebnisse Ferdinands II. 1598', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 104 (1967), 91-111.

11 Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, 27.

12 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 235.

Magnificat by the Graz court chapel master Pietro Antonio Bianco (c. 1540-1611), who was himself Venetian by birth.

Polychoral music from Venice came to occupy a central place in the court repertoire: In addition to the aforementioned motet collection, another set of choirbooks, VienNB Mus. 16702, preserves an almost exclusively Venetian repertoire. These codices preserve polychoral settings of the ordinary of the mass for forces ranging from sixteen to twenty-six voices. All the composers represented in the collection except one, Lambert de Sayve (1548/49-1614), were either active in Venice (Croce and Gregorio Zucchini), had studied in Venice (Raimondo Ballestra, Georg Poss, and Tadei), or came to the Graz court after working in Venice (Padovano, Giovanni Priuli, and Francesco Stivori).¹³

Above all, it was Giovanni Gabrieli who became a musical paragon at Ferdinand's Graz court.¹⁴ He is represented in VienNB Mus. 16703 by no fewer than eight works, more than any other composer. Moreover, two of these motets subsequently served as models for parody masses by Habsburg court composers, Giovanni Valentini's *Missa Diligam te Domine* and Poss's *Missa Hoc tegitur*.¹⁵ Similarly, the Kyrie to Priuli's *Missa sine nomine* shows striking similarities to the incomplete mass ordinary setting published in Gabrieli's 1615 *Symphoniae sacrae* [RISM G87].¹⁶ The court organist Tadei was sent to Venice to study with Gabrieli between 1604 and 1606 and returned to Italy in 1610 with a gift for his teacher from Archduke Ferdinand.¹⁷ Other court composers, including Poss, Priuli, Stivori, and Valentini, seem to have been part of Gabrieli's circle,¹⁸ and Stivori dedicated his *Ricercari, capricci et canzoni a quattro voce, libro terzo* (Venice, 1599) [RISM S6452] to Gabrieli. Moreover, Gabrieli's ties to the court went beyond the purely musical; at

13 Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 67-69.

14 In contrast, Giovanni's uncle Andrea served as the model for music at the Spanish royal court, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this volume.

15 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 89-92.

16 Steven Saunders, 'Giovanni Priuli's *Missa sine nomine* and the Legacy of Giovanni Gabrieli', in *Journal of Musicological Research* 14 (1994), 169-91; Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 72-88.

17 Hellmut Federhofer, 'Alessandro Tadei, a Pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli', in *Musica disciplina* 6 (1952), 115-31; Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 217, 235.

18 For details and further bibliography see Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555-1612): A Thematic Catalogue of His Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of His Vocal Texts* (Stuyvesant, 1996), xi-xiii; Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 214, 217; Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 61-67.

times he served as an agent for Ferdinand II, obtaining books, silverware, and crystal for the Archduke.¹⁹

Prominent musicians at Ferdinand's Graz court, including most of the composers, had ties to Venice. All three of Ferdinand's chapel masters came from Venice: Bianco (served 1595-1611), Priuli (c. 1575-1626, served 1614/15-1626), and Valentini (1582/83-1649, served 1626-49),²⁰ as did the most prominent instrumentalist at court, Giovanni Sansoni (1593-1648).²¹ Bianco made numerous trips to Venice in the years around 1600, recruiting musicians and acquiring music and instruments for the court.²² A retrospective inventory from 1672 further documents the centrality of Venetian music; the Graz inventory is filled with works, both sacred and secular, from composers with ties to Venice.²³

By the time Ferdinand II was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1619 and transferred his court from Graz to Vienna, a turn toward newer musical styles of the early Baroque was well underway, a process that accelerated after his marriage to the Mantuan Princess Eleonora Gonzaga in 1622. Monody, motets with basso continuo, continuo madrigals, large-scale *concertato* motets and madrigals, and various types of dramatic music began to displace polychoral compositions as core constituents of the Habsburg repertoire. Nonetheless, polychoral sacred works in styles that recall Venetian music from the late sixteenth century continued to be written and performed well into the seventeenth century; published examples survive, for example, in Priuli's *Sacrorum concentuum* (2 parts, Venice, 1618 and 1619) [RISM P5476, P5477] and Valentini's *Missae quatuor* (Venice, 1621) [RISM V93].

Musical tastes at the Habsburg courts remained staunchly Italianate throughout the seventeenth century, even as Venice relinquished its role as the primary centre of political and economic gravity. Increasingly, Italian musicians came to Vienna not only from Venice, but also from Mantua, Rome, and

19 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 235.

20 Whether Valentini was Venetian by birth or merely worked in Venice remains an open question. See Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 64-66, and Herbert Seifert, 'Valentini am Wiener Kaiserhof 1619-1649', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer (Vienna, 2014), 613-14.

21 Herbert Seifert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI', in *Texte zur Musikdramatik*, 570; first printed as 'La institución de la Capilla Imperial de Maximiliano I a Carlos VI', in *La Capilla Real de los Austrias: Música y ritual de corte en la Europa moderna*, ed. Juan José Carreras and Bernardo J. García García (Madrid, 2001), 69-78.

22 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 18.

23 Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 289-95.

other Italian cities.²⁴ Still, at decisive moments later in the century, Habsburg monarchs turned to Venice to fill key posts. When Ferdinand II's youngest son, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, sought musicians for his chapel in 1641, he sent Giacinto Cornacchioli to Italy; his agent's recruiting mission in Venice threatened to flounder, however, when word circulated that he sought to plunder St. Mark's of musicians.²⁵ Similarly, when Ferdinand II's oldest surviving son and successor Ferdinand III sought a chapel master to replace Valentini eight years later, he too turned to Venice, trying unsuccessfully to enlist the services of Giovanni Rovetta (1595/97-1668).²⁶

2 Monteverdi and the Habsburg Court in Vienna

The most famous, though not necessarily the most important, connection between Venice and the Habsburg court in Vienna was through Rovetta's colleague at St. Mark's, Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), *maestro di cappella* at St. Mark's since 1613. Monteverdi's acquaintance with members of the Habsburg ruling family dates as far back as 1595, when the young composer led five Mantuan court musicians accompanying Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga on his campaign in support of the Habsburg's resistance against the advancing Turks in Esztergom on the Danube river north of Budapest. During this trip and upon his return to Mantua, Monteverdi met several members of the ruling family. In the summer of 1598, the future Emperor Ferdinand II visited Mantua on the same journey during which he had sojourned in Venice, and in 1599, on a trip to Spa and Brussels in Belgium, Monteverdi encountered the Habsburg Archduke Albrecht. In 1604, the baptism of Monteverdi's son Massimiliano was witnessed by a representative of the Archduke, Maximilian Ernst, Ferdinand's younger brother.²⁷ In 1615, Monteverdi contributed the motet *Cantate Domino* to an anthology dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*

24 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 120-26, 180-82; Steven Saunders, 'New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals', in *Music & Letters* 77 (1996), 191-93.

25 Theophil Antonicek, 'Pigliar musici dall'Italia: Ein Agent des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm auf der Suche nach italienischen Musikern: Giacinto Cornacchioli', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 59 (2017), 7-61.

26 Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre*, 7, 41.

27 Details about Monteverdi's acquaintance with members of the Habsburg family are given in Herbert Seifert, 'Monteverdi und die Habsburger', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, ed. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (Kassel, 1998), 77-91. The baptismal document is quoted in Claudio Gallico, 'Newly Discovered Documents Concerning Monteverdi', in *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962), 68.

[RISM 1615¹³], compiled by Giovanni Battista Bonometti and published in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti in 1615.²⁸

The close connections between the Gonzagas and the Habsburgs reached their apex with Ferdinand II's marriage in 1622 to Eleonora Gonzaga, daughter of Monteverdi's former patron. Monteverdi, under Gonzaga patronage, produced *intermedii* for the marriage celebration. Monteverdi's connections with the Habsburg court were well enough known in Venice for a discontented musician to accuse him to state authorities of treason and blasphemy in 1623.²⁹ In December 1633, Monteverdi turned to the Habsburgs for assistance in obtaining a canonry in Cremona as the means to fulfil Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga's 1609 promise of an annual pension, which the composer still had not received.³⁰ Emperor Ferdinand II's letter of support to the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain notes that the composer enjoyed the extraordinary esteem of 'Her Most Serene Highness and Our most dear wife' (i.e., Empress Eleonora Gonzaga). Monteverdi's request for aid was surely accompanied by a gift of musical compositions, in all likelihood works published later in the Eighth Book of Madrigals, the *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* (Venice, 1638) [RISM M3500], since Monteverdi's dedication makes it clear that Ferdinand II had received the madrigals in manuscript before they were published.³¹ By the time the madrigals appeared in print, however, Ferdinand II had died, and Monteverdi dedicated the collection to Emperor Ferdinand III. Monteverdi could not have sent the complete Eighth Book to Vienna in 1633, since four compositions, *Altri canti d'Amor*, *Ogni amante é guerrier*, *Volgendo il ciel – Movete al mio bel suon le piante snelle*, and *Il Ballo delle ingrate*, contain references either to Ferdinand III or to events that transpired after 1633.

This volume not only pays tribute to the Viennese court in its dedication and its madrigal texts, but its contents also reveal Monteverdi's knowledge of musical styles and techniques peculiar to Viennese madrigals, many of which were composed by Italians employed at the Habsburg court. Margaret Mabbett has assessed the characteristics of these madrigals to illustrate their impact on

28 Helmut Federhofer, 'Graz Court Musicians and Their Contributions to the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandus* (1615)', in *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955), 167. For more on this anthology, see Chapter 11 of this volume.

29 Jonathan Glixon, 'Was Monteverdi a Traitor?' in *Music & Letters* 72 (1991), 404-6. The accusation resulted in no recorded action on the part of authorities.

30 Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge, 1994), 104. Monteverdi pursued this pension unsuccessfully to the end of his life.

31 Saunders, 'New Light', 186. The text of the dedication, with an English translation, is provided in Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2012), 266-67.

the contents of Monteverdi's Eighth Book.³² Primary features of these Viennese madrigals are large combinations of voices – frequently six and seven voices in large-scale formal structures, paired violin parts, and parts for cornetto, which by the 1630s was already out of favour in Venice. Viennese composers combined a stringed bass or woodwind instrument with a harmonic continuo instrument when the upper-register strings were playing. The instruments might be confined to ritornellos or fully integrated into the vocal texture, and in some cases they equalled or exceeded the number of voices, even filling out vertical gaps in the vocal texture.³³ Violin instrumental style, featuring scales through as much as an octave, sequential motives containing leaps, and rapid evenly running passages, is imitated by the voices in some Viennese madrigals and appears in a number of Monteverdi's madrigals as well.³⁴ According to Mabbett, another feature of the Viennese style Monteverdi adopted was the Habsburg court's singular interest in the bass voice, which appears as a prominent, martially oriented solo in several madrigals of Book Eight.³⁵

Viennese large textures also led to larger formal structures, including sections (or whole pieces) based on ostinato dance types, such as the *romanesca*, *Ruggiero*, *pass'è mezzo*, *ciaccona*, *passacaglia*, and *gagliarda*. Such large structures may comprise distinct sections for specific numbers of voices, sections for solo voice, and ritornellos, whether vocal and instrumental or with voices and instruments performing together. In shaping such large structures, both Viennese composers and Monteverdi tended to pay more attention to specific musical ideas that could be used to construct large forms through repetition and variation than to creating musical metaphors for individual words, which had been the mainstay of the sixteenth-century madrigal. Composers in Vienna built such large compositions not only on madrigal texts, but also on literary canzonettas, which Venetian composers tended to treat lightly, with small

32 Margaret Mabbett, 'Le connessioni stilistiche tra l'ottavo libro di Monteverdi ed il madrigale avant-garde a Vienna', in *Il madrigale oltre il madrigale: Atti del IV Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana del secolo XVII*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 1994), 75-103; Margaret Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, ed. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (Kassel, 1998), 291-310.

33 Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 295-99.

34 Mabbett, 'Le connessioni stilistiche', 80, 86-89.

35 Mabbett, 'Le connessioni stilistiche', 79; Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 303-4. Madrigals with a prominent role for the bass voice are the two that open each section of the print, *Altri canti di Marte* and *Altri canti d'Amor*, as well as *Ogni amante è guerrier*.

numbers of voices, including monodies.³⁶ Pieces from Monteverdi's Eighth Book that illustrate features typical of the Viennese large-scale canzonetta compositions are *Altri canti d'Amor*, *Gira il nemico*, *Non partir ritrossetta*, *Su su pastorelli*, *Ninfa che scalza il piede*, *Perchè t'en fuggi o Fillide*, and *Non havea Febo ancora* (containing the famous *Lamento della Ninfa*).³⁷

The Eighth Book also contains one work that would have been familiar to Eleonora from her childhood in Mantua, *Il Ballo delle ingrate*, a dramatic piece composed for and performed at the wedding of her brother Francesco and Margherita Farnese in 1608. Whether Monteverdi revised the music of *Il Ballo* for inclusion in the Eighth Book is unknown, since the original score does not survive, although Mabbett, citing the Viennese style of bass writing which differs significantly from the bass parts for Pluto and Charon in the opera *L'Orfeo*, has suggested that the bass part of Pluto may have been altered for the benefit of one of the well-known bass singers favoured by the Habsburg court.³⁸ On the basis of a claim (no longer accepted) that *Il Ballo* was performed in Vienna in 1628,³⁹ Gary Tomlinson had asserted, 'There can be no doubt that Book VIII preserves ... Monteverdi's substantial musical revisions for the Viennese performance.'⁴⁰ Tomlinson reasons that large sections of the ballet 'show a closer stylistic affinity to the madrigals of Monteverdi's Seventh and Eighth Books and to his late operas than to *L'Arianna* and *Orfeo*'.⁴¹ The several comparisons that Tomlinson cites are plausible, but we cannot forget that most of the music for *L'Arianna* is missing, and apart from the surviving lament, we have no way of judging what stylistic innovations Monteverdi introduced in that work that may be reflected in *Il Ballo*.⁴² There certainly would have been no way to predict the many innovations introduced just a year earlier in *L'Orfeo* from the madrigals that preceded it, and the stylistic differences Mabbett and Tomlinson see in *Il Ballo* may themselves be innovations of the 1608 dramatic works. More certain, however, are the significant differences between the surviving 1608 description of the dance within *Il Ballo* and the Book 8 score and performance instructions. But while the original 1608 score of *Il Ballo* does not

36 Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 299-300.

37 Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 300.

38 Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 304-6.

39 The argument against such a performance is outlined in Seifert, 'Monteverdi und die Habsburger', 85-86.

40 Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1987), 206.

41 Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, 206.

42 Tomlinson has emphasized the innovative aspects of the lament in 'Madrigal, Monody, and Monteverdi's "via naturale alla immitatione"', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), 86-97.

survive, the original libretto does, and comparison with the version in the Eighth Book also reveals a few changes necessitated by the shift of geography, substituting the Germanic empire for Mantua and the Greek name of the Danube, Istro, for the Mincio River.⁴³

Another famous work in the Eighth Book was originally composed and performed for the Venetian patron Girolamo Mocenigo in 1624: *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, reciting and dramatizing a passage from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Like *Il Ballo delle ingrate*, we only know this piece from its inclusion in the Eighth Book. What has made *Il Combattimento* so renowned is its exploitation of a 'warlike' musical style, dubbed the *stile concitato* by Monteverdi, who claimed to be its inventor. This style is described in the important preface to the Eighth Book, one of only two writings (the other is in the *Scherzi musicali* of 1607) in which Monteverdi expressed his aesthetic objectives in an extended and systematic way.⁴⁴ But aspects of Monteverdi's *concitato* style, such as rapidly repeated and arpeggiated chords and rapidly repeated pitches, had already appeared in Clément Janequin's widely circulated chanson celebrating the victory of King Francis I at the Battle of Marignano in 1515, which established these techniques as the standard for 'battle music'. Such techniques also emerge in Viennese madrigals, as described by Mabbett.⁴⁵ What appears to be Monteverdi's justification for claiming to be the inventor of

43 The original libretto is reproduced in Angelo Solerti, *Gli Albori del Melodramma*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1903; reprint, Bologna, 1976), vol. 2, 247-59. Apart from the changes necessitated by shifting the focus from the Mantuan court to the Habsburg court in Vienna, the 1638 text leaves out some lines and alters several words. However, this may also have been the case in Mantua in 1608. In *L'Orfeo* (1607), Monteverdi omitted a number of lines and changed many words of Alessandro Striggio's libretto in his musical setting.

44 For a comprehensive assessment of Monteverdi's aesthetics, as represented not only by these two prefaces, but also his letters, see Sabine Ehrmann, *Claudio Monteverdi: Die Grundbegriffe seines musiktheoretischen Denkens* (Pfaffenweiler, 1989) and Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, 'The Arianna Model: On Claudio Monteverdi's Musical Conceptions', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 18, no. 1 (2012, published 2016), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-18-no-1/the-arianna-model-on-claudio-monteverdi-musical-conceptions/>> (accessed 28 June 2020). A somewhat different approach is taken in Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi and Early Baroque Aesthetics: The View from Foucault', in *Il madrigale oltre il madrigale: Atti del IV Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana del secolo XVII*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como, 1994), 107-19; and Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Changing Aesthetics: A Semiotic Perspective', in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George Buelow* (Stuyvesant, 1994), 233-55. Monteverdi's preface is analyzed and critiqued in Barbara Russano Hanning, 'Monteverdi's Three Genera: A Study in Terminology', in *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude v. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning (Stuyvesant, 1992), 145-70.

45 Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 302-3.

the *stile concitato* was his use of equally rapid reiterations of bass notes in the continuo part, as well as quickly repeated notes in upper string parts. However, even this technique was used at the conclusion of a five-voice battle piece published in 1619 by Valentini, *Tocchin le trombe all'arma*, where both the trombone and violone of the continuo group play rapid repeated notes 'in imitation of drums' (*ad imitatione del Tamburo*).⁴⁶ Monteverdi asserted that other composers praised and copied his method, but his *Combattimento* does not seem to antedate the use of even the continuo aspect of the *stile concitato* by a composer associated with the Habsburgs. What is original in *Il Combattimento* is Monteverdi's adaptation of the techniques of the 'warlike style' from the polyphonic chanson and madrigal idiom, where it serves as an onomatopoeic madrigalism, to a highly dramatic work of narration and dialogue by solo voices, where its function is to heighten the psychological and dramatic intensity of the piece.

Massimo Ossi has addressed the contrasting themes of love and war announced in the title of the Eighth Book, which distinguish the two sections of the volume.⁴⁷ The equation of love and the lover with war and the warrior was a long-standing poetic conceit, extending back to ancient Roman literature, but in 1638 it also made reference to the reality of the ongoing Thirty Years' War and the role of the Habsburg emperors in this devastating conflict. Both Robert Holzer and Ossi have questioned just how warlike the *Madrigali guerrieri* are.⁴⁸ Several of the *madrigali guerrieri* are addressed to the Emperor, praising his victories and glory (*Altri canti d'amor, Ogni amante è guerrier, Introduzione al ballo*), while another (*Armato il cor*) defines the lover as a warrior in the kingdom of love. *Ogni amante è guerrier* actually begins with an equation of the two roles, and the last of the *madrigali guerrieri*, the *Introduzione al ballo, Volgendo il ciel*, identifies at the outset Ferdinand III as the bringer of peace.⁴⁹ Throughout the *madrigali guerrieri*, there is an ambiguous relationship between war and love that reflects the struggle between war and

46 A modern edition of the piece is published by Pyrros Bamichas at <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1876/25/10_Tocchin_le_trombe.pdf> (accessed 28 June 2020).

47 Massimo Ossi, 'Venus in the House of Mars: Martial Imagery in Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* (1638)', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 18, no. 1 (2012, published 2016), <<http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-18-no-1/venus-in-the-house-of-mars-martial-imagery-in-monteverdis-madrigali-guerrieri-et-amorosi-1638/>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

48 Robert R. Holzer, "Ma invan la tento et impossibil parmi," or How guerrieri are Monteverdi's madrigali guerrieri?, in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts, and Music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (New York, 1994), 429–50; Ossi, 'Venus in the House of Mars', 1.1.

49 Ossi, 'Venus in the House of Mars', 2.3–2.4.

peace in which the new Emperor was engaged in the real world of European politics. The warrior of the battlefield is also the warrior in love's army, and love, ultimately, leads toward the much-sought-after peace.⁵⁰

The second half of Monteverdi's collection, the *madrigali amorosi*, turns the real-world warrior into a metaphor for the battles and pains of love. A madrigal by Valentini published in 1616 bears testimony to this theme in Habsburg court circles.⁵¹ Monteverdi's opening madrigal, *Altri canti di Marte*, compares the tears and mortal injury inflicted on the heart by the conquering maiden warrior to the blood and death of war itself. Most of the madrigals, without citing war or Mars explicitly, are filled with the laments of scorned lovers, and the concluding work is the aforementioned *Il Ballo delle ingrate*, which displays the dreadful fate awaiting women who reject love.⁵²

Yet another connection between Monteverdi and the Habsburg court is the last collection of sacred music published in his lifetime, the very large *Selva morale et spirituale*, issued by Bartolomeo Magni in 1641 [RISM M3446]. This time the dedicatee is Eleonora Gonzaga, whom Monteverdi places in the context of his devotion to her father Duke Vincenzo and the Gonzaga family, a continuing devotion that is now expressed in his dedication to her.⁵³ Earlier efforts to connect at least some of the collection with the Venetian ceremonies celebrating the end of the devastating plague of 1630-31 have recently been abandoned in favour of the print's having been prepared especially for Eleonora, even though much of the music had almost certainly been written for various occasions in Venetian churches and the *scuole grandi*.⁵⁴ Linda Maria Koldau has argued that this music was equally appropriate for the well-devel-

50 Ossi demonstrates this struggle and ambiguity particularly through contemporary painting in 'Venus in the House of Mars', 4.1-4.6 and 5.1-5.3. See also his summary analysis of the *madrigali guerrieri* in 5.4-5.8.

51 The text of the work, published online by Pyrros Bamichas at <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1710/1/18_Guerra_guerra.pdf> (accessed 28 June 2020), reads, in its translation by John Whenham: 'You long for war / My beautiful enemy / I wish for peace; / Now since both our hearts / Must be left victorious / Let us kiss, for in kisses / Both war and peace alike are hidden.'

52 Ossi, 'Venus in the House of Mars', 6.1.

53 The text of the dedication, with an English translation, is provided in Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 284-85.

54 For a summary of the debate and arguments, see Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Mass of Thanksgiving: Da Capo', first published in *Fiori Musicali: Liber Amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, ed. Claire Fontijn and Susan Parisi (Sterling Heights, MI, 2010), 95-128, reprinted in Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Approaches to Monteverdi* (Farnham-Burlington, 2013), x. The majority of the music of the print was probably not written for St. Mark's, since the ordo of St. Mark's called for double-choir psalms for all major feasts, a far different style from most of the psalm settings in the *Selva morale*. On the other hand, Monteverdi received

oped Marian worship at the Viennese court as well as in Eleonora's own private chapel, established in 1637 after the death of her husband.⁵⁵ In the same year, Eleonora established the service of the *Andachtsmysterien* for the final three Saturdays before Easter in the Augustinian church (the court church at Vienna's Hofburg). These 'mysteries' were prayers reflecting the fifteen miracles in the life of the Virgin enumerated in the rosary, five of which were celebrated in each of the Saturday commemorations, including the performance of a motet.⁵⁶ The final mystery centred on the Crucifixion, for which the closing motet of the *Selva morale*, the *Pianto della Madonna* (contrafacted from Arianna's lament in the 1608 opera of that name), would have been perfectly suited and familiar to Eleonora from the first performance of *L'Arianna* when she was still a child.⁵⁷ Koldau also noted the suitability of the hymn settings and motets in the *Selva morale* to the lesser feasts celebrated in Eleonora's private chapel and the *stile antico* of the *Selva*'s four-voice mass as in keeping with the masses sung there not by the court's professional singers, but by the court's Jesuit fathers. Koldau also links the five Italian-language *madrigali spirituali* that open the *Selva morale* with the spiritual poetry in Italian written by Ferdinand III and his younger brother Leopold Wilhelm from the 1620s onward.

Andrew H. Weaver has contributed further arguments to the thesis that the music of the *Selva morale* was especially collected, and some of it specifically composed, for Eleonora and the Habsburg court. For example, the *Pianto della Madonna* is anticipated (at least in terms of publication date) by a *Stabat Mater*, also labelled *Pianto della Madonna*, published in 1638 in the *Motetti a voce sola* by Giovanni Felice Sances (c. 1600–79), court composer to the Habsburgs [RISM S770]. Both laments conclude publications dedicated to Eleonora, and

numerous commissions for liturgical music at other churches and the *scuole grandi*, where the modern *concertato* style of psalm settings was clearly welcomed.

55 Linda Maria Koldau, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Claudio Monteverdi* (Kassel, 2001), 110–16.

56 On Eleonora's *Andachtsmysterien*, see Herbert Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', in *Festschrift Othmar Wesseley zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Angerer et al. (Tutzing, 1982), 528; and Gabriela Krombach, 'Die Musik zu den Mysterien-Andachten in der Wiener Augustiner-Kirche', in *Johann Joseph Fux und seine Zeit: Kultur, Kunst und Musik im Spätbarock*, ed. Arnfried Edler and Friedrich W. Riedel (Laaber, 1996), 203–18.

57 Andrew H. Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom and Dolorous Mysteries: Habsburg Marian Devotion in Two Motets from Monteverdi's *Selva morale et spirituale*', in *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 262–63.

Weaver, like Koldau, suggests that both constituted suitable conclusions to the *Andachtsmysterien*.⁵⁸

Perhaps even more striking is the parallel between the unusual virtuoso bass motet, *Ab aeterno ordinata sum*, that concludes the first segment of the *Selva morale* and another of Sances's 1638 motets, *Dominus possedit me*, also for virtuoso bass solo, which contains the same Biblical text as Monteverdi's motet, but with an additional verse appended at the beginning and the end.⁵⁹ The text *Ab aeterno ordinata sum* is drawn from the so-called 'Wisdom texts' from Proverbs 8: 23-31, which have traditionally been closely associated with the Virgin Mary and with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, a prominent feature of Habsburg Marian devotion. In Monteverdi's *Selva morale*, *Ab aeterno* and the *Pianto della Madonna*, both associated with Sances's music and therefore the Habsburg court, provide the frame for the entire second section of the print, encompassing the mostly *concertato* psalm settings, hymns, and motets. Weaver, following Silke Leopold, has suggested that the parallels in the two *pianti* and the solo bass motets may reflect some kind of rivalry between Monteverdi and Sances.⁶⁰ Monteverdi must have known Sances when the latter was employed in Venice, and the older composer's son Francesco sang two roles alongside Sances in Sances's opera *Ermiona*, produced in Padua in 1636.⁶¹

3 The Habsburgs and Venetian Music Publishers

It is clear that many of the composers serving the Habsburgs in the seventeenth century were Venetians or trained in Venice, and they issued the vast majority of their works in Venice through the principal Venetian music publishers: Ricciardo Amadino, Antonio and Angelo Gardano, Bartolomeo and Francesco Magni, Giacomo and Alessandro Vincenti, and Giuseppe Sala. Among the publications of Valentini, Priuli, and Sances (Ferdinand II's and Ferdinand III's most prominent composers), only a single collection of Valentini's was

58 Andrew H. Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage: Motets at the Habsburg Court in Vienna during the Reign of Ferdinand III (1637-1657)' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002), 155; Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom', 262-63.

59 The parallels between these motets are discussed in Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom', 250-58.

60 Silke Leopold, *Al modo d'Orfeo: Dichtung und Musik im italienischen Sologesang des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, *Analecta Musicologica* 29 (Laaber, 1995), 273.

61 Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, revised ed. (Oxford, 1995), 140-41.

published outside Venice.⁶² The music of other composers at court was also all published in Venice, except for that of non-Italian composers, including Poss (whose music was printed in Graz), Georg Pichelmair (who published in Regensburg), and Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (who published in Nuremberg).⁶³

Although Monteverdi's two publications dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III and Empress Eleonora Gonzaga may be by far the most prominent dedications to the Habsburgs in our historical consciousness, their number pales in comparison to the quantity of other musical prints dedicated to the Habsburgs emanating from Venetian presses. No one has yet traced the total, which is beyond the purview of the present essay.⁶⁴ Some of these publications are by Habsburg court composers who utilized Venetian publishers to print and distribute their works, but many others come from Italian composers who for one reason or another wished to honour and be associated with the Habsburgs, whether they had any connection, however slight, to the dedicatee or not.⁶⁵ It is unclear whether any individual composer anticipated a material reward or entertained hopes of employment at a Habsburg court as a result of his dedication. See Chapter 11 for discussions of some prominent Venetian publications, both anthologies and single-author prints, dedicated to the Habsburgs.

62 Valentini's *Messa, Magnificat et Iubilate Deo a sette chori concertati con le trombe* (1621) [RISM V92] was published in Vienna by Matthaeus Formica.

63 Georg Poss, *Liber primus missarum octonis et senis vocibus* (Graz, 1607) [RISM P5245]; Georg Poss, *Orpheus mixtus, vel, Si mavis concentus musici, tam sacris, quam profanis usibus elaborati ...* (Graz, 1607) [RISM P5246]; Georg Pichelmair, *Sacra psalmodia octonis vocibus concinenda ...* (Regensburg, 1637) [RISM P2234]; Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Duodena selectarum sonatarum applicata ad usum tam honesti fori, quam devoti chori* (Nuremberg, 1659) [RISM S1657]; Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus fidium aliorumque instrumentorum* (Nuremberg, 1662) [RISM S1658]; Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, *Sonatae unarum fidium, seu a violino solo* (Nuremberg, 1664) [RISM S1659].

64 For a listing of prints, mostly from Venetian publishers, dedicated to Habsburgs from 1564 to 1635, see Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker*, 46-47, and Federhofer, 'Graz Court Musicians', 173-77. See also Federhofer, 'Annibale Perini', in *Die Musikforschung* 7 (1954), 402-3. The dedications of prints to Ferdinand III and Eleonora Gonzaga as well as to other members of the Habsburg family during Ferdinand III's reign are published in Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 266-89. For madrigal books dedicated to Habsburgs by non-resident composers, see Mabbett, 'Madrigalists at the Viennese Court', 308.

65 An example of a slight connection is Andrea Mattioli's dedication of his *Harmonia sacra* (Venice, 1675) [RISM M1413] to Emperor Leopold I. Mattioli was maestro di cappella of the Duke of Mantua, who Mattioli says is 'joined by blood' ('congiunta di sangue') to Leopold, in order to justify the composer's own declaration of 'most humble dependence' ('humilissima dipendenza') on the Emperor. The Duke of Mantua was Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, whose aunt on his father's side was Empress Eleonora II Gonzaga, stepmother to Leopold I, and thus hardly 'joined by blood'.

In addition to the many musical prints dedicated to the Habsburgs, a smaller number of opera librettos printed in Venice also include dedications to various members of the family.⁶⁶ In some cases these librettos may represent operas performed at Habsburg courts; in others, the dedications may reflect the same uncertain motivations among librettists that prompted composers to dedicate publications to those with whom they had no personal or professional connections.

Apart from members of the Habsburg family, prominent Habsburg officials were also occasionally the recipients of dedications. Such a geographically large Empire was the source of a large number of potential patrons for composers and librettists, both from within the Empire itself and from Italy, many of whom utilized Venetian publishers to issue their works.

4 The Innsbruck Habsburgs and Venetian Opera

An examination of the operatic intercourse between Venice and the Austrian Habsburgs must begin with Archduke Ferdinand Charles of Tyrol and his establishment of opera in Innsbruck. While the courts at both Vienna and Innsbruck maintained diplomatic relationships with Venice, in terms of musical trade, that between Innsbruck and Venice was especially vibrant during the 1650s. Much of this artistic commerce arose from Ferdinand Charles's intention to build an opera theatre in the Venetian style (what would become the *Komödienhaus*). Innsbruck had for some time employed Italian musicians (see Chapter 6), and these men could also perform on the stage if adequately trained. (To sing sacred music or chamber music was not in itself a passport into the world of opera performance.)

The flourishing of Italian culture in Innsbruck, as well as Vienna, resulted in part from a series of intermarriages into two prominent ruling families of Italy. In 1656 Archduke Ferdinand Charles married his cousin Anna de' Medici, sister of Ferdinand II, Archduke of Tuscany (Ferdinand Charles's mother was Claudia de' Medici, Anna's aunt). Ferdinand Charles's sister, Isabella Clara (the daughter of Archduke Leopold V and Claudia de' Medici), had married Carlo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1649, and Carlo II's sister, Eleonora II Gonzaga, had married Emperor Ferdinand III in Vienna in 1651 (after a marriage by proxy in Italy in 1650). Strong ties, both political and cultural, were thus established between the Medici, the Gonzagas, and the Habsburgs.

66 See Irene Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley etc., 1993).

Alliances between the Medici and the opera establishment in Venice (and, ultimately, Innsbruck) were strengthened when Mattias de' Medici, Anna de' Medici's brother, visited Venice during the 1641 carnival season, the fifth season of public opera in the *Serenissima*, commencing a friendship between the Medici and the Grimani family, proprietors of the famous Teatro ss. Giovanni e Paolo.⁶⁷ In the years to come, Venetian theatre owners and their impresarios would mine their connections with the Medici, the Gonzagas, and the Bentivoglio of Ferrara in order to recruit singers, some of whom eventually settled in Innsbruck and Vienna.

The bonds between the Medici and the Grimani families remained strong throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, despite very few Medici visits to Venice. Carlo II, Duke of Mantua, on the other hand, came frequently, and he formed a strong and enduring relationship with Vettor Grimani Calergi, a cousin of Giovanni Grimani. Grimani Calergi's friendships with the Medici (especially Mattias) and the Gonzagas influenced both the formation of Ferdinand Charles's corps of chamber singers in Innsbruck and the production of Italian opera there once the new theatre came into operation.

Herbert Seifert and others have speculated as to how Antonio Cesti came to be employed at Innsbruck, citing especially Ferdinand Charles and Anna de' Medici's 1652 trip to Italy, where they viewed spectacles in Mantua, Modena, and Florence.⁶⁸ Indeed, Cesti's ties to the Medici, especially Prince Mattias (also Atto Melani's protector), are well documented by, among others, Lorenzo Bianconi and Sara Mamone.⁶⁹ Yet the links among Venice, Florence, and Innsbruck were no less significant. Indeed, Vettor Grimani Calergi, in particular, was instrumental in the development of opera in Innsbruck during Ferdinand Charles's reign precisely because of his previous fostering of Cesti. Cesti's

67 Sara Mamone, 'Most Serene Brothers-Princes-Impresarios: Theater in Florence under the Management and Protection of Mattias, Giovan Carlo, and Leopoldo de' Medici', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9, no. 1 (2003), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/mamone.html>> (accessed 28 June 2020), 5-2; Colleen Reardon, *A Sociable Moment: Opera and Festive Culture in Baroque Siena* (New York, 2016), 11.

68 Herbert Seifert, 'Cesti and His Opera Troupe in Innsbruck and Vienna, with New Informations about His Last Year and His Oeuvre', in *La figura e l'opera di Antonio Cesti nel Seicento Europeo*, ed. Mariateresa Dellaborra (Florence, 2003), 53-62; Alice Jarrard, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Court Ritual in Modena, Rome, and Paris* (Cambridge, 2003).

69 Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Pietro Cesti', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 24 (1980), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-cesti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-cesti_(Dizionario-Biografico))> (accessed 28 June 2020); Sara Mamone, 'Most Serene Brothers-Princes-Impresarios', 5.11; John Walter Hill, 'Le relazioni di Antonio Cesti con la corte e i teatri fiorentini', in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 11 (1976), 28-36.

relationship with Grimani Calergi has been little known, yet in a letter the Venetian referred to him as 'my musician'. As early as December 1650, Cesti was living in Grimani Calergi's palace in Venice, in advance of the debut of his first opera there, *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*.⁷⁰ Ferdinand Charles and Anna visited Venice towards the end of their Italian tour, arriving in May 1652, and they too resided in Grimani Calergi's palace.⁷¹ Moreover, during their stay the Grimani remounted the opera of the previous carnival season, *Il cesare amante*, set to music by none other than Cesti (and later performed at Innsbruck).⁷² Whether or not Cesti was in Venice at the time is unclear, but it was only several months later, in December 1652, that the composer began to serve the Archduke, so that the archducal visit, with stops in both Tuscany and Venice, must have resulted in Cesti's new position in Innsbruck.

Opera at Innsbruck flourished under Cesti's direction, with large productions during the 1650s, including 1654 (*La Cleopatra*, a reworking of *Il cesare amante*), 1655 (*L'Argia*, in honour of Queen Christina of Sweden), 1656 (*Oron-tea*, to Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's libretto set by Francesco Lucio in Venice in 1649), and 1657 (*La Dori*). All three of the new operas would eventually appear in Venice, though *L'Argia* not until 1669. Although Cesti maintained a corps of singers in Innsbruck, others travelled there to perform in the lavish productions. For *L'Argia*, those from Venice included not only Anna Renzi, one of the most prized *prime donne* in Venice, but also Tomaso Bovi (another singer connected with the Grimani) and the baritone Pellegrino Canner. Renzi's appearance in Innsbruck was an anomaly, as typically all the roles for the Innsbruck operas were performed by men (though she had been sought for a role in Innsbruck as early as 1653).⁷³ In addition to the singers, the costumers Horatio and Giovanna Franchi (who worked at the Grimani theater) and other artisans such Pellegrino Letterini made the trip.⁷⁴

Grimani Calergi assumed the direction of the Teatro S. Luca in Venice in 1662, and he mounted Cesti's *La Dori* for the 1662-63 season. According to the

70 Sara Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari: Notizie di spettacolo nei carteggi medicei; Carteggi di Giovan Carlo de' Medici e di Desiderio Montemagni suo segretario (1628-1664)* (Florence, 2003), 156.

71 Luigi Alberto Gandini, *Sulla venuta in Italia degli Arciduchi d'Austria: Conti del Tirolo, 1652* (Modena, 1892), 64.

72 FlorAS 3029, fol. 77v, 22 December 1657.

73 Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato*, 86-87. Freitas suggests that the work in question was not *Il cesare amante* but a pastiche.

74 Paolo Rigoli, 'Il virtuoso in gabbia: Musicisti in quarantena al Lazzaretto di Verona (1655-1740)', in *Musica, scienza e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia-Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 13-15 dicembre 1993*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Venice, 1996), 139-50.

Mantuan representative Francesco Tinti, it was the Archduke himself who provided the nobleman/ impresario with the score, and one of Cesti's singers from Innsbruck, Antonio Pancotti (later a singer and *Hofkapellmeister* in Vienna), sang in the production.⁷⁵ During Cesti's last year in Innsbruck (1666) and his first year in the service of Leopold I in Vienna (and again in 1668), the composer would once more be drawn into the world of Venetian opera.

5 The Viennese Habsburgs and Venetian Opera

5.1 *The Dowager Empress Eleonora as Patron*

During the seventeenth century Vienna welcomed two different empresses from the Mantuan Gonzagas, both of them named Eleonora. The elder, to whom Monteverdi had dedicated his *Selva morale et spirituale*, was the second wife of Ferdinand II, while the younger was the third wife of Ferdinand III. The second Eleonora and her stepson, Emperor Leopold I, were both accomplished musicians, and they contributed greatly to a flourishing musical environment in Vienna that often drew on musicians and poets of the Venetian orbit.

Eleonora II Gonzaga (1630–86) was one of Vienna's greatest patrons of art and music. Over a period of more than three decades, Eleonora's chapel took in Italian musicians from the breadth of Italy, many of them either Venetian or musicians who had performed in Venetian opera houses, in the chapel at St. Mark's, or both. A number of the Italians stayed in Vienna for the rest of their lives, often marrying into the families of other Italians active in the court. For example, the Riminese singer Antonio Draghi (1634–1700) had embarked on an operatic career and sang in Venice at the Teatro S. Apollinare while living and performing in Ferrara under the patronage of the Marchese Francesco Fiaschi.⁷⁶ Upon his patron's death in 1658, he went to Vienna to sing in Eleonora's chapel as a baritone, almost certainly facilitated by his association with the Tricarico brothers, who had also been in Ferrara prior to their transferal to Vienna (Giuseppe Tricarico became Empress Eleonora's *maestro di capella* in 1656).⁷⁷

75 Beth L. Glixon, 'Giulia Masotti, Venice, and the Rise of the Prima Donna', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (2011, published 2015), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-17-no-1/giulia-masotti-venice-and-the-rise-of-the-prima-donna/>> (accessed 28 June 2020), 3.8.

76 See Sergio Monaldini, 'Gli anni ferraresi di Antonio Draghi', in *'Quel novo Cario, quel divin Orfeo': Antonio Draghi da Rimini a Vienna*, ed. Emilio Sala and Davide Daolmi (Lucca, 2000), 15–34; and Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (New York, 2006), 328–29.

77 On Giuseppe Tricarico, see Marko Deisinger, 'Ein Leben zwischen Musik, Höfischem Zeremoniell und Politik: Zur Biographie und Kompositionstechnik Giuseppe Tricaricos',

Draghi may have started as a singer, but he soon developed other skills, first as a librettist and then as a composer. In 1669 he became Eleonora's *maestro di cappella*, and he remained in Vienna until his death in 1700. Susanne Rode-Breymann has credited both Eleonoras with the establishment of opera at the Viennese court.⁷⁸

One of the most fascinating figures in Eleonora's chapel was Pietro Andrea Ziani (c. 1616-84), who became *maestro* there in 1662. Born in Venice in 1616, Ziani had served as *maestro* at S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo before returning to perform at St. Mark's, where he had previously sung. On 1 September 1662, Leopold I wrote from Bratislava (Preßburg) to his ambassador in Venice about how he had given the Dowager Empress his approval to hire Ziani. (Count Czernin had previously sent the Emperor some of Ziani's music.) Leopold remarked:

I heard after dinner those things you sent to me. Truly, his style brings a smile to my face, and I say to you in all honesty that in the things you sent I find more rhetoric, and more of the art of music in them than in all of what Tricarico has done in the last four years, and he will now leave the Empress's service. Last week while in Vienna ... we performed together, and all of [the music] pleased the Empress ... and so the Empress has sent her baritone Antonio Draghi to Venice to finalize the arrangements with Ziani; perhaps it's all been accomplished by now.⁷⁹

At the time of his hire, Ziani was one of Venice's most prolific opera composers, after Francesco Cavalli (1602-76). His recruitment had progressed with the help of Carlo de' Dottori, a Paduan poet with a strong connection to the Empress over many decades (and who wrote a drama for her, *Ippolita*), providing

in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 55 (2009), 7-52.

78 Susanne Rode-Breymann, 'Die Kaiserinnen Eleonora, oder, Über den Import der italienischen Oper an den Habsburger Hof im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Aspetti musicali: Musikhistorische Dimensionen Italiens 1600 bis 2000 – Festschrift für Dietrich Kämper zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Bolin, Christoph von Blumröder, and Imke Misch (Cologne, 2001), 197-204.

79 '... ho sentito in un doppopranzo quele cosette mandatemi da voi. Veramente il suo stile mi arride molto, et vi dico in verità, che in queste poche cosette da voi mandate io trovo più rettorica et più arte di musica, che in tutte quelle fatte in 4 anni del Tricarico, che adesso si parte del servitio dell'Imperatrice. Io poi fui la settimana passata poi a Vienna... così concertassimo tutto, et ala Imperatrice piace tutto ... Così la Imperatrice ha spedito il suo bariton Antonio Draghi costà a dar fine col Ziani a tutti i trattati, che forse a quest' hora sarà il tutto già aggiustato'; Zdeněk Kalista, *Korespondence cisaře Leopolda I. s Humprechtlem Janem Černím z Chudenic: 1. Duben 1660-září 1663* (Prague, 1936), 134. Translation of Italian quotations by Beth Glixon.

another example of the bonds of patronage that enabled cultural exchange between the Viennese Habsburgs and the Venetian empire.⁸⁰ Dottori's older son Antonfrancesco was, for a time, in the service of Eleonora's mother Maria Gonzaga (Antonfrancesco's position ended at the time of Maria's death in 1660), and his younger son Gianfrancesco became a page at the Viennese court. Dottori himself travelled to Vienna with his son in the spring of 1662, and it was after his return to Padua in July that the negotiations for Ziani's hiring intensified. In a letter of 12 July 1662 Eleonora thanked Dottori for his efforts so far, and she asked that he and Ziani do whatever might hasten his departure for Vienna.⁸¹

The Dowager Empress valued Ziani's music and his service, and during his residence in Vienna (and once after he left), she approached the Venetian government in aid of Ziani, not for him personally, but for the benefit of his family, first regarding his brother Mauro's deaconry at S. Nicolò del Lido.⁸² Ziani also asked the Empress to intercede on behalf of his brother-in-law Nicolò Personè, the father of Ziani's nephew Marc'Antonio Ziani, who would take up employment in Vienna as a composer in 1700.⁸³ Later, on 5 May 1668, Eleonora made further efforts on Ziani's behalf when she wrote directly to Dottori in an effort to promote Paduan citizenship for Ziani and his family.⁸⁴

5.2 *Emperor Leopold I and Opera in Venice*

Leopold I's interest in Venetian opera was that of an enthusiast of the genre, but one who had never attended opera in the *Serenissima*, unlike so many other northern European rulers. The closest sources of news of Venice's prized spectacles were undoubtedly his ambassadors and possibly also Carlo II, Duke of Mantua and brother of Dowager Empress Eleonora, as well as Eleonora's nephew Duke Ferdinando Carlo, who saw operas in Venice on a regular basis and also shared and promoted singers who performed on the Venetian stage. (As far as we know, Eleonora never attended operas in Venice.) The extent of Leopold I's interest in Venetian opera is revealed, in part, through three sets of letters: Leopold's correspondence in 1661–63 to his ambassador in Venice, Humprecht Czernin; letters to Leopold in 1670–71 from librettist and diplomat

80 Natale Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori, letterato padovano del secolo decimosettimo* (Città di Castello, 1902), 282–83. On *Ippolita*, see Andrea Garavaglia, *Il mito delle Amazzoni nell'opera barocca italiana* (Milan, 2015), 124.

81 Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori*, 283, letter from Dowager Empress Eleonora to Carlo de' Dottori, 12 August 1662.

82 Seifert, 'Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga', 553.

83 Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 46.

84 Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori*, 286.

Domenico Federici, during the time of Federici's ambassadorship in Venice (which had commenced in 1668); and several letters from Antonio Cesti to the Emperor and to Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, sent after his visit to Venice in October 1668.

Leopold's letters to Ambassador Czernin provide a window into his interest in opera from several vantage points. He was continually searching for the best musicians for his chapel, and as Venice was a crossroads of sorts (many musicians stopped there on their way to and from northern Europe), he was keen to know of both their abilities and their availability. His letters mention a variety of musicians who had come to his attention, such as the singers 'Bastianin', Don Hyacinto [Zucchi], and Giuseppe Sardina (who did eventually join the imperial chapel).⁸⁵ The Emperor was more than willing to summon musicians to Vienna for auditions, his agents always making it clear that musicians must be heard by the Emperor before they could be offered employment. Since an opera box was one of the perks of holding an ambassadorship in Venice, Czernin would have had first-hand knowledge of the singers at the theatres, as well as those who sang at St. Mark's (these often overlapped). His opera box, then, enabled him to serve the Emperor as a recruiter of musicians alongside his principal duties as political arbiter.

Leopold insisted that his musicians not travel to Italy to perform in theatres there, though Giovanni Grimani himself had recruited the imperial singer Giovanni Paolo Bonelli in July 1658, the same month Leopold was elected emperor.⁸⁶ Regarding Stefano Boni, who appeared at ss. Giovanni e Paolo in the 1661-62 season, the Emperor regretted that the singer had ever received permission to leave Vienna, and he insisted that he return immediately after the conclusion of the performances.

It became Czernin's practice to send librettos to Leopold, and to advise him about the various singers he had heard. On 5 February 1662 Leopold wrote that he had been especially eager to hear Czernin's views on 'Savelli's dwarf', who had been one of the sensations of the season in the role of Pipo in Aurelio Aureli and Pietro Andrea Ziani's *Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira*.⁸⁷ Naturally, the Emperor wondered if the dwarf, Giuseppe Romei, would be of use as a musician at the Viennese court.⁸⁸ The Ambassador might also be called upon to aid in the shipment of materials destined for use on the Viennese stages. In 1661 Czernin, in conjunction with Florentine Resident Francesco Ximenes,

85 Kalista, *Korespondence císaře Leopolda I*, 50.

86 Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 179.

87 Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 205.

88 Kalista, *Korespondence císaře Leopolda I*, 101.

arranged for costumes and 'jewels' to be shipped in time for an upcoming performance.⁸⁹ It is notable that Venice's expertise across all aspects of opera was still such that rulers preferred to risk the uncertainties of transport when sourcing materials for their productions. Empress Eleonora's brother Carlo did the same for his productions, and as mentioned earlier, the renowned costumer Oratio Franchi himself had travelled to Innsbruck to aid in the production of Cesti's *Argia* (1655).

By far the most lasting mark on Vienna's theatrical life by way of the world of Venetian opera came with Nicolò Minato's transformation from a Venetian lawyer, librettist, and impresario to Imperial Poet. Minato had taken on many debts in his years as impresario at the Teatro S. Luca, so his call to Vienna in 1669 came, perhaps, at the perfect time. His stature (he had been librettist for Cavalli, Antonio Sartorio, and Giovanni Legrenzi) enabled him to leave Venice, debts unpaid. He remained in Vienna until his death in 1698, writing more than 200 works between Venice and Vienna, most of them as Imperial Poet.⁹⁰ Indeed, Minato and Antonio Draghi combined forces for most of the dramas performed for the imperial family over a forty-year period. In contrast, Apostolo Zeno, called to Vienna from Venice in 1718, would remain only eleven years before returning to his homeland.

5.3 *The Recruiting of Women for the Viennese Court*

Only rarely do letters (so-far published) make reference to Leopold and the recruiting of women. In 1662, on 8 April, the Emperor remarked on a young singer Ambassador Czernin had sent to Vienna: 'the young singer you sent to me has received universal applause [here]; truly, she has a beautiful voice.'⁹¹ During his stay in Venice in 1668 Cesti had also heard a 'putella', a young girl recommended to him by Procurator Nicolò Sagredo, the dedicatee of Barbara Strozzi's Op. 7 [RISM S6988].

Both Eleonora's and Leopold's official chapels included men only, but we know women performed at the Viennese court and formed part of the women's households, even early in the seventeenth century. Janet Page has traced the tradition of female singers at the Viennese court, who generally were the wives of male musicians, such as 'Signora Poncelli', the wife of Giovanni Agostino Poncelli, a Genoese who had sung in Venice in the 1657-58 season, and also

89 Kalista, *Korespondence cisaře Leopolda I*, 75 (26 August 1661).

90 Albert Noe, *Nicolò Minato Werkverzeichnis* (Vienna, 2004); Nino Pirrotta, 'Note su Minato', in *L'opera italiana a Vienna prima di Metastasio*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence, 1990), 127-63.

91 'La puttella cantatrice, inviata da voi, ha aplauso universale, et veramente ha una bella voce'; Kalista, *Korespondence cisaře Leopolda I*, 111 (8 April 1662).

in Paris.⁹² The most celebrated woman to join the musicians of the Viennese court up through the 1670s was the Roman Vincenza Giulia Masotti, who had ruled the stages of Venice for ten years, from 1662-63 to 1672-73. In 1666 Cesti had suggested in a letter (Vienna, 27 June 1666) to Marco Faustini, the impresario of Teatro ss. Giovanni e Paolo, that Giulia would soon move to Vienna to serve the Empress (Margarita Teresa?), but that did not occur, and the Venetian audiences were granted the privilege of listening to Masotti's unparalleled art for several more seasons.⁹³ During her later years in Venice, Masotti became, concurrently, a chamber singer for the Duchess of Savoy.⁹⁴

Not until 1673 did Masotti finally make her way to Austria to join the household of the next Empress, Leopold's soon-to-be second wife Claudia Felicitas. En route to Vienna, Masotti performed in Innsbruck for a day of celebration for the upcoming marriage of the daughter of Anna de' Medici and Ferdinand Charles. The ceremonies on 5 September 1673 concluded with 'the sweet sounds of a serenade of instruments and exquisite voices, the highlight of which was the singing of the famous Signora Giulia Romana, who has combined diligent study with her great natural talent, reawakening on the banks of the Tiber the fabled memories of the ancient Sirens...'.⁹⁵

Claudia Felicitas had been raised in a musical environment under the influence of Antonio Cesti. Leopold I himself had heard Claudia Felicitas sing in 1665 during his visit to Innsbruck, and she clearly had inherited her parents' enjoyment of music. Masotti would remain at the Viennese court (other than for the occasional visit to Italy) for the rest of her life. In Vienna she would have seen and heard musicians known to her from Venice. Antonio Pancotti had appeared in *La Dori* with her at S. Luca in the 1662-63 season, while the basses Angelo Maria Lesma and Giulio Cesare Donati and the soprano Giuseppe Maria Donati had appeared in Venice in the 1660s. Even Nicolò Minato, the court poet, would have been familiar to her as the librettist for *Scipione affricano*, in which she had had performed at ss. Giovanni e Paolo in the 1663-64 season.⁹⁶

Although officially a part of Empress Claudia Felicitas's household, Masotti sang in a variety of venues. The Emperor heard her perform in 'house concerts',

92 Janet Page, 'Sirens on the Danube: Giulia Masotti and Women Singers at the Imperial Court', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (2011, pub. 2015), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-17-no-1/sirens-on-the-danube-giulia-masotti-and-women-singers-at-the-imperial-court/>> (accessed 28 June 2020), Table 1.

93 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 2.1.

94 Beth L. Glixon, 'Private Lives of Public Women: Prima Donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice', in *Music & Letters* 76 (1995), 524-26.

95 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 2.2.

96 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 2.4.

where she sometimes sang duets with the Empress or was accompanied by her. Leopold conveyed his enthusiasm for Masotti's singing in letters to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, his ambassador in Madrid.⁹⁷ Less than a year after her arrival in Vienna, Masotti, in June 1674, performed in Minato and Antonio Draghi's *Il ratto delle Sabine* in honour of the Emperor's birthday. In this event the court broke with tradition by featuring a *prima donna* in one of the lead 'female' roles (in the Venetian mode of performance) rather than a castrato, for in Vienna, as in many other cities, women rarely performed on the stage.⁹⁸ Concerning her performance, the Emperor wrote to Count Harrach of Masotti's 'complete perfection'. Masotti sang in another opera that year on 30 October, in honour of the birth of Leopold and Claudia Felicitas's daughter (*Il fuoco eterno custodito dalle Vestali*).⁹⁹ Ironically, Masotti never performed her signature role from *La Dori* in Vienna, as far as we know. However, Leopold had heard the opera in Innsbruck in 1665 during his visit following the death of Sigismund Franz, in an 'unofficial' performance by Cesti's male singers. The opera was later performed in the Dowager Empress's rooms by women of the court in February 1673, some months before Masotti's arrival.¹⁰⁰

On 29 August 1676, nearly five months after Claudia Felicitas's death, Masotti married Ignaz Leopold Kugler, son of the court *Konzertmeister* Burckhardt Kugler. The status of Masotti and her husband is reflected both in the site of her wedding (the Dowager Empress's chambers), and in Eleonora's role as honorary godmother to two of her children, Ferdinand (named after Ferdinand III) in 1678 and Eleonora in 1684.¹⁰¹ Masotti continued on the court payroll until her death in 1701.

5.4 *The 1665-66 Opera Season in Venice and the Viennese Court: Ziani and Cesti*

Matters regarding singers and opera production in Vienna and Venice intersected – or perhaps one could say collided – during the preparations for Venice's 1665-66 carnival season (which began around March 1665), and the repercussions continued into the next year as well. While many of the issues centred around the Teatro di ss. Giovanni e Paolo, other theatres were impacted as well, since four theatres were competing for the same pool of singers.

97 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 4.1.

98 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube,' 4.2. As mentioned above, Anna Renzi had performed similarly in Innsbruck in 1655.

99 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 4.4.

100 Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 25 (Tutzing, 1985), 477.

101 Page, 'Sirens on the Danube', 5.4 and n. 82.

The two composers chosen for the season at ss. Giovanni e Paolo were Antonio Cesti, still in Innsbruck (but soon to be employed as 'Honorary chaplain and director of theatrical music' in Vienna), and Pietro Andrea Ziani, still *Kapellmeister* to the Dowager Empress. The numerous letters both composers wrote to impresario Marco Faustini (and in the case of Cesti, also to his librettist Nicola Beregan) reveal much regarding the complexities inherent in the cooperation between the Habsburg composers and the demands of Venetian commercial opera.¹⁰²

To be sure, the issues differed for Cesti and Ziani. The latter had enjoyed a decade-long association with Faustini, and his letters, written from the heart, are filled with the composer's often brusque views and complaints. Ziani had already composed operas for Faustini while resident in Venice, Bergamo, and Vienna; he could be relied upon to supply a finished opera, even on short notice, as he was fond of reminding the impresario. Moreover, he knew many of Faustini's singers personally and had experienced the vagaries of Venetian audiences, for he was a native Venetian with decades of exposure to the city's opera industry. He was also proud of his reputation as a composer who worked at a feverish pace, and Ziani's tendency to work quickly lessened the impact of Faustini's commission on Ziani's work at the Viennese court. Cesti, on the other hand, undertook to compose his new opera at the beginning of his association with Leopold's court, so this new work began at a time of instability. He had yet to leave Innsbruck for Vienna in March 1665, and it was unclear which of his singers would accompany him. Certainly, the commission was prestigious, for this was Cesti's first new opera for Venice since the early 1650s. It may be that Vettor Grimani Calergi, Cesti's old mentor, had approached Cesti, for it was he who had helped run the Teatro ss. Giovanni e Paolo in the two years following Giovanni Grimani's death in 1663.

Ziani's friends in Venice kept him well-informed regarding the opera business there, so he soon learned that Cesti's fees for Nicola Beregan's *Tito* would surpass his for setting an old libretto, *Doriclea* by Giovanni Faustini, the impresario's deceased younger brother. Moreover, Cesti's was considered the more important commission, since it was all new and was to be performed at the height of the season. In the end, the complications surrounding Cesti's commission resulted in long delays in his setting the libretto, mostly owing to concerns regarding the availability of the composer's singers who had moved with him to Vienna. This, in the end, placed extra demands on Ziani.

102 Carl B. Schmidt, 'An Episode in the History of Venetian Opera: The *Tito* Commission (1665-66)', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978), 442-66.

Cesti insisted that his opera (yet to be completed) be performed only by 'his' singers. When it became apparent that the Emperor would not allow the singers to travel to Venice (as we saw earlier, his preference was that his singers not appear on the Venetian stage), Cesti stopped work on it. While Faustini continued to hope that Cesti would eventually finish the score, he needed an alternate plan, and he somehow convinced Ziani to compose an entirely new work to one of Giovanni Faustini's unfinished librettos, *Alciade*. Working in Faustini's favour was Ziani's decision to travel to Venice in the autumn to handle family business: Ziani would be on site to fine-tune the score, hear a number of singers, and address any remaining questions regarding his setting of the two librettos, *Doriclea* and *Alciade*.

Ultimately, the season transpired in a way that Faustini, Ziani, and Cesti could never have imagined. Neither of Ziani's operas was performed; rather, Cesti's opera from 1656, *Orontea*, augmented with Ziani's prologue to his new setting of *Doriclea*, opened the season, followed, against all odds, by Cesti's *Tito*. Of all the players in the off-stage drama, Ziani was the only loser. Although the Emperor's singers stayed in Vienna, it was Cesti's two operas, neither of them previously performed in Venice, that were heard, alongside works by Cavalli, Sartorio, Giovanni Antonio Boretti, and Carlo Pallavicino in the three other theatres.

For the next season Faustini hoped that Cesti would compose yet another opera. This time Cesti's delays arose not from issues concerning his singers but from other commissions, one for *contestabile* Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, and the other the ongoing preparations for the gargantuan *Il pomo d'oro* (originally intended to celebrate the marriage of Empress Margarita Teresa and the Emperor in 1666), finally performed, after a delay, in 1668.¹⁰³ Faustini was left to mount *Alciade*, the opera Ziani had composed the previous year and, in the end, Cesti's *La Dori*, by now a trademark of Faustini's *prima donna* that year, Giulia Masotti. Ziani, disillusioned by these events, would not compose another opera for Venice until the 1670-71 season, by which time he had returned to Venice as organist at St. Mark's; ironically, the new opera was a reworking of Giovanni Andrea Moniglia's *Semirami*, first performed in Vienna with Cesti's music in 1667, during Ziani's tenure there. Cesti's last operas for Venice would also be mounted after he had left Vienna in 1668.¹⁰⁴

103 Valeria de Lucca, "Dalle sponde del Tebro alle rive dell'Adria": Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's Patronage of Music and Theater between Rome and Venice (1659-1675)' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2009), 122.

104 Seifert, 'Cesti and His Opera Troupe', 43.

5.5 *Viennese Opera on the Venetian Stage*

In one of his letters (4 February 1661), the Emperor wondered whether any of 'our Viennese operas' would succeed on the Venetian stage.¹⁰⁵ Nearly ten years later, Venice did see an influx of Viennese works in a number of venues, though usually not in the larger, more prestigious theatres. (A plan to present Minato's *Tessalonica* at S. Luca in the 1674-75 season never came to fruition.¹⁰⁶) The operas, or at least most of them, had been penned by librettists who had spent time in Venice: Cristoforo Ivanovich, Nicolò Minato, and the Florentine physician and librettist Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, whose *Semirami* had been set by Cesti and intended for performance in Innsbruck in 1665 but was not performed until 1667 in Vienna.¹⁰⁷ Ivanovich's *Circe*, set by Ziani in 1665 during his time in Vienna, was performed at S. Angelo with music by Domenico Freschi in 1679.

In 1670 Ziani reset (rather than revised) Moniglia's *Semirami*, with new verses by Matteo Noris, to be performed at the Grimani theatre. The libretto was adjusted 'all'uso di Venezia'. Wendy Heller has noted, in particular, the striking differences in the characterizations of the two leading female roles, and how Semiramide refuses to enter happily into a marriage with Creonte, thus speaking to an undermining of the authority of the monarchy, something that would have been inappropriate for performance in Vienna.¹⁰⁸

One of the most often performed Viennese operas outside Austria was Minato's *Iphide greca*, originally set by Draghi. In Venice, a copy of the libretto had reached the hands of imperial Ambassador Domenico Federici less than two weeks after the opera had been performed for Empress Margarita Teresa's birthday on 12 July 1670. In a letter of 26 July, Federici remarked how the libretto had reached the hands of 'many', and he praised the work for its 'incomparable beauty, for the poetry, and for the music'.¹⁰⁹ The opera was mounted in Venice only several months later at one of Venice's 'occasional' theatres, the Saloni, and the letter to the reader makes reference to its illustrious heritage:

¹⁰⁵ Kalista, *Korespondence cisaře Leopolda I*, 50 (4 February 1661).

¹⁰⁶ Vassilis Vavoulis, *Nel teatro di tutta l'Europa': Venetian-Hanoverian Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Lucca, 2010), 352.

¹⁰⁷ Marco Catucci, 'Moniglia, Giovanni Andrea', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 75 (2011), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-moniglia_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-moniglia_(Dizionario-Biografico))> (accessed 28 June 2020); Bianconi, 'Pietro Cesti'.

¹⁰⁸ Wendy Heller, 'The Queen as King: Refashioning Semiramide for *Seicento* Venice', in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5 (1993), 93-114; Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley, 2003), Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁹ Luca Ferretti, "'Musica politica" nei libretti dell'abate Domenico Federici', in *Quel novo Cario, quel divin Orfeo': Antonio Draghi da Rimini a Vienna*, ed. Emilio Sala and Davide Daolmi (Lucca, 2000), 442.

‘This most noble Drama passes from the throne of the Caesars to delight the spirit of the heroes of the Adriatic.’ Mentioned is the erudite pen of Conte Minato (at that time only gone from Venice about a year), and the obvious disparity between the two theatres in which the drama had been represented:

it is true, that for the disparity of place, and of he who [has chosen] to perform it here, that he knows that it is a Colossus placed within the constraints of a space not worthy of it. The Saloni of Venice are not equal to a Caesar’s palace, nor are the conditions here the same as those under which it was performed. We bring it here only to delight you.¹¹⁰

Rather than a simple revival of the opera, the Venetian version featured the music of three different composers, one for each act: Giovanni Domenico Partenio, Giovanni Domenico Freschi, and Gasparo Sartorio, and it was in this form that the opera tended to be performed later in Italy.¹¹¹

Two of the Viennese librettos to appear on the Venetian stages were set by the young Marc’Antonio Ziani, nephew to Pietro Andrea Ziani. The first, performed at San Moisè in 1674, was Moniglia’s *La schiava fortunata*, originally *Semirami* with music by Antonio Cesti – the same libretto Matteo Noris had revised for Pietro Andrea in 1670. The second was Nicolò Minato’s *Leonida in Tegea*, performed at San Moisè in 1676. This libretto had earlier been set by Draghi and performed in Vienna on 6 September 1670. In each case Marc’Antonio Ziani adapted the opera rather than setting it anew.

Norbert Dubowy has shown how Ziani’s transformation of *Leonida* pays homage to Draghi, retaining much of the original music, and even hinting at the original music in some of the revisions.¹¹² Whether Ziani was following the impresarios’ agendas or his own in making adaptations rather than new versions cannot be determined. Yet Ziani’s homage to both Cesti and Draghi may reflect a deeper desire to honour the composers, their Austrian oeuvres, and his interaction with them; it has not been previously known that Marc’Antonio Ziani spent two years living in Vienna, studying in the house of his uncle Pietro Andrea, most likely in 1667 and 1668. He then accompanied his

110 ‘E vero, che per la disparità del loco, e di chi fà rappresentarla, egli è un Colosso rimesso fra l’angustie d’un Nichio non suo; I Saloni di Venetia, non sono la Regia di Cesare, ne quelli, che per solo ogetto di diletartti, l’espungono sovra la Scena...’; Nicolò Minato, *Iphide greca* (Venice, 1671), 5.

111 Emilio Sala, ‘Le metamorfosi di *Ifide greca*’, in ‘*Quel novo Cario, quel divin Orfeo*’: Antonio Draghi da Rimini a Vienna, ed. Emilio Sala and Davide Daolmi (Lucca, 2000), 61–97.

112 Norbert Dubowy, ‘Opere di Draghi in Italia?’, in ‘*Quel novo Cario, quel divin Orfeo*’: Antonio Draghi da Rimini a Vienna, ed. Emilio Sala and Davide Daolmi (Lucca, 2000), 225–52.

uncle when he returned to Venice to assume Cavalli's post as organist at St. Mark's early in 1669.¹¹³ The salient point is that the younger Ziani would have been present in Vienna precisely when Cesti's *Semirami* was performed. And while he had returned to Venice by the time of the premiere of *Leonida in Tegea*, he certainly would have known something of Draghi's music and was perhaps eager to try his hand at adapting Draghi's opera for a Venetian public. Shortly after Draghi's death in 1700, the younger Ziani returned to Vienna, where he lived until his death, finally as *Hofkapellmeister* to Emperor Charles VI.

5.6 *A Librettist's Regrets: Aurelio Aureli and His Homage to the Habsburgs*

In December 1684 Aurelio Aureli opened the dedication for his *Massimo Puppieno*, to be performed at the Teatro ss. Giovanni e Paolo, with these words in honour of the Dowager Empress Eleonora: 'By now twenty-five years have passed since my arrival at the most August court of v. S. C. R.M., when my weak muse enjoyed the happy fortune to distinguish itself with the most prized honour of serving Your Imperial Commands.'¹¹⁴ Indeed, Aureli had written the libretto *La Virtù guerriera* (1659) for Leopold I's birthday. In his 1684 dedication, Aureli then moved on to speak more personally regarding his time in Vienna, and his regret at the necessity of his departure:

No sooner had I served your imperial commands than I was recalled home by my father, whose health was failing. I was constrained to leave the Danube and abandon those fortunes that would have been enough to bring joy to me for the rest of my days. And so I left with my heart divided. Half of it I carried back to my homeland, while the rest remained at your feet in an act of the most humble adoration for the most precious graces received not only from your clemency, but also from the magnanimity of the Emperor, and the Most Serene Archduke Leopold of glorious memory, now crowned among the stars in the heavens. Now, in order to make known to the world that in the course of twenty-five years the ardour of my devotion has never waned, that it has remained always unalterably shining in my heart towards your Imperial Majesty, my respectful Clio

¹¹³ VenASP 71, fol. 375, 4 January 1675.

¹¹⁴ 'Sono ormai trascorsi cinque lustri intieri, da che arrivato nell'Augustissima Corte di v. S. C. R. M. godè felice fortuna la mia fiacca Musa di qualificar le sue debolezze col pregiatissimo onore de' Cesarei comandi di v. S. M.'; Aurelio Aureli, *Massimo Puppieno* (Venice, 1685), 3.

burns again as I consecrate this *Massimo Puppieno* ... to a true Empress, a heroine of our century.¹¹⁵

Perhaps it is fitting that *Massimo Puppieno* was a success, traveling to other cities in Italy and last performed in 1729. Originally set by Carlo Pallavicino, it is more well-known today in Alessandro Scarlatti's version for Naples, performed in 1695. Aureli's flowery dedication suggests that he regretted returning to Venice; perhaps Nicolò Minato's career showed him something of the life he might have led in Vienna, away from the commercial theatres of Venice. In 1688 he would begin a residence as court librettist at Parma, remaining there at least until 1693.

In exposing his personal feelings and experiences to the light of day, Aureli overtly honoured Eleonora's long reign as Dowager Empress. Aureli would have had personal knowledge of the storied musical commerce conjoining Innsbruck, Vienna, and Venice, of Pietro Andrea Ziani, Antonio Draghi, and Nicolò Minato, and of singers who had performed both in Vienna and in Venice. The exchange of talents would continue into the eighteenth century, most famously with Marc'Antonio Ziani's return to Vienna, with Apostolo Zeno's assumption of the post of Imperial Poet, and with Antonio Caldara's success at the imperial court, thereby carrying on this intricate web of interactions among patrons, librettists, composers, and performers traveling back and forth between the Habsburg courts and the *Serenissima*.

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¹¹⁵ 'Ebbi a pena servito ai cenni Cesarei di v. S. M. che richiamato dal genitore all'ora cadente ai tetti Paterni, fui costretto a partire dall'Istro, e ad abbandonar quelle fortune, che sarebbero state bastanti a felicitarmi sino al sepolcro. Partij, ma col cuore diviso, portandone la metà meco alla Patria, l'altra metà restando a' piedi di v. C. M. in atto d'umilissima adorazione per le pretiosissime Gratie ricevute non solo dalla Clemenza di v. C. M. ma anco dalla Magnanimità del Gran Cesare Augusto, e dal Serenissimo Arciduca Leopoldo di Gloriosa memoria coronato di Stelle nel Cielo. Ora per far noto al Mondo che nel corso di 25 anni non s'è punto in mè scemato, nè intepidito l'ardore di quella divotione, che sempre inalterabile sfavillò nel mio cuore verso la Grandezza di v. C. M. ardisce di novo al presente l'ossequiosa mia Clio nella consecrazione di questo Massimo Puppieno dedicare un finto Cesare a una vera C. Eroina del secolo nostro ...' (Aureli, *Massimo Puppieno*, 3-4).

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A Tale of Two *entrates*: Processions, Politics, and Patronage for the Habsburgs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rome

Virginia Christy Lamothe

As the supreme leader of the Catholic faith, the Pope in the early modern era faced enormous challenges in international diplomacy. Years of warfare between France and the Holy Roman Empire during the sixteenth century, followed by the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) in the seventeenth, forced the Pope to make difficult choices when entertaining foreign dignitaries or participating in celebrations for foreign powers. Perhaps one of the earliest examples of these diplomatic obstacles can be found in a letter Pope Gelasius I wrote to Emperor Anastasius in 494, in which he states, 'There are two things, Your Majesty, by which this world is principally governed: the sacred authority of the Pontiffs and the power of Kings.'¹ Until the sixteenth century, the Holy Roman Emperor was crowned by the Pope, thus publicly acknowledging both the Emperor's sovereignty and the Pope's authority in the reception of the elected Emperor. In the early modern era, however, the relationship between the Pope and the Emperor was often strained, as the Pope needed to consider diplomatic relations with all Christian kingdoms, including France, Poland, and others who were often at war with the Habsburgs.

It was not unusual for dignitaries to visit Rome while travelling on to other cities in Italy and throughout Europe, in order to be received by the Pope and given the acknowledgement of the Holy See. One of the most important aspects of civic and papal acknowledgment in Rome was the *entrata* (triumphal entry), which had its roots in the ancient Roman triumph. It was customary of *entrates* that at the end of the royal procession, the visiting dignitary would receive a blessing from the Pope, ensuring his support. *Entrates* were public, civic, and religious events, highly valued by the Vatican and the Roman state. The fifteenth-century Venetian humanist Giovanni Caldiera best sums up the merging of the sacred and the secular state within these processions: 'Republican

1 J. H. Robinson (trans.), 'On Spiritual and Temporal Power of Gelasius I', in *Readings in European History* (Boston, 1905), 72-73.

virtues are identified with divine virtues, and God and the State, patriotism and religion, are metaphorically fused.² *Entrate* in Rome melded the religious with the civic, public with private, and outdoor with indoor ceremonies.

Entrate were multi-dimensional events that included painting, sculpture, costume, architecture, and musical festivities; they invited participation by people of all ranks and skilfully transformed a public ritual into a religious one. The artworks sponsored by the Pope and others in Rome for an *entrata* also invited participation in a propagated message for the dedicatee. A close look at two particular Roman *entrata* held between 1536 and 1638 for dignitaries within the Habsburg Empire reveals a political agenda emerging from the way in which these *entrata* were conducted, and the papacy's ability, or lack thereof, to maintain a delicate balance between warring Catholic powers. This chapter focuses on the *entrata* of Emperor Charles v in 1536 and Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg (1610-49) in 1638, examining the Pope's ability to acknowledge the Holy Roman Emperor's power and authority while simultaneously maintaining diplomacy.³ Both of these visitors to Rome lived during times of near-constant warfare. Both were also viewed, either by the Roman people or by the highest ranking civic or papal authorities, with guarded suspicion. The ceremonial efficacy of their *entrata* – or better, their power and authority as it was recognized in Rome – was vastly different. The first of these triumphal entries was seen as the epitome of papal reception of the Holy Roman Emperor, while the second was viewed by imperial officials as so badly botched by Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, r. 1623-44) and his cardinal nephews that the entire *entrata* had to be repeated. In discussing these events, I will focus on the symbolic power of the *entrata* and the role of music in the celebrations.

1 The *entrata* in Rome: A History

The *entrata* has its history in the Roman triumph, a ceremony often practiced in ancient Rome and viewed as having both civic and religious importance. It was held to publicly celebrate a military leader's success and sanctify him as he returned to Rome from a foreign war. In the era of the Republic (509-27 BCE), only the Senate could grant a triumph, but during the Principate era (27 BCE-284 CE), triumphs became politicized as a public show of imperial authority

2 Margaret L. King, 'Personal, Domestic, and Republican Values in the Moral Philosophy of Giovanni Caldiere', in *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975), 565.

3 See also Chapter 14 of this volume for a discussion of *entrata* for the Habsburgs in Milan.

and legitimacy.⁴ In the early modern era, Italian humanists gathered ancient writings on the triumph in order to connect the ancient triumph to the *entrata* made for the Holy Roman Emperor in the sixteenth century. Some favourites included Appian of Alexandria's second-century *Roman History* and Plutarch's writings on the lives of Roman Emperors. Onofrio Panvinio's *Fastorum Libri* v, printed and reprinted in the 1550s, creates an analytical list of Roman office holders and their celebrations beginning with Romulus and ending with Emperor Charles v.⁵ This tradition may have begun a century earlier with Petrarch's vernacular collection of poems, *I Trionfi* (The Triumphs), which were richly illustrated and printed repeatedly, first in 1442 and then well into the seventeenth century.⁶ Petrarch's triumphs depicted the entrance of allegorical figures, such as Love, Death, Fame, and Chastity, but soon after, writers began to focus on the *entrata* as a means for the Christian Church to be depicted as the direct inheritor of the Roman triumph tradition, without, of course, the pagan elements. Flavio Biondo's *Roma Triumphans* (1459) is the earliest and best example of this paradigm shift where it is the Church Triumphant depicted as the high point of the *entrata*, granting the sanctification and celebration.⁷

All early modern *entrate* involved three major elements: the entry and procession, a Mass or religious service in the city's most important basilica (in Rome, St. Peter's), and courtly entertainments in the homes of nobles or high-ranking clerics. Primary sources of both ancient and early modern *entrate* suggest a standard processional order. The victory procession of the ancient Republic would begin with the entrance of captives, usually walking in chains and destined for execution. But in the sixteenth century, the Roman *entrate* began with hundreds or even thousands of foot soldiers, cavalry, and carriages of high-ranking cardinals and princes.⁸ Ancient Roman triumphs would then have a display of the 'booty' of captured weapons, armour, gold, silver, and other treasures brought on carts behind carriages and cavalry.⁹ Sixteenth-century *entrate* may have also displayed these things as a symbol of victory, but they were more often replaced with *apparati* (artistic renderings of triumphal arches, *imprese*, mottos with heraldic emblems, and models depicting significant

4 Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 297-98.

5 Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 54.

6 Margaret A. Zaho and Eckhard Bernstein, *Imago Triumphas: The Function of the Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York, 2004), 4.

7 Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 54.

8 For a detailed description of Roman *entrate* and other processions in the sixteenth century, see Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy, 1494-1600* (Florence, 1986).

9 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 7.

places and episodes of the war), which were commissioned from well-known artists and placed along the parade route. All of Rome's senators and high-ranking civic officials followed the cardinals' carriages and the horsemen on foot. Even in the sixteenth century, they wore traditional togas to hearken back to the ancient Roman tradition, as is apparent from descriptions in the 1536 diary of Biagio Martinelli, the papal Master of Ceremonies to Pope Paul III, as well as from Giorgio Vasari's *Vite di più eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori* (1568), in an entry on the paintings of Antonio da Sangallo depicting the *entrata* of Charles V.¹⁰ The Roman civic officials were followed by the general's guards dressed ornately in their heraldic colours, numbering in the thousands. The highlight was the entrance of the guest of honour on horseback or carried by a chariot closely followed by a companion. In the case of a triumph of a military victor, the companion would often be a fellow general or high-ranking soldier who also contributed to the victory. If the triumph was celebrating a visiting dignitary or a foreign ruler, the companion would often be a political envoy. More soldiers or noble pages followed, also dressed in tunics or armour decorated with silks, and in some cases, members of the Roman noble families, according to their allegiance to the honouree.

Entrate north of the Alps had a long history in which the processions linked political aspects with sanctoral devotion. Alexander J. Fisher outlines a history of processions in Bavaria in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where there was not only a type of triumphal entry, but also the self-conscious promotion of sanctoral intercession. The requested intercession was often for the protection of a Bavarian city, from either the plague, invading Ottoman forces, or even the Swedish threat in the Thirty Years' War (as happened in 1631-32).¹¹ A Bavarian dignitary sometimes ordered a procession within the city between religious sites, or sometimes conducted it as a type of *entrata* where local or visiting dignitaries could bring relics of saints to be transferred to a Bavarian church.¹² These processions were both triumphant and supplicatory, and thus both political and religious. Bavarian princes, much like Roman dignitaries, were concerned with historical precedent in their triumphal entries and processions. Perhaps the most famous resource about German processions is Jacob Getser's *De Catholicae Ecclesiae sacris processionibus et supplicationibus*; printed in Cologne in 1608, this encyclopaedic volume not only categorizes

10 Fabrizio Cruciani, *Il Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma, 1450-1550* (Rome, 1986), 570. See also B. Podestà, 'Carlo V a Roma nell'anno 1536', in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 1 (1878), 327-28.

11 Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York, 2014), 271-72.

12 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 272.

types of processions based on purpose and function but also details religious meanings within a civic sphere in addition to those processions meant for religious feast days.¹³ In the case of 'supplicatory' processions, one could argue that the entrance of religious symbols and relics from Rome created a type of pilgrimage by proxy.

Entrate, both ancient and modern, were associated with sound and music, even though most accounts of these festivities focus more on the visual aspects of the spectacle. Both Appian's and Plutarch's above-mentioned works discuss the use of trumpets for triumphal entries. These fanfares would begin at the city gates, where the royal guest was given entry, and would continue until the parade route ended. This was true for many *entrate* made by members of the Habsburg family, not only Charles V's Roman entry in 1536, but also his entry into Milan in 1533. The same is true of Phillip II's entry into Milan in 1548 and earlier entries such as one made by Frederick III into Aachen in 1442.¹⁴ This continued into the seventeenth century; an anonymous treatise attributed to Antonio Gerardi describing the procession of Johann Anton von Eggenberg in November 1638 mentions seven trumpets of silver and a 'great quantity of drummers' before the entrance of even more trumpet players.¹⁵ Silver trumpets had historically held great importance for Roman *entrate* as well as processions in other cities. For example, Venice possessed six silver trumpets that were reputed to have been given as a gift to the Doge by Pope Alexander III in 1177.¹⁶ Trumpets would play fanfares as the Emperor reached each important stop along the route, such as a triumphal arch, fountain, or palace decorated with *apparati*. This use of trumpets for the procession would have been understood by the Roman people as a means of communicating an important civic event, since the city's trumpeters delivered public decrees. Thiemo Wind categorizes four different functions of trumpets at the reception and arrangement of the *entrata* procession: music along the processional route, music at *tableaux vivants*, church music during the religious ceremony of the *entrata*, and

13 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 269–70.

14 Catherine Saucier, 'Acclaiming Advent and *Adventus* in Johannes Brassart's Motet for Frederick III', in *Early Music History*, 27 (2008), 137. See also Christine Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan* (Aldershot, 2005), 136–37, and Chapter 14 in this volume.

15 Antonio Gerardi, *Descrittione della solennissima entrata fatta in Roma dall'Eccellenza del Sig. Duca di Crema Principe d'Ecchembergh, Ambasciatore Straordinario per la Maestà Cesarea di Ferdinando III. Imperatore e Re de Romani* (Rome, 1638), 5, 12–13.

16 Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'argento, Trombe squarciate, Tromboni, and Pifferi in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 8 (2002), <https://sscm-jscm.org/v8/no1/kurtzman_ii.html> (accessed 28 June 2020), 8.1.

trumpet music for banquets (*Tafelmusik*).¹⁷ Vocal music was also sometimes reported as part of *entrante* celebrations and could be heard at stopping points along the processional route, in the church ceremonies, and in court entertainments. Music was also known to be performed during the many festivities following a Roman *entrata* in the homes of princes and high-ranking cardinals.

2 The *entrata* of Charles v, 1536

Twenty-three of the forty years of Charles's reign as Holy Roman Emperor were marked by constant warfare.¹⁸ War with France had begun almost immediately after his coronation as Emperor in 1520. By the early 1530s, however, Charles was turning his attention to the threat of the Ottoman Empire, and he engaged a number of campaigns against the Ottoman forces, who persisted in threatening the borders of both his Spanish and Austrian kingdoms.¹⁹ Charles's motto, *Plus Ultra* ('ever further'), was a fitting one for his reign. The mythological pillars of Hercules, an emblem of the Habsburg family commonly found alongside their heraldic symbols in sixteenth-century prints, stood, according to legend, at the Straits of Gibraltar.²⁰ They served as a kind of a boundary between the ancient Roman Empire and the one that Charles was beginning to amass for himself. Through numerous military campaigns, Charles came to hold Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples, but he also claimed territories in the West Indies and an expanded border from Austria into Bohemia and Hungary through his brother Ferdinand I, who would rule as Emperor after him.

It was Charles's 'Christian Crusade' campaigns against the Ottoman Empire that resonated the most in papal Rome. Charles acknowledged the religious and political inheritance of the Spanish *Reconquista* of his grandparents,

17 Louis P. Grijp, 'Music Performed in the Triumphal Entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp (1635)', in *Art, Music, and Spectacle in the Age of Rubens: The Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, ed. Anna C. Knaap and Michael C. J. Putnam (London, 2013), 99, citing Thiemo Wind, 'Musical Participation in Sixteenth-Century Triumphal Entries in the Low Countries', in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987), 111-69.

18 Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles v, 1500-1558*, trans. Isola van den Hoven-Vardon (London, 2002), 139.

19 Mary Tiffany Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v: The Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 12 (Woodbridge, 2012), 3.

20 Earl E. Rosenthal, 'The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles v at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 222-23. See also Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v*, 6-7.

Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, by continuing their crusade against Islam as he entered North Africa. The idea of unifying the world of Africa in the Christian faith gave him reason to expand his Empire through the conquest of Africa and possibly also Asia.

From a Roman point of view, however, Charles v's reign was clouded by memories of the Sack of Rome.²¹ In April 1527, imperial forces were fighting in northern Italy under the command of Charles III, Duke of Bourbon, during which time Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-34) was united with France in order to achieve a balance of power against the growing Habsburg threat in Italy. The 12,000 men in Bourbon's army had defeated the French, but they had been unpaid for nearly a year – a dangerous situation for an army made up largely of German Lutheran mercenary soldiers who saw Rome as a place of not only spiritual corruption but also great wealth. On the brink of mutiny, Bourbon took control of his army and marched south. On 6 May 1527, they scaled the walls on Rome's Janiculum Hill and attacked. Bourbon was gravely wounded and died of his injuries on the first day of the siege, leaving his mob of soldiers leaderless and the city in a state of anarchy. Their siege lasted eight days; thousands of churches, palaces, and houses were destroyed, and tens of thousands died, reducing the population of Rome by half. An account of a Spanish sapper in late May describes the burial of 10,000 bodies in mass graves, and another 2,000 in the Tiber.²² Other accounts tell of how bodies lay in the streets, obstructing the roads and creating an unbearable stench. Once June approached, the first of several waves of plague spread throughout the city, killing thousands of its remaining citizens and imperial soldiers alike. Although safely hidden in the stronghold of the Castel Sant'Angelo, had the Pope looked out at the view of this once majestic city, he would have seen how Rome herself had become a corpse and why the Sack had become known among Romans as the 'Black Legend'.

From the day of his election in 1523, Clement VII had been seen as no match to the great Habsburg Emperor. Elvira Fernández de Córdoba, the Duke of Ses-
sa, wrote to Charles v upon the closing of the conclave, 'the Pope is entirely your Majesty's creature. So great is your Majesty's power that you can change stones into obedient children.'²³ In the eyes of many Romans who despised the idea of Charles's *entrata* in 1536, the Pope was indeed an 'obedient child'. Time had not proved enough for them to forget the Black Legend. The histori-

21 For more detailed information about the Sack of Rome, see Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome: 1527* (New York, 2004).

22 Hook, *The Sack of Rome*, 177, 190.

23 Hook, *The Sack of Rome*, 36.

an Paolo Giovio wrote, 'here we are awaiting in public joy and private sorrow his Caesarean Majesty.'²⁴ But the powerful Emperor's presence was not entirely unwelcomed by the papacy. Clement VII had crowned Charles Emperor in Bologna in 1530 because the Papal States were at the mercy of the Spanish and imperial forces after the destruction in 1527. Charles's victory over the Ottoman forces at the battle of Tunis in 1535 further helped curry favour with many Italian states and became the focus of his 1536 *entrata* into Rome.²⁵ Between the Pope's need for Charles's political protection and Charles's 'Christian' victories over the Muslim Ottomans, the Emperor now hoped to dispel the effects of the Black Legend and receive his triumphant welcome in Rome and throughout Italy.

Charles V was not the first of the Habsburg line to make a triumphal entry into Rome. A precedent had been set in March 1452 by Frederick III (1415-93), whose entrance into Rome for the dual purpose of his coronation as Emperor and marriage to Eleanor of Portugal was carefully choreographed and recorded by his secretary, Cardinal Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (who would himself become Pope Pius II six years later).²⁶ Charles was, however, the last Holy Roman Emperor to be crowned by the Pope, and also the last to make the Roman *entrata* himself. It was noted by many diarists and chroniclers that Charles's *entrata* was unlike anything the Roman people had ever seen, often described as 'stupefying' in its grandeur.²⁷ Clement VII's successor Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, r. 1534-49), who knew that he needed the Emperor's favour due to impending threats of war in the Papal States by France or Venice, shouldered most of the expense of employing the city's best artists and architects to restore a city that only a few years before had been reduced to ruin by the Sack. Charles began his tour through Italy in October 1535, beginning in Palermo, Sicily, where he landed after leaving Tunis, moving northwards through Messina, Cosenza in Calabria, Salerno, Naples, Capua, Rome, Siena, Florence, Lucca,

24 'Noi aspettiamo qui in pubblica Letitia et private lectu la sua Cesarea Maestà.' Quoted in Marialuisa Madonna, 'L'ingresso di Carlo V a Roma', in *La città effimera e l'universo artificiale del giardino: La Firenze dei Medici e l'Italia del '500*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome, 1980), 50.

25 April 1535 had seen the threat of the Muslim pirate Barbarossa (Hayreddin Pasha) on Charles's territories in Spain, causing him to leave for North Africa with an enormous fleet of 400 ships and 30,000 troops. By mid-August he had captured the fortress of 'La Goletta', the entry into the Ottoman stronghold of Tunis, and he soon conquered the entire city, thus gaining complete economic and political control of much of the Mediterranean. See Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V*, 151-52, and William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (New York, 2002), 45-46.

26 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 21.

27 Cruciani, *Il Teatro nel Rinascimento, Roma 1450-1550* (Rome, 1983), 568.

and Genoa.²⁸ Detailed descriptions of the celebrations that occurred were dispatched to cities he had not yet visited and were studied in order for local preparations to take place.²⁹

On 22 March 1536 Charles departed Naples and headed north.³⁰ While he remained in the ancient city of Capua, anxious preparations were being made in Rome – anxious because nine years was not a great deal of time for the city to recover from the Sack. The satirist and frequent visitor to Rome François Rabelais wrote in a letter dated 30 December 1536, ‘I think it will cost him [Paul III] much, and he would be better doing without because of the poverty which surrounds him.’³¹ But plans nonetheless were being made by Latino Giovenale Manetti, under the direction of Paul III. Manetti, a poet and collector of antiquities, was well-versed in ancient Roman history. He began preparations in February while the Emperor was still in Naples, choosing the theme of the victory of Paulus Emilius as told by Plutarch.³² Thirteen chariots would carry spoils and tell the story of Paulus Emilius’ defeat of King Perseus. The allegorical meaning of the history would not be lost on the literate populace of Rome, as a new Paulus now held the Holy See.

In all of the other Italian cities Charles visited, there were neither surviving architectural landmarks (such as triumphal arches) for recreating an ancient Roman triumph nor broad roadways for chariots, participants, and onlookers. In Rome, the ancient triumphal arches remained, but many houses, shops, and churches had sprung up, crowding around them and the ruins of the Roman forum. Previous Roman pontiffs, including Nicolas V, Alexander VI, and Julius II, had made demolitions along the routes of their Roman *possessi* (‘possession’ of the Holy See after election),³³ but the demolitions made by Paul III for Charles V’s entry were unprecedented: He saw to the demolition of over 200 houses and eleven churches in order to renew the *Via Triumphalis* that would pass through the ancient part of the city, through the three remaining ancient arches and the Forum. The wide expansive streets and now uncluttered view to the ancient city was striking to many, including diarist Andrea Sala, who wrote, ‘a new street has been opened, breaking through existing walls on both sides,

28 For a full description of all the festivities throughout Sicily and Italian cities, see Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 151–74.

29 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 5.

30 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 159.

31 François Rabelais, ‘Lettera da Roma, 30 dicembre 1535, a G. D. D’Estissac’; quoted in Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma*, 574.

32 Zaho, *Imago triumphalis*, 4. See also Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 160.

33 Lucia Nuti, ‘Re-moulding the City: The Roman *possessi* in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century’, in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna Maria Testaverde (Burlington, VT, 2015), 127.

in such a way that one's eyes are immediately focused on the arch [of Constantine] and the extraordinary mass of the Coliseum.³⁴ Other Roman writers were disconcerted by the demolitions. Diarist Marco Guazzo noted that between December 1535 and April 1536, 'There were many modern edifices torn down which could have been prevented.'³⁵ Rabelais wrote, 'To draw up and smooth out such a route they have demolished and razed more than two hundred houses and three or four churches, a thing which some people interpret as a bad sign. ... But it's a pity to see the ruin of the houses that have been demolished, and there is no payment or recompense to the owners.'³⁶ Manetti saw all of this as necessary, as he wanted Charles to follow the ancient *Via Triumphalis*. Unlike the temporary structures and arches made in other cities, the Emperor would march under real triumphal arches – of Constantine, Titus, and Septimus Severus – starting at the base of the Coliseum and climbing up to the nearby Campidoglio, site of the ancient goal of a triumphal entry, the Temple of Jupiter (which had in the sixteenth century become the newly planned home of the Roman Senate, to be designed by Michelangelo that same year).³⁷ From the area of Campidoglio, Charles was led through Piazza San Marco to the Campo de' fiori, across the Tiber at the Ponte Sant'Angelo, and on to St. Peter's and the Vatican. To onlookers, this change of space signified a shift in authority. The Vatican had historically been regarded as a different settlement from Rome as it was isolated and for hundreds of years had been protected by its own fortifications on the west bank of the Tiber.³⁸

Manetti decided the best way to make a profound statement of the city's and the Pontiff's power was by presenting the remaining great monuments of antiquity alongside special *apparati*, which were constructed at each of the stops. These included paintings at the route entrance at the Porta San Sebastiano, a temporary arch at the Piazza San Marco by Antonio da San Gallo the younger, statues on the Ponte Sant'Angelo, and decorations at the portals of St.

34 Nuti, 'Re-moulding the City', 127, citing Andrea Sala, *Ordine, pompe, apparati et cerimonie delle solenne entrate di Carlo v. Imp. Sempre Aug. Nella città di Roma* (Siena-Florence, 1536).

35 Marco Guazzo, *Historie di M. Marco Guazzo di tutti i fatti degni di memoria nel mondo successi dell'anno M.D. XXIIII. sino a questo presente: Con molte cose nouamente giunte in piu luoghi de l'opera, & nel fine, che ne l'altre non erano nouamente & con diligenza ristampate* (Venice, 1546), 236. See also Marcello Alberini, *Il diario di Marcello Alberini (1521-1536)*, ed. Domenico Oriani (Rome, 1896), 43-49 and François Rabelais, letter to G. Estissac, 8 January 1536, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Pierre Jourda (Paris, 1963), vol. 2, 553-59.

36 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 161-62.

37 Sala, *Ordine, pompe, apparati et cerimonie*, quoted in Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma*, 575.

38 Lucia Nuti, 'Re-moulding the City', 115.

Peter's and the Vatican palace. Charles was greeted by inscriptions, many recalling ancient Roman histories of Scipio, hailing the new Emperor as 'ROMANUS IMP. AUG. TERTIUS AFRICANUS'.³⁹ The chosen artworks paired celebrated aspects of Habsburg history with both the history of the Roman Empire and religious history. An example of the identification of Charles with ancient Roman conquerors through Hadrian and Mark Anthony can be found in a series of frescoes attributed to Perin del Vaga (Piero Giovanni Bonaccorsi, 1501-47) titled 'La celebrazione di Carlo v', which still survive today in the Palazzo Caffarelli Vidoni.⁴⁰ An example of the alignment of the Habsburgs with religious history was the tour of statues of Habsburg Emperors Albrecht II, Maximilian I, Frederick III, and Rudolph I displayed alongside those of St. Peter and Jesus in allusion to the 'Quo Vadis' story believed to have occurred on the same Via Appia Charles took on his way into the city gates.⁴¹

2.1 Music

While much literature, both primary and secondary, depicts the artwork for Charles v's *entrata*, little has been written about the music for this event, primarily because it does not survive. One of the most detailed accounts of the *entrata*, a printed letter from Zanobio Ceffino to Grand Duke Alessandro de' Medici of Florence,⁴² primarily describes the paintings, the route, the costumes, and other decorations, but it does mention the recitation of praises during the procession as well as music: 'truly I wanted to recount every particular detail, of the superb *apparati*, of the devices of the triumphal arches, of the precious trophies, and of the sounds of the musical concerts [*musiche consortate*], and the types of recitations of the praises lauded for his Majesty.'⁴³ From the mention of '*musiche consortate*', we can gather that, as in the ancient Roman tradition, there were nightly festivities and banquets in which music played a part. It would have been the duty of Roman princes and wealthy cardinals to provide private entertainments, as such events helped make the guest aware of the family's or cardinal's power, legitimacy, and stability.⁴⁴

39 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 163.

40 Madonna, 'L'ingresso di Carlo v a Roma', 51.

41 Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 163.

42 Zanobio Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo v. imperadore augusto in l'alma citta di Roma con il signifatto delli archi triumphali et dell figure antiche in prosa e versi latini* (Rome, 1536).

43 'che veramente a volere raccontare ogni particularita delli superbi apparati, de gli ordeni degli Archi Triumphali, de richi Trophei, e delle sonore musiche consortate, & li modi de recitanti delle degne laude di sua M.' (Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo v*, 2).

44 Iain Fenlon, 'Theories of Decorum: Music and the Italian Renaissance Entry', in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna Maria Testaverde (Burlington, VT, 2015), 136.

Charles's motto 'Plus ultra' appeared in banners and artworks throughout the parade route, and it was also a textual motto in a number of musical works written by composers throughout Charles's reign.⁴⁵ We know from a letter sent by singer Antonio Cappello to Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on 25 April 1536 that Costanzo Festa (c. 1485/90-1545), a member of the Sistine Chapel since 1517, composed a *Plus ultra* motet to be performed as part of the festivities of Charles v's Roman *entrata*.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the music and the text for Festa's *Plus ultra* motet is lost, but we can perhaps gain a sense of what it was like from Festa's motet *Ecce advenit dominator*, which he most likely composed for Charles v's coronation by Pope Clement VII in 1530.⁴⁷ The tenor of this work is a cantus firmus upon the chant melody 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat', which in one source is fitted with the text 'Carolus vincit, Carolus regnat, Carolus imperat'.⁴⁸ This melody was traditionally part of the *Laudes Regiae*, which was used in the imperial coronation liturgy during the Middle Ages but was removed by Pope Innocent III in the twelfth century in order to emphasize the Pope's authority over the Emperor; by reinstating the formula, Festa's motet re-establishes 'the direct connection between Christ and the emperor ..., acclaiming [Charles] as the Lord sent from Christ himself'.⁴⁹ But more, the motet's text begins with the introit for Epiphany, which was also the introit used for Charles's coronation as King of the Romans at Aachen on 23 October 1520. Epiphany was not only one of Charles v's favourite feasts, during which he often played the part of one of the three magi in staged pageants at court, but its use during the German coronation ceremony both identified Charles with the Biblical kings and transferred the praise of Christ to him, just as in the re-texted cantus firmus of Festa's motet.⁵⁰ As Klaus Pietschmann has argued, the result is 'an unmediated reference to the magnificence of Charles's sovereignty and to the greatness of his empire'.⁵¹ Like *Ecce advenit dominator*, Festa's *Plus ultra* motet for the 1536 *entrata* undoubtedly celebrated Charles v's

45 For a complete list, see Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v*, 7.

46 Lewis Lockwood, 'Music and Religion in the High Renaissance and the Reformation', in *The Pursuit of Holiness in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 498-99.

47 On this motet, see Klaus Pietschmann, 'A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles v', trans. Kevin N. Moll, in *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002), 319-54.

48 Pietschmann, 'A Motet by Costanza Festa', 329-31, and Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v*, 331.

49 Pietschmann, 'A Motet by Costanzo Festa', 340. Pietschmann further argues that Clement VII would have considered this work to be an apology of sorts, affirming Charles's authority after the Sack of Rome.

50 Pietschmann, 'A Motet by Costanza Festa', 329-31, and Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles v*, 183.

51 Pietschmann, 'A Motet by Costanza Festa', 334.

authority as Holy Roman Emperor, praising him in the eyes of God, the Pope, and the Roman people.

Although we no longer have Festa's *Plus ultra* motet, the very fact that it once existed and was possibly performed during the *entrata* is significant. Dedicatory pieces such as this are meant to enhance the solemnity of a state occasion. Normally written by a composer in the visiting ruler's service and performed by his own musicians, the music becomes an expression of the ruler's prominence. Many composers, such as Orlando di Lasso, (1530/32-94) wrote motets celebrating members of the Habsburg dynasty, and their commissions came from Habsburg patrons. But here, Festa, a singer in papal service, wrote a piece celebrating an outside patron, and it was most likely performed not by the imperial chapel but by the Pope's musicians. Lewis Lockwood has suggested that Festa may have written the motet in the hope of receiving a benefice.⁵² I suggest there could be another reason: that Pope Paul III himself commissioned the work from his prolific and celebrated composer. If so, this presents a situation in which music takes part in a complex transaction between nations, in which the lines between secular and sacred are blurred as the musicians of the supreme religious leader of the Catholic Church proclaim the worldly authority of the Holy Roman Emperor.

While Charles V was seen as victorious by civic statesmen and papal authorities as he made his *entrata* through Rome, he was viewed with mistrust by the citizens. The enormous changes to the city and the short time since the Sack of 1527 made citizens wary of Charles's authority. The Emperor's military victory at Tunis was greatly celebrated as an important political and religious event, but the celebrations were seen as coming at a great cost to Roman citizens. Nevertheless, by making an *entrata* through a foreign city, Charles received a public display of celebration and good will as well as an acknowledgement of his power and authority, in which no lesser a figure than the Pope himself submitted himself to the Emperor. The next *entrata* made on behalf of the Habsburgs was in 1638, a time also marked by bloodshed, this time caused by the Thirty Years' War. Unlike the example of Charles V's entrance, which was viewed with distrust from the citizens but with great solemnity by civic and papal officials, this one was considered by Roman and imperial officials alike to have been so severely mishandled and poorly executed by the Papacy that it had to be repeated – an unheard of practice.

52 Lockwood, 'Music and Religion in the High Renaissance', 498-99.

3 The *entrata* of Johann Anton von Eggenberg, 1638

Many other Roman *entrata* and processions occurred in the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, including the triumphal entry of Marc'Antonio Colonna in 1571 after his defeat of the Ottoman forces at the Battle of Lepanto, the *posse* entries of newly elected popes, and the 1633 *entrata* of the French Ambassador, Charles de Blanchefort, Duke of Créquy. Not until the 1630s, however, did significant musical celebrations honouring Habsburg emissaries occur, the first being the triumphal entry of Johann Anton von Eggenberg in 1638. In order to better understand the political messages for the Habsburg rulers in the musical festivities (specifically opera) at the Barberini court, we must first examine Johann Anton's first visit to Rome in 1632, when he accompanied his father, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg (1568-1634).

3.1 *The Eggenbergs and the Opera Sant'Alessio*

During the 1630s, Barberini family members were at all times aware of the political activities of the Catholic powers involved in the bloody struggles of the Thirty Years' War, and the operas presented at the Barberini court, especially those with themes taken from the lives of saints, contained propagandistic messages.⁵³ Through these operas, the Papacy hoped to influence the Habsburgs' decisions to continue fighting the Thirty Years' War, even when faced with the need to negotiate peace and make concessions to Protestants. Urban VIII advocated a severe religious position of making no concessions throughout the war, and surviving documents show that until at least 1635 the Pope's views were often respected.⁵⁴ Audience members of the first Barberini opera *Sant'Alessio* (1632), including its dedicatee Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg, were the same ambassadors who influenced many of the crucial decisions during the war.

By the early seventeenth century, many provinces within the Holy Roman Empire had come under the rule of Protestant princes and dukes. In 1620, the Protestant nobles refused to pay homage to Ferdinand II as their new territorial ruler unless he first renewed the free exercise of religion under the Peace

53 See Virginia Christy Lamothe, 'Martyr Saints on Stage in Light of Papal Exhortations during the Thirty Years War', in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 22 (2016), <<https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-22-no-1/lamothe-martyr-saints/>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

54 Myron P. Gutmann, 'The Origins of the Thirty Years' War', in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1988), 758.

of Augsburg (1555).⁵⁵ Ferdinand II's refusal to accept the Peace of Augsburg most likely drove these Protestant nobles to ally themselves with those Protestants already rebelling against the Catholic rule of the Habsburgs in Bohemia. Ferdinand II saw his dominion on the brink of religious and civil war, and from 1620 until the Peace of Prague (1635), he was torn between the decision to make peace with the Protestants by agreeing to the concessions of ecclesiastical lands, and his own determination to uphold the Catholic Church and her properties.

The intervention of the Papacy first became evident in 1620, the year of the Battle of White Mountain near Prague, in which the Habsburgs quashed the Bohemian revolt. Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21) immediately recognized the opportunity presented at the Battle of White Mountain to defeat members of the Protestant faith, and he assisted Ferdinand II with generous financial, diplomatic, and military aid.⁵⁶ But Urban VIII's aims throughout the war were different from those of his predecessors. He supplied only paltry sums of money to support the Habsburg cause, rather than give full financial support. He and his powerful nephews, cardinals Francesco (1597-1679) and Antonio Barberini (1607-71), distrusted the possibility of the Habsburgs' European domination. They felt that in the face of the Habsburgs' rising power and any future hostility shown to papal Rome by other Catholic states such as France, the Pope's authority should remain absolute not only in ecclesiastical spheres but also in secular matters of state. Shortly after his election to the papacy in 1623, Urban VIII established a special congregation to deal with questions of ecclesiastical immunity.⁵⁷ Until his death in 1644, Urban and his nephews remained unyielding in making any concessions to Protestant leaders, and they urged Catholic rulers to remain steadfast in support of the interests of the Church. They did this not only in the many briefs sent to the crowns of Germany, Spain, and France, but also through the representations of steadfast heroism displayed by the saints portrayed on the Barberini stage.

The Thirty Years' War spanned three decades of intermittent fighting, which Peter H. Wilson has divided into four periods based on the location or combatants (see Table 16.1).⁵⁸ The 'Bohemian War' started with the Defenestration of

55 Robert Bireley S.J., *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981), 9.

56 Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 43.

57 Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 42.

58 While most scholars divide the Thirty Years' War into two periods, one beginning in 1618 and the other starting with the Swedish intervention in 1630 or 1631, Wilson adds more periods to account for phases in which the war was influenced by other combatants or

Prague and the Protestants' subsequent election of Frederick V, Elector of the Palatine, as King of Bohemia in the years 1618-19 and ended in 1620 with a decisive Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain. The victory gave Catholic forces much needed momentum with the complete surrender of Bohemia in 1623 after the imperial victory at Stadtlohn on 6 August 1623. Peace, however, proved short-lived. The second phase of the war (the 'Danish War') began in 1625 with the intervention of Christian IV of Denmark, a Lutheran and the ruler of the Duchy of Holstein within the Empire, on behalf of the defeated Protestants. In May 1625 Christian IV gained the position of Kreis colonel, and a month later he led an army against the imperial forces in what the Danes referred to as the *Kejrskrig* ('war against the Emperor').⁵⁹ This period ended in 1631, when the Danes were forced to make the Peace of Lübeck after Catholic forces had taken the city of Magdeburg following an intense four-month siege. An important moment that continued to flame the zealous religious fighting during this period was Ferdinand II's issuing of the Edict of Restitution in 1629, which ordered the return of Catholic lands that had been taken over by Protestants since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

The first Barberini opera was performed in 1632, during a crucial turning point in the war. From 1631 to 1635 (the 'Swedish War'), Swedish-led armies drove the Catholic forces back, regaining much of the lost Protestant territory. With the addition of Sweden (and eventually their ally France, whose alliance with Sweden in 1635 initiated a new phase of the war) on the side of the Protestants, the war was becoming increasingly international as opposed to a religious conflict in Bohemia. Although the tides would soon turn in favour of the Catholic forces, the situation was especially dire at the moment that, not coincidentally, the Barberini operas began.

The first performance of *Sant'Alessio*, with libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and music by Stefano Landi, was given at the Barberini's new palace at Quattro Fontane in honour of Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg, the head of Ferdinand II's household and his closest confidant and advisor, whom the Emperor had handpicked to act as chancellor of the Empire and make a number of trips to Rome seeking the Pope's aid.⁶⁰ *Sant'Alessio*, which would be performed again

enemies against the Habsburgs, including the Danish and the French; see Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA, 2009).

59 Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark, 1513-1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (New York, 2007), 166.

60 Martin Mutschlechner, 'Ferdinand II: The Emperor Metes Out Punishment', in *Der Welt der Habsburger*, <<http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/ferdinand-ii-emperor-metes-out-punishment>> (accessed 28 June 2020). For more detailed information about the relationship between Ferdinand II and Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg during the Thirty

TABLE 16.1 Major battles of the Thirty Years' War

	In favour of Catholic Forces	In favour of Protestant Forces
'Bohemian War'	Battle of Zablatti: 10 June 1619 Battle of White Mountain: 8 Nov. 1620 Capture of Mannheim and Heidelberg: Sept. 1622 Battle of Stadtlohn: 6 Aug. 1623	
'Danish War'	Battle of Dessau Bridge: 25 April 1626 Battle of Lutter: 27 Aug. 1626 Siege of Magdeburg: Nov. 1630–20 May 1631	
'Swedish War'		Battle of Breitenfeld: 17 Sept. 1631 Seizure of Leipzig, Prague, Würzburg, Mainz, and Frankfurt: Nov. 1631 - March 1632 Battle of Rain: April 1632
	Siege of Nuremburg: June–Sept. 1632	
	Battle of Nördlingen: 6 Sept. 1634	Battle of Lützen: 16 Nov. 1632
'French-Swedish Alliance'		Battle of Wittstock: 4 Oct. 1636 Seizure of Freiburg, Willenweier, and Breisach: Spring 1638 Siege of Arras: July - Aug. 1640 Second Battle of Breitenfeld: 2 Nov. 1642 Battle of Rocroi: 19 May 1643 Battle of Jankau: 24 Feb. 1645 Second battle of Nördlingen: 3 Aug. 1645

in 1634, tells the story of the fifth-century St. Alexis. In the original story recorded in an eleventh-century French manuscript, Alexis voyages to Syria on his wedding night, wishing to remain chaste and to dedicate his life to God as a mendicant. He lives there for several years, performing miracles, until

Years' War, see also Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter Reformation Emperor, 1587-1637* (New York, 2014).

returning home to Rome. In the version seen by Hans Ulrich and Johann Anton von Eggenberg, the opera begins with a prologue, in which 'Roma' sings of her many glories, among which is Alessio, the Christian 'soldier'. This prologue would have reminded audience members of the Roman *entrata* itself. An engraving included in the 1634 score gives us a vivid picture. Here she stands, victorious in front of banners and dozens of spears atop a towering throne of trophies. She wears the ancient Roman tunic and helmet while holding a spear. To her left and her right are enslaved people wearing headdresses and tunics of foreign lands. She holds their chains but proclaims that she is a 'gentle' ruler and releases them of their bonds.⁶¹

The first act opens with the Roman soldier Adraastro returning from war and comforting Eufemiano, Alessio's father and a Roman nobleman, who has been missing his son for many years. Unknown to Eufemiano and the rest of his family, Alessio has already returned, but he lives unrecognized as a beggar underneath his father's staircase. He suffers abuse at the hands of his father's servants and is tempted by a demon to return to his former life of luxury in his father's house. Alessio is mourned by his mother, wife, and father, which gives the demon his plan for tempting Alessio. The demon convinces Alessio's grieving wife and mother to go searching for Alessio, who must decide whether to reveal his true identity. The demon comes to him dressed as a hermit, claiming that he bears the word of God when he tells him that he should return to his loving family. But Alessio realizes that his uncertainty comes from an evil spirit, and he asks heaven to help him, whereupon an angel scares away the demon and assures Alessio that he has done the right thing and is to die soon. The final act of the opera focuses on the events after Alessio's death, when his identity is revealed, first by a 'miraculous voice from heaven' and then by the figure of 'Religione' (see Figure 16.1). The demon is defeated, and the saint is shown in a glorious apotheosis in heaven.

This opera's most important message is the return to Rome and the steadfastness of one's faith, even at the risk of losing dearly loved friends and family. This message would have been meaningful for Eggenberg, who had come to Rome seeking aid for Emperor Ferdinand II after the battle of Breitenfeld on 17 September 1631, a devastating loss for the Catholic forces at the hands of the militarily adroit King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1594-1632). Just weeks before the performance of *Sant'Alessio* on 18 February 1632, the Protestant

61 'Ma, sè tanto son vaga/ mostrare in mille modi/ la pietà, che m'appaga, sciolgansi pur delle catene i nodi: che vogli'io non severo/ solo ne' petti un mansueto impero.' (But, given that I am so desirous of demonstrating in a thousand ways the piety that pleases me, let these bonds of chains be loosened: for I want not a harsh rule but only a gentle one in your breasts.)

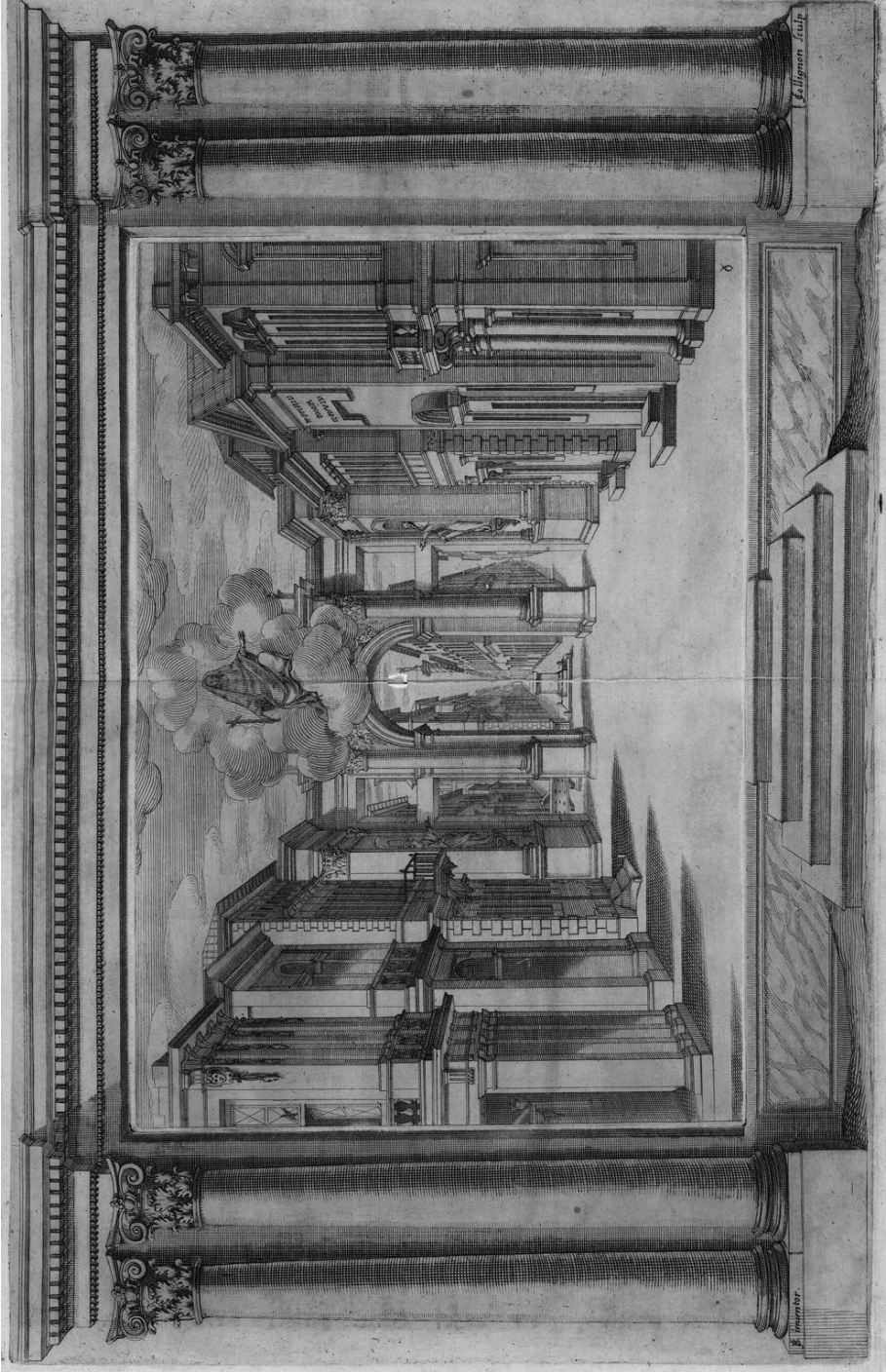


FIGURE 16.1 Appearance of Religion in Act 3 of Stefano Landi's opera *Sant'Alessio*, engraving from the score (Rome, 1634)
BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, STAMPATI BARBERINI N.XIII.199, PP. 114-15, USED WITH PERMISSION

forces had seized Leipzig, Prague, Würzburg, Mainz, and Frankfurt.⁶² Unlike the Emperor's religious advisors (especially his confessor, the Jesuit Wilhelm Germain Lamormaini, 1570-1648), Eggenberg realized the need for a treaty with concessions made to the Protestants, but he was afraid to advocate their cause to an unyielding Ferdinand II, especially in the wake of the Edict of Res-titution. In December 1631 Francesco Barberini sent a letter to Vienna stating that under no condition would the Pope accept the proposed concessions for a treaty with the Protestant forces.⁶³ Eggenberg had been made aware of the desperate situation of the imperial forces, as well as of the poverty and disease beginning to spread throughout the Empire, which caused great violence among townspeople and soldiers alike.⁶⁴ But word reached Rome soon enough.

Eggenberg's invitation to the Barberini palace on 13 February 1632 was not just any visit of a foreign dignitary, but a call to obey the Pope during a time of defeat in a perilous war. The production of *Sant'Alessio* invited its audience members to experience Alessio's temptations and sorrows while simultaneously reminding them that they must remain steadfast in their faith, no matter their circumstances or familial obligations. This was no mere evening entertainment, but a strong message to Eggenberg that he must change his mindset, resist the 'temptation' of making concessions to Protestant Saxony or other enemies, and advise the Emperor to find other means to win the war – without financial or political support from the Pope. Eggenberg returned to the Emperor empty-handed just as the Swedish and their newly allied German Protestant forces began to overtake the Habsburg Catholic league.⁶⁵ The message of the opera, if it had been relayed by Eggenberg, did not change the Emperor's position. Only weeks after Eggenberg's visit, Ferdinand II sent another emissary to Rome, this time a cardinal, the Hungarian Jesuit Péter Pázmány, once again in hopes of receiving financial and political support for the Habsburg cause. Pázmány too left Rome disillusioned and without financial support.⁶⁶

62 Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 169.

63 Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 173.

64 See Gerhard Benecke, *Germany in the Thirty Years War* (New York, 1979), which provides primary documents including a series of letters concerning soldiers and townspeople during the war in the section 'Brawling Townsmen and Troops, Wiedenbrück, 1632', 78-79, as well as 'Smallpox and Quack Medicines', 75-76. A more complete examination of the economic situation in Germany during and after the war is given in Henry Kamen, 'The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War', in *Past and Present* 39 (1968), 44-61.

65 Joseph Polišínský, *The Thirty Years' War*, trans. Robert Evans (Berkeley, 1971), 85.

66 Bireley, *Ferdinand II, Counter Reformation Emperor*, 241-42.

3.2 *Diplomatic Tensions in Rome under Urban VIII*

One of the reasons for the Pope's lack of support for Ferdinand II during this phase of the Thirty Years' war was his distrust of Habsburg power in Italy, especially during a time of fighting along the Valtellina and in Mantua.⁶⁷ If concessions of Church lands were to be made to the Protestants, it was up to the Pope, not the Holy Roman Emperor, to give permission – a serious offense to the Church that Urban VIII badly wanted to avoid. At the same time, the Pope did not want to see the balance of power tip towards the French 'most Christian King' Louis XIII. France declared war on Spain in May 1635 and the Holy Roman Empire in August 1636, opening offensives against the Habsburgs in Germany and the Netherlands and greatly influencing the final phase of the Thirty Years' War.⁶⁸ The Pope's position was much like balancing on a knife's edge.

The Pope's responsibility to display careful diplomacy was also challenged by the creation of 'cardinal protectorships', specifically those of his nephews Francesco and Antonio. Starting in the thirteenth century, cardinals had been given 'protectorships' of religious orders, safeguarding their interests among the papal curia. This type of protectorship later expanded to churches, and finally to European states. While the role of the cardinal-protector in some ways overlapped with that of the country's ambassador, the control of diplomacy in Rome rested with the ambassador, while the cardinal-protector could facilitate the creation of new bishops and bishoprics in foreign lands – a central issue in the struggle of the Thirty Years' War when the bishoprics in the German Habsburg territories fought to gain (or even keep) ground over Protestant princes after the Peace of Augsburg. The papacy recognized the legitimacy of the attachment of a cardinal to the interests of a foreign ruler if the cardinal remained loyal to the pontiff without conflict of interest.

The creation, dissolution, and re-alignment of these protectorships set in motion a chain of events leading in the first half of the seventeenth century to angry Roman factions between supporters of France and Spain. More importantly for the present essay, they contributed to Johann Anton von Eggenberg's rejection of his first Roman entry in the spring of 1638. The Habsburg rulers were savvy in employing cardinal-protectors, taking advantage of the fact that they could employ multiple protectors, not just for the Empire but also for the hereditary lands of the house of Austria, Castile and the West Indies, Aragon, Sicily, Naples, and Portugal. The consequence of the creation of these cardinal-protectors was unequal treatment of different powers: While the King of Spain

67 Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (New York, 2003), 101.

68 Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, 559.

alone often had five or six cardinal-protectors, France had only one.⁶⁹ But the enemy of the Habsburg family for nearly two centuries could not be perceived as being slighted in Rome. Thus, France began the process of creating co-protectors and vice-protectors in a series of manoeuvres to gain more control in the papal curia. Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, papal nuncio to France since 1616, was appointed co-protector in 1621, and Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy was named co-protector in 1621 alongside him. Early in Urban VIII's reign, however, Cardinal Francesco Barberini received from the King of Spain the protectorship of Aragon, Sicily, and Portugal.⁷⁰ The weight of this political gesture is seen in the reaction of the French secretary of state, who ordered the French Ambassador in Rome, Philippede Béthune, to communicate the French King's discontent, which he did vigorously. At first, the Pope reassured the Ambassador that his fears were unfounded, but in 1633, as Franco-Spanish tensions mounted, the King of France chose to offer the co-protectorship to Urban VIII's other nephew, Antonio, in order to balance the scales.

France's diplomatic situation with its other cardinal-protector, Maurizio of Savoy, had become problematic because relations with the House of Savoy had become tense. By 1634, Maurizio's brother Tommaso Francesco had travelled to the Spanish Netherlands to seek the favour of the King of Spain in order to reduce the French influence in Savoy, in particular the number of French troops in the Savoy fortress of Pinerolo.⁷¹ His sister Margherita, widow of Francesco IV of Mantua, travelled to Portugal, where she was named Vice-Regentess. With the death of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, also in 1634, Maurizio now had his eye on the vacant position of imperial cardinal-protector to the Habsburgs. To make matters worse, the Spaniards made great complaints to Urban VIII in September 1633, before the *brevet* announcing Antonio's co-protectorship was even announced.⁷² Urban VIII was able to delay the crisis for a short time with the agreement that Bentivoglio would keep his post as co-protector until April 1634, when a new French ambassador would arrive. In the meantime, Antonio continued to serve as a cardinal-protector to France. The aggressive threats of the Spanish cardinals and ambassadors in Rome did eventually coerce Urban VIII to order Antonio to resign his post with the arrival of the Ambassador. However, the Spaniards ordered Francesco not to resign his protectorships. All

69 Olivier Poncet, 'The Cardinal Protectors of the Crowns in the Roman Curia during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of France', in *Court Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta (New York, 2002), 161-62.

70 Poncet, 'The Cardinal Protectors', 172.

71 Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 2007), 242-43.

72 Poncet, 'The Cardinal Protectors', 172.

eyes were now on the perceived Francophile Pope. As Olivier Poncet notes, 'Urban VIII finally understood the real meaning of the protectorships: they were far more than honours, they signified an open declaration of party allegiance between the two Catholic powers, both of which were seeking every pretext to promote what was still a covert war between them.'⁷³ Urban VIII did indeed understand.

Not wanting to become embroiled in this war between France and Habsburg Spain, the Pope summoned his nephews the very next day, 25 April, and ordered them to terminate their posts. Francesco, understanding the importance of papal neutrality as well as his role as papal *nipote* and thus head of the Pope's international relations, resigned his protectorships in Spain. But the younger Antonio, with less responsibility in diplomatic matters, was greatly influenced by French agents in Rome and refused to give up his post. To France's advantage, with the return of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy to Rome in 1635 alongside Bentivoglio and Cardinal Antonio, it was possible to process bulls for bishoprics and a number of abbeys that were then vacant. War broke out between France and Spain in 1635, and Urban VIII stripped Antonio of all power to refer French benefices in 1636.

Maurizio of Savoy is a more curious case. In October 1635 he defected from the position of co-protector of France and became the cardinal-protector of Germany.⁷⁴ He then became one of the major proponents for the organization of the celebrations for Ferdinand III's election and Johann Anton von Eggenberg's *entrata* in 1638. He also advocated for a second entry later that year. Thus was the stage set for the disarray that became the *entrata* and receptions in Rome for the ascension of Ferdinand III after his father's death in February 1637.

The political landscape of Urban VIII's pontificate over Western Christendom was one in which public celebrations had to be carefully balanced between the 'most Christian' King of France, the 'most Catholic' King of Spain, and the Holy Roman Emperor. In seventeenth-century Rome, there were as many festivals in honour of the French dynasty as there were for Habsburg Spain or Austria.⁷⁵ Which cardinals or civic officials attended each event, however, is a different matter, one always noted by diarists and ambassadors. For example, for every celebration of a birth to a Spanish king, there was also a celebration of a *dauphin*. For the election of a king or emperor, matters be-

73 Poncet, 'The Cardinal Protectors', 173.

74 Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy*, 243.

75 Frederick Hammond, 'Appendix', in *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven, 1994), 255-82.

came more complicated in terms of which festivities the Pope and his cardinal nephews could sponsor or attend.

On the side of the Habsburgs' relationship with the Church, much can be said of the Habsburgs' support of Catholic causes, especially their support of the Jesuit order. In the few years before his death, Ignatius Loyola sent Peter Canisius (1521-97) to Prague to see if it would be possible to establish a college. Twelve Jesuit priests arrived in the old city on 21 April 1556, and by 7 July they had opened a college with a full *Studia Superiora* (curriculum of literature, theology, and philosophy) as well as an academy for boys.⁷⁶ Over the next decade, two more colleges were founded in the Czech lands, one in the Moravian town of Olomouc and another at Wrocław (Breslau).⁷⁷

The German princes Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria and the future Emperor Ferdinand II (then Archduke of Inner Austria) had strong ties to the Jesuits through their education at the Jesuit university at Ingolstadt, as well as a history of Jesuit support passed down from their grandfathers.⁷⁸ Maximilian's and Ferdinand's grandfather, Duke of Bavaria Albrecht V (1528-79), brought the Jesuits to Munich in 1559. His son Wilhelm V (1548-1626) helped build the Jesuit college there in 1583 and also helped complete St. Michael's Church in 1597 – a costly expenditure to a near-bankrupt Duchy that played a part in his abdication the same year.⁷⁹ Ferdinand II's father, Archduke Charles II, considered the Jesuits allies who could help improve the position of Catholics in Inner Austria. In 1573 Charles invited the Jesuits to open a college at Graz, which was raised to the status of university in 1586. Throughout his reign, Emperor Ferdinand II increasingly relied on Catholic religious orders, the Jesuits in particular, to bring his lands back to Catholicism. This included support of the Jesuits and Piarists, building and expanding universities, rebuilding churches and monasteries in Protestant lands, and encouraging pilgrimages to Rome.⁸⁰ Ferdinand's confessor, the Jesuit Lamormaini, played an important role in guiding Ferdinand through the many tribulations of the Thirty Years' War. Almost all of Lamormaini's correspondence with Rome during the war was made directly with Francesco Barberini.

76 Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553-1622* (Leiden, 1992), 136-37.

77 Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, 138.

78 Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, 9.

79 Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, 9.

80 Stephan Gruber, 'Emperor Ferdinand II Intoxicated by Power', in *Der Welt der Habsburger*, <<http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/emperor-ferdinand-ii-intoxicated-power>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

Within Rome, the *Collegio Germanico* (later the *Collegio Germanico et Hungaricum*) had been founded in 1552 under Pope Julius XIII and re-founded in 1573 under Pope Gregory XIII with the express purpose of defending against the Reformation, improving theological training, and educating priests in German lands who would be loyal to Rome.⁸¹ In Peter Schmidt's list of over 5,000 graduates of the German college, more than half of the students are German nobles, with the Habsburg lands especially well represented. Schmidt makes it clear, however, that in the years leading up to and during the Thirty Years' War, not all of the *Germaniker* who matriculated and went on to German bishoprics were friendly to Rome, and the uneven distribution of those priests and bishops from the *Collegio Germanico* often resulted in vast regional differences, with few *Germaniker* to be found in Protestant lands.⁸² In short, the *Collegio Germanico* failed in its original objective: It was never a source of missionary priests for the areas lost to the Catholic Church during Urban VIII's reign.

The years 1635 through 1648 saw the war's longest and most terrible phase. After a crushing defeat for the Swedish and Protestant forces at Nördlingen in September 1634, German Protestant Princes made a treaty with the Emperor: the Peace of Prague (1635). In an effort to placate the German Electors with Protestant sympathies who had begun to distrust his leadership, Ferdinand II made many concessions that backed down from the 1629 Edict of Restitution. The Peace of Prague did reunite the Electors, and they accepted the Peace along with the election of Ferdinand II's son Ferdinand III as King of the Romans in December 1636.⁸³

Despite these efforts, Ferdinand III inherited a chaotic and costly war. The Habsburg triumph at Nördlingen, followed by the Peace of Prague, could have been a decisive end to the war, establishing Habsburg dominance in Europe. However, with France's intervention into the conflict, the war now had not only a large, vague front in Bohemia, but also a front along the Spanish Netherlands.⁸⁴ Amid spiralling military expenditures, continued Bohemian rebellions, and peasant uprisings, the Habsburg forces succumbed to a series of devastating defeats. After a particularly crushing loss at the Battle of Jankau on 24 February 1645, Ferdinand III dispatched his negotiator to the peace talks in

81 Peter Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker: Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552-1914)* (Tübingen, 1984), 2.

82 Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom*, 180.

83 Martin Mutschlechner, 'The Final Years of Ferdinand II's Reign: Defeats, A Contract Killing, and an Offer of Peace', in *Der Welt der Habsburger*, <<https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/final-years-ferdinand-iis-reign-defeats-contract-killing-and-offer-peace>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

84 Cecily v. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (New York, 2005), 380, 385-86.

Münster and Osnabruck with the secret instructions to make whatever concessions were necessary to end the war.⁸⁵

3.3 *Celebrations of the Election of the Holy Roman Emperor, 1637*

From the very day that Ferdinand III's election had been announced in Rome, Urban VIII and his cardinal nephews found themselves at odds with celebrating the event. Always wanting to remain neutral between warring France and the Habsburgs, they could not show too great favour for the Emperor or his emissaries. Ferdinand's election was formally announced on 4 January 1637, when copies of an *avviso* sent by a currier 'espresso spedito' from the Emperor's palace were delivered to Urban VIII and Cardinal Francesco Barberini.⁸⁶ It was also sent to those cardinals and officials who would become the faction that would continue to speak for the Emperor's cause through November 1638: Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, cardinal-protector of the German Nation; Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandino, the Pope's *camerlango*; Cardinals Pio and Savelli, co-protectors of the German nations; Scipio Bozzolo, ambassador extraordinary to Rome; and Cornelius Heinrich Motmann, Auditor of the Papal Rota and German ambassador to Rome.⁸⁷ On 12 January, this group of cardinals convened with Cardinal Francesco Barberini to discuss the event. A letter was also provided to Giulio Rospigliosi, secretary to Francesco Barberini and to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. While the cardinals and civic officials aligned with the Empire's cause to celebrate the event, Urban VIII remained cautious.

Celebrations of the election in Rome began in January and continued into the month of February, which coincided with carnival.⁸⁸ The celebrations included various *allegrezze* (festivities) with fireworks, *teatri* (decorated facades), inscriptions, statues, banquets, and comedies with music and dance. Most of the celebrations took place at Maurizio of Savoy's palace of Orsini di Monte Giordano, the Spanish embassy, the Piazza di Spagna and adjoining church of San Giacomo, the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima (the German national church), and the Palazzo Madama of Auditor Motmann.⁸⁹ The new Emperor's

85 Martin Mutschlechner, 'Ferdinand III and the Desire for Peace', in *Der Welt der Habsburger*, <<https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/ferdinand-iii-and-desire-peace>> (accessed 28 June 2020).

86 Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Manlio Barberito (Rome, 1994), vol. 1, 289.

87 Antonio Gerardi, *Relatione di quanto è seguito in Germania Circa l'Elettione e Coronation del Re de Romani In persona del Serenissimo Fernidnando III D'Austria Re D'Ungaria e di Bohemia Con Ristretto delle Feste fatte in Roma al Serenissimo Principe Cardinal Di Savoia Protettor di Germania* (Rome, 1637), 6.

88 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 272-73.

89 Cornelio Henrico Motmanno, *Relatione delle feste e fuochi artificciati fatti in segno d'allegrezza per l'elettione e coronatione della maestà, del re de'romani, seguita nella persona di*

supporters went to great lengths to provide spectacular celebrations. Maurizio of Savoy transformed the piazza in front of his palace into a theatre for *apparati*, complete with perspective backgrounds, pictures, statues, emblems, and fireworks.⁹⁰ He also sponsored danced musical celebrations including *balli*, *convitti*, *caccie*, *mascherate*, and machines designed and constructed by Niccolò Tornioli.⁹¹ Cardinal Aldobrandino erected fountains of wine for the people in the Piazza di Spagna, while Cardinal Pio tossed coins amounting to 3,000 scudi out of his window to be caught by onlookers.⁹² These were described at great length by diarists and writers Antonio Gerardi, Theodore Ameyden, Ferrante Corsacci, and many others.⁹³ Theologian Luigi Manzini even wrote to the Duke of Modena, describing the festivities in a lavish book of over 160 pages with eleven engravings showing the most spectacular moments.⁹⁴ One of these included *Il Trionfo*, a 'dialogo in musica' with libretto by Manzini himself and music by a 'Sig. D. Lorenzo Molard', identified as organist and chapel master to Johann Anton von Eggenberg.⁹⁵ The *apparati* included a production of Tasso's *Aminta* with *balletti* complete with *intermedii* of *Amor fuggitivo*. Unfortunately, no music for these festivities survives. We do, however, have a book of lute music printed in Rome in 1638 with a dedication to Johann Anton von Eggenberg, which was written and played by Pierre Gautier, a French composer and lutenist active in Italy in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁶

Perhaps the most intriguing display of political celebration was a machine resembling a castle with fireworks given by the Spanish ambassadors in front of the Palazzo alla Trinità de' Monti, recorded in drawings by Claude Lorrain.⁹⁷ The great castle had four towers, each with a statue representing one of the four known continents. The castle exploded in a shower of fireworks and parted into two pieces, thus revealing at its base the 'King of the Romans' on

Ferdinando III, rè d'Ungheria, e di Bohemia (Rome, 1637). See also Luigi Manzini, *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezione di Ferdinando III al regno de' romani dal ser.mo princ. Maurizio card. di Savoia, descritta al ser.mo Francesco d'Este duca di Modana da D. Luigi Manzini* (Rome, 1637).

90 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 227.

91 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 273.

92 Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 292.

93 Gerardi, *Relatione di quanto è sequito in Germania*; Theodore Ameyden, *Relatione delle feste fatte in Roma per l'elezione del re del romani in persona di Ferdinando III* (Rome, 1637); Ferrante Corsacci, *Relatione delle feste fatte dall'Excellentiss. Sig. Marchese di Castello Rodrigo Ambasciatore della Maestà Cattolica, nella Elezione di Fernando III ré de' Romani all. illmo sig. Giustino Landi* (Rome, 1637).

94 Manzini, *Applausi festivi*.

95 Manzini, *Applausi festivi*, 73; libretto on pp. 74-92.

96 Pierre Gautier, *Oeuvres de Pierre Gautier*, ed. Monique Rollin (Paris, 1984).

97 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 228-29.

horseback as the shower of flames fell behind him.⁹⁸ The Spanish ambassadors may have meant to emphasize that the new Emperor had emerged from the flames much like the mythological phoenix, perhaps a reference to the fact that Ferdinand III had been an unlikely emperor in 1630 when the imperial diet denied him the succession.⁹⁹ Onlookers, however, saw the event in a different light. The Venetian representative said in a jaded tone that the event was 'not well understood'.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, he was correct; as Giacinto Gigli watched the cardboard figure of the king on horseback climb down the base of the sculpture and then up the steps of the Palazzo alla Trinità de' Monti, he wondered if this new king would also be merely a figure in Rome with nothing but the constitution of cardboard.¹⁰¹

Even the civic officials of Rome wanted to join in the celebratory fun of Ferdinand III's election. On 15 February members of the *Conservatori* sent a fiscal report of the Campidoglio's contributions to the festivities.¹⁰² Conspicuously missing from the festivities, however, were the members of the Barberini family. Gigli reports that when the Pope received the *avviso*, he replied that he himself was 'King of the Romans' and had no personal interest in contributing to any further celebrations.¹⁰³

3.4 *Visit to Rome of Imperial Ambassador Prince Johann von Eggenberg, 1638*

Ferdinand III had many diplomatic duties upon his election as Emperor, one of which was to be officially received by the Pope and recognized in his position. The Emperor asked Johann Anton von Eggenberg, son of Hans Ulrich, to complete this mission, instructing him to reach Rome as soon as possible to secure the Papal blessing with the help of Ambassador Scipio Bozzolo and

98 'Aprisi questo Castello per mezzo per la forza de'fuochi, diviso in due parti, e restò un torrione tondo, al quale sendosi similmente dato fuoco, & apertosi ne' lati, si vidde all'improvviso sopra una bellissima base il Re de' Romani à Cavallo armato, illeso affatto da tano fuoco, e fiamme ...' (Ameyden, *Relatione delle feste fatte in Roma*, 20).

99 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 227.

100 Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 228.

101 'Era fabricate una torre Avanti al suo Palazzo alla Trinità de' Monti, da quella torre uscì un cavallo sopra del quale era un huomo di pezza, che rappresentava il novo Re de' Romani, et circondato da una quantità di tedeschi armati, et con molte torcie di cera Bianca accese girò per tutta la piazza della Trinità de' Monti, et in arrivare al Palazzo dell'Ambasciatore, esso Ambasciatore venne a basso in persona con tutta la sua Corte, et con atti, et gesti di molta riverenza ricevè in casa quell'huomo di pezza, che rappresentava il Re de' Romani' (Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 292).

102 Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, 1992), 34-35.

103 Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 292.

Auditor Motmann.¹⁰⁴ If all had gone to plan, a splendid display of power would have taken place in the *entrata* made for Duke Eggenberg, after which the Pope would receive the Duke in a 'public' audience (which included high-ranking cardinals and members of the curia) and then grant him a private audience. The Duke's responsibility was to assure the Pope during these ceremonies that the new Emperor would always remain a loyal Catholic ruler – not a small thing in the midst of the Thirty Years' War. At the end of his stay, the Duke would be entertained by some of the cardinals, namely those aligned politically with Spain and Germany, as a means of showing their esteem for the new Emperor.

Johann Anton von Eggenberg departed Styria on 26 March with an entourage of 200 people including soldiers, noblemen, pages, and musicians. He arrived in Rome on 9 May 1638, entering the city through the gates of the Piazza del Popolo, where he was greeted by Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy as well as Cardinals Borghese and Aldobrandino and Ambassador Bozzolo.¹⁰⁵ Eggenberg found that the preparations for his entry were not to his liking. He knew his entry had to be nothing less than splendid, so he delayed his entrance, going to Naples, where he stayed until the preparations were ready. Meanwhile, diplomatic bickering occurred over how the Pope, the world's spiritual power, should receive the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor, a temporal power. In the end, it was decided that rather than forcing Eggenberg to pay 'obedience' to the Pope on behalf of the Emperor, he would present his 'observance' as a 'reverential attachment'.¹⁰⁶ Eggenberg accepted these terms, but he did not make his formal entry until 18 June. At this point, a month's time had passed, and the Pope had moved to his summer palace of Monte Cavallo on the Quirinale Hill, an unlikely and unprecedented place for a ceremony acknowledging the Holy Roman Emperor's election.

Upon his return to Rome in June, Eggenberg set off for the palace of Monte Cavallo for his public audience with the Pope.¹⁰⁷ In the course of the ceremony, Eggenberg took part in the most important ritual: assisting the Pope in disrobing, receiving the ceremonial vestments, and handing them to a servant.¹⁰⁸ The ceremony, however, did not go as planned, and Eggenberg was insulted as a number of misunderstandings arose. Eggenberg complained about four

104 Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden, 2006), 183.

105 Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 186.

106 RomeAS 69, fol 68r. See also Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 187.

107 VatV 12353, fols. 137r-138v.

108 VatV 12431, fols. 29r-32r. See also Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 187.

specific ceremonial errors.¹⁰⁹ He first noted that no one had informed him that he could remove his gloves during the audience.¹¹⁰ He also complained that before the ceremony began, he was left waiting in the hallway with no one but the butler, rather than being in the company of the cardinals.¹¹¹ Perhaps the most troubling to Eggenberg, however, was that no one helped him stand up when he was kneeling in front of the Pope, and he was then left to stand while the cardinals and other ambassadors were seated.¹¹² To make matters worse, Eggenberg felt slighted by the fact that the Pope kept him waiting for the private ceremony, during which the Pope continuously referred to Emperor Ferdinand III merely as 'king'.¹¹³

After the ceremony, Eggenberg visited the cardinal nephews Francesco and Antonio, and he then returned to the Orsini palace for a banquet given in his honour. His dissatisfaction, however, was evident to a number of onlookers who had come to watch the banquet 'out of curiosity'.¹¹⁴ Some documents even go so far as to mention that Eggenberg felt mistreated because the French Ambassador, the Duke of Créquy, had been received more warmly by the Pope in 1633.¹¹⁵ For the next six months a solution had to be found between Rome and Vienna, and a special committee of cardinals was formed in Rome to help.

The Pope himself may have had issue with Eggenberg's visit beyond just the election of the new Emperor. There was much disagreement in Rome about the Emperor's imprisonment of Philipp Christoph von Sötern, Archbishop of Trier. After the people of Trier complained of the Bishop's strict fiscal policy, corruption, and nepotism, Emperor Ferdinand II sent troops to occupy the city. In 1632, Sötern sought the aid of French troops and retook Trier. In 1634, Trier supported the election of Cardinal Richelieu as Coadjutor Archbishop of Trier, which allowed Richelieu a vote in the imperial election if Sötern were to

109 VatB 5322, fols. 100-109, *Della venuta del Principe d'Ecchembergh Duca di Cremaù delli suoi pensieri operationi, e dimora sisono vedute diverse scritture, e Vigilietti insufficienti sin hora à pascere la curiosita delle sone.*

110 'lo poca termine seco fatto da che gli ricordo il levasti I guanti motive che ti d'orecchia fare all'orecchia quando fosse. Stato vicino ad entrare senta caccaseli' (VatB 5322, fol. 106).

111 'che fosse casciato solo da cardinali e traettenuto da Camerieri un poco avanoi che fosse introdotto' (VatB 5322, fol. 106).

112 'che ingenocchiato non fosse fatto alzare ne datto ghi da sedere come ai Cardinali e come havevono seduto gl'Ambasciatori di Spagna e Francia' (VatB 5322, fol. 106).

113 'Che il Papa troppo per tempo ho lasciasse senza dimandargli cos alcuna dell. Imp.re, altri hanno aggiunto che il Duca non de rimanesse sodisfatto della risposta ... che chiamo Imp. re Rè de Romani' (VatB 5322, fol. 106).

114 RomeAS 69, fol. 35r-v.

115 VatO 2701, fol. 62; RomeAS 69, fol. 90v. See also Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 189.

die. Spanish Habsburg troops retook Trier in 1635, and Sötern, an ally of the Pope, was imprisoned by the Emperor in Linz and was not released until 1645.¹¹⁶

3.5 *The Second entrata of Johann Eggenberg on Behalf of Emperor Ferdinand III*

Johann Anton von Eggenberg's second entry on 7 November 1638 was satisfactorily stupefying to the citizens of Rome, as we learn from a number of surviving sources.¹¹⁷ His procession started at the Villa Giulia, which in seventeenth-century Rome was nearly a mile from the centre of the city. He made his entrance by the arched gate leading to the Piazza dell'Popolo. At the front of the procession were four pages dressed in scarlet robes (see Figure 16.2). Behind them were sixty footmen leading sixty mules, all shod in silver and caparisoned in a multitude of colours with the embroidered coat of arms of the Eggenberg family. The procession continued with twelve servants in scarlet robes with silver brocade and seven trumpeters with silver trumpets, also decorated with the Eggenberg coat of arms. Then came twenty-five of Eggenberg's guard, two regiments of the papal guard, a procession of cardinals, twenty-four pages, and four thoroughbred horses followed by Roman nobles, clergy, and German and Spanish representatives from Rome. There were drummers leading the Pope's own trumpeters and another thirty footmen who led the most honoured participants, Scipio Bozzolo and Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, with Eggenberg himself atop a horse draped in gold with golden horseshoes, accompanied by the Swiss Guard.

The procession made its way from the Piazza dell'Popolo across the Piazza Navona and on towards the Palazzo Ceri, the traditional route taken by ambassadors from Catholic kingdoms to Rome in a special kind of *entrata* known as the *entrata della ambasciata di obbedienza*.¹¹⁸ Along the way, two choruses from the *Collegio Germanico* sang hymns in praise of the 'new Caesar' before

116 For the history of Sötern's rule and the unrest in Trier, see Karlies Abmeier, *Der Trier Kurfürst Philip Christoph von Sötern und der Westfälische Friede* (Münster, 1986). The Archbishop's imprisonment and the consternation it caused the Pope and his curia is discussed in VatO 2701, fols. 100-128v.

117 The most complete description in print can be found in Antonio Gerardi's *Descrittione Della solennissima Entrata*. See also RomeAS 69, fols. 63-69, and VatO 2701, fols. 142-44r.

118 The route for an ambassador was different from an *entrata* that symbolized a triumphal entry (like that for Charles v) because the ambassador was neither the ruler himself nor a military leader celebrating a victory. See Martin Olin, 'Diplomatic Performances and the Applied Arts', in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, eds. Peter Gillgren and Mårten Snickare (Burlington, VT, 2012), 26.

the firing of mortars from Castel Sant'Angelo.¹¹⁹ When Eggenberg reached the Palazzo Ceri near Trevi Fountain, rented for him by Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, trumpeters invited the people to come view the palace's façade, which had been artificially widened to nearly twice its size with paintings by the Bolognese artist Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi celebrating the 'glories of Caesar'. Flanking a central portrait of Ferdinand being crowned by Fame and Victory were depictions of the Catholic conquests at Regensburg and the battle of Nördlingen, two key battles of the Thirty Years' War. Inside the palace, Eggenberg found a 'house fitted beyond words with gold and silver', including tapestries, table coverings, goblets, and serving ware.¹²⁰

On 16 November 1638, Eggenberg made his way to the Vatican, this time in a covered carriage that seemed to be made entirely of gold.¹²¹ It was commissioned by Eggenberg from Giuseppe Fiocchini, a sculptor known for his decorations in gold leaf, and it was originally meant as a gift to the Pope. However, after the papal blessing, the carriage was ceremoniously re-dedicated for Eggenberg to bring back to the Emperor as an act of goodwill.¹²² In 1690, an anonymous historian of the Eggenberg family recalled,

He took upon himself the role of an extraordinary envoy of the Emperor to His Holiness, the Pope Urban VIII, in Rome, which he performed with such grace and lavishness that his mission became famous all over the world. Even the city of Rome, already accustomed to beauty from its pagan days, was never able to forget such majesty, as it had never seen its equal before, and was not likely to ever see it again.¹²³

Indeed, if Eggenberg had failed in making the impression he desired in his first entry, it was believed by those closest to him that his second entry was more than impressive.

119 'Mentre passo S. E. sotto l'Arco del Collegio Germanico, iui erano due chori d'esquisita Musica, che ca[n]torno diversi Mottetti di rara compositione ... elogij in lode di Cesare, per ricevette con istraordinaria Musica' (Gerardi, *Descrittione Della solennissima Entrata*, 7).

120 Olin, 'Diplomatic Performances and the Applied Arts', 29.

121 The carriage can be seen today on display at the Castle of Český Krumlov in the city Český Krumlov in the Czech Republic. Český Krumlov, 'Description of Objects within the Castle', <http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_3nadvori_kocar.xml> (accessed 28 June 2020).

122 Barbara Kaiser, *Schloss Eggenberg* (Vienna, 2006), 55-57.

123 Parchment is on display at Český Krumlov. For more information on the parchment and its discovery, see Český Krumlov, 'Description of Objects within the Castle', <http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_3nadvori_kocar.xml> (accessed 28 June 2020).

The Pope had come to terms with Eggenberg's visit, as he held a grand banquet at the Vatican palace. The giving of a banquet in honour of an ambassador such as Eggenberg was not normal procedure. Peter Rietbergen even proposes that before engaging in the banquet, the Pope washed the feet of the ambassadors, suggesting a Eucharistic tradition.¹²⁴ A choir sang during the entire meal, accompanied by organ. The music included two motets on texts written by the Pope himself.¹²⁵ The first motet was by Filippo Vitali, a composer in the household of Cardinal Antonio Barberini whose works include published books of songs for one or two voices, hymns, and the first 'secular' opera in Rome, *Aretusa* (1620).¹²⁶ The other motet was composed by Stefano Fabri, a Roman composer and *maestro di cappella* at the *Seminario Romano* in 1638-39. Unfortunately, the music for the banquet does not survive.

The next day, 25 November, Eggenberg was invited to another banquet, this one given by Francesco Barberini at the *Cancelleria*. There was a *comedia* of music and ballet created by a 'bel composto' and then a production of *San Bonifatio* with a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and music by Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646), which had been given earlier that year during carnival. The Roman saint Boniface was an appropriate choice of subject since the thirteenth-century church of Sant'Alessio on the Aventine hill in Rome was built as an addition to the fourth-century church of St. Boniface the Martyr.¹²⁷ The opera resembles many Jesuit school plays as it was written for a cast of all boy sopranos performed by students at the *Seminario Vaticano San Pietro*. The original performances during carnival did not include any spectacular scenery or machines; Rospigliosi himself commented that the opera was an 'ordinary thing, without scene changes or apparitions', but he did mention that some scenes contained an element of comedy.¹²⁸ But for the November 1638 performance the Barberini enhanced the opera to include scene changes and backgrounds, as well as a new comic *intermedio*.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 203.

¹²⁵ VatSD 58, fol. 38.

¹²⁶ For more on the career of Filippo Vitali and *Aretusa*, see Saverio Franchi, 'Osservazioni sulla scenografia dei melodrammi romani nella metà del seicento', in *Musica e immagine: Tra iconografia e mondo dell'opera: Studia in onore di Massimo Bogianckino*, ed. Bianca-maria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (Florence, 1993), 151-76.

¹²⁷ Olivia Muratore, Maria Richiello, and Paolo Barbato, *La storia e il restauro del complesso conventuale dei Santi Bonifacio e Alessio all'Aventino* (Rome, 2004).

¹²⁸ 'Ma sarà cosa ordinaria, e senza nissuna mutatione di scena o apparenza... Sarà miscolata con qualche scena burlevoles' (VatV 13363, fol. 1). See also Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor, 1981), 35.

¹²⁹ VatB 6362, *Avvisi di Roma*, 27 November 1638, fol. 634v: 'S. Em.mo Barberino fece loro udire in musica la rappresentatione di S. Bonifatio con mutationi di scene, prospettive,

The opera opens with the lovers Bonifatio and Aglae singing and dancing together, but their life of pleasure is unnerving to the girl. When her lover takes his leave, Penitence arrives and reminds Aglae of the passing of her youth and her days of foolishness. Meanwhile, a comedic captain courting Aglae sends his servant with a message for her, bragging of his military prowess. Bonifatio is then seen telling his servant of his joyful life with Aglae, but Aglae arrives and asks him to go to Tarsus to fight for a year for the Christians. Bonifatio is torn and does not understand her intentions, but he is willing to go. Aglae's household is in an uproar as they believe Aglae is sending Bonifatio to his death, but a guardian angel appears to reassure him. A demon appears to Bonifatio in Tarsus and tries to convince him to return to Aglae and rekindle their love; Bonifatio, however, is steadfast in his resolve, so the demon tempts Aglae to call Bonifatio back to her in Rome. The opera ends with Bonifatio being taken captive by the pagan troops. He refuses to yield and chooses death. His servant returns to Rome and delivers the message to Aglae. The final scene is a ballet of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, who declare their victory.¹³⁰

Again we see the production of an opera that may have had political meanings for a Habsburg ambassador, especially one who had already witnessed *Sant'Alessio*. The November 1638 production of *San Bonifatio* for Eggenberg's visit had been altered to include a prologue that refers to the 'great messenger' (*alto messaggio*) of 'Great Ferdinand ... who with august sceptre rules the world' (*Grand Fernando ... che con augusto scettro il mondo impera*). Eggenberg was addressed thus:

Antonio [Johann Anton], it is you,
 Who with sublime decorations ornaments Krumau
 And softly tells of the glories of the Rhine,
 Who has already by Alessio heard the requests in sweet songs,
 Now listen to the praises of a greater Latin hero.¹³¹

et intermedij bellissimo.' See also Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 291.

130 Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 35-36. The musical score exists in manuscript (VatO 3394).

131 'Antonio è tu, / Che di sublimi fregi orni Cromavia / E pieno rendi di glorie il Reno, / Se già d'Alessio i pregi udisti in dolci canti, / Hor d'alto heroe latino ascota i vanti' (Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 37). This prologue is found in the manuscript score and was published in Vincenzo Bianchi, *Raccolta d'Arie Spirituali* (Rome, 1640). All extant printed *argomenti* of the opera, however, begin with Act I and do not include this prologue.

At the time of Eggenberg's viewing of *San Bonifatio*, the Catholic forces were enduring continuous defeats, especially at Wittstock by Sweden's new commander, Lennart Torstenson, who was thought to be even more cunning and resourceful an enemy than Gustavus Adolphus. But the papacy was also concerned about the recent victories of Duke Bernard of Weimar just a few months earlier, who had been supplied large sums of money by the French and had taken Freiburg, Willenweiler, and Breisach for the Protestant forces. Because of the Empire's loss of Breisach, the Spanish Habsburgs could no longer travel between their possessions in the Netherlands and those in Italy, namely through Milan.¹³² Just as in *Sant'Alessio*, *San Bonifatio* delivers a propagandistic message that one must aspire to be like the saint: willing to hold fast in obedience and faithfulness, even in the face of certain death and martyrdom.

On 30 November 1638, at the end of his Roman tour, Eggenberg was the celebrated guest at a third banquet, given by the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See. As he approached the table, Eggenberg saw an 'astonishing' number of *trionfi* (table decorations) made of clarified butter, marzipan, and sugar paste. Many referred to the Emperor and the King of Spain with emblems found in their coats of arms.¹³³ Other *trionfi*, like the sculpture of Hercules holding a bull on a rope while raising a golden club, were mythological but still significant for the Habsburgs, who traced their lineage to Hercules. Finally, Eggenberg set his eyes on a butter sculpture of 'Religion' holding a bible and a cross, reminding him of the character in the first Barberini opera he witnessed, *Sant'Alessio*, who sings of the importance of devotion to God and the Church before devotion to family. This time, Religion does not appear as a 'deus ex machina' upon a cloud; rather, her role is more diplomatic. Just as in religious artwork of the seventeenth century, she invites Eggenberg and the guests to participate in her 'performance' as they gaze upon her, to follow her commands and trust in her authority.

4 Conclusion

Entrate, by nature, are participatory. They invite the participation of ambassadors and civic and religious Roman leaders, who march together. Onlookers also participate as they watch and cheer the procession and hear the sounds of

¹³² Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Don Ernest Graf, vol. 28 (St. Louis, 1938), 359.

¹³³ The descriptions of the food from this banquet can be found in the archives of the Papal Ministry of Finance: RomeAS 23, *Cerimoniale* 2, and *Bachetti*, 2. See also Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 181–217.

the musicians, those of the imperial Ambassador as well as those of the Pope. The artworks carried or erected along the parade route would have been familiar to and understood by all, both as propagandist history and celebration. This aspect of participation lies at the very centre of a Roman *entrata*. All efforts to create the procession, its music, its art and architecture, and the ensuing celebrations focus on drawing in the participation of those present. For this reason, celebrations for an *entrata* were problematic for the Pope, who wanted to assert his authority while at the same time remain neutral between warring Christian kingdoms.

In each *entrata* made on behalf of the Habsburg Empire, the Pope's attitude was different in terms of his political interest and the diplomacy between Catholic European powers. The *entrata* of Charles V in 1536 was seen as a great success in Rome; although the Emperor may not have been particularly welcome by many of the Romans, Pope Paul III recognized the need to pay homage to his authority through spectacular display. The *entrata* of Johann Anton von Eggenberg in 1638, in contrast, had to be redone to his liking after poor planning – due in no small part to Pope Urban VIII's hesitance to celebrate Emperor Ferdinand III – caused insult in his first entry in June. The second *entrata* was more successful in the eyes of Habsburg allies, but it took nearly two years after the election of Ferdinand III to be completed. Although little survives, music invited participants and onlookers at these events to participate in their political messages. A papal musician praised Emperor Charles V's power in song during his *entrata*, and the operas created by the Barberini family in 1632 and 1638 conveyed propagandistic messages for the Habsburgs' messenger as well as the other high-ranking spectators, each with their own interests for or against those of the Empire.

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Index

Page numbers in italics refer to items in figures, tables, or music examples.

- Aachen 64, 84, 469, 469n4, 575, 582
 Agricola, Alexander 75, 78, 78n74, 79, 350,
 352, 372, 374, 382
alabados 447, 448n26
 Alamire, Petrus 6, 82, 84-85, 136n24, 349,
 349n7, 353-373, 374-376, 376, 379, 380,
 382, 383, 384-385, 386, 389n104
 Albrecht II (Holy Roman Emperor) 581
 Albrecht IV (Duke of Bavaria) 377
 Albrecht V (Duke of Bavaria) 11, 179, 414,
 473, 475-476, 476n28, 594
 Albrecht VI (brother of Emperor Frederick
 III) 22
 Albrecht VII (Archduke of Austria; son of
 Emperor Maximilian II) 12, 152, 236,
 321n51, 519-522, 529, 530, 540
 Alcázar (Madrid) 96-98, 100, 101, 102, 106,
 110, 114, 115, 117, 119, 126, 302
 Aldobrandino, Ippolito (Cardinal) 596, 597,
 599
 Algiers 510, 517
 alternatim 70, 159, 159n132, 163n152, 191,
 507, 527
 Ammon, Blasius 235, 474, 474n22, 477
 Anchieta, Juan de 77
Andachtsmysterien. See Fifteen Mysteries
 Devotion
 Anna of Austria (daughter of Emperor
 Maximilian II, wife of King Philip
 II) 12, 526
 Anna of Bohemia (wife of Emperor
 Ferdinand I) 11, 70, 70n54, 133n11, 150,
 156, 220, 361, 366, 372
 Anne of Austria (daughter of King Philip III,
 wife of King Louis XIII) 13, 41n78
 Antico, Andrea 381, 407
 anthologies, printed 141-143, 146-48, 147,
 160-161, 161n144, 399, 405, 406-420, 421,
 472, 473, 480, 549
 Cantiones selectissimae (1548) 87, 412,
 423-424, 472, 473n17
 Liber quindecim missarum (1516) 381,
 407
 Liber selectarum cantionum (1520) 70-71,
 406-411, 472
 Novum opus musicum (1537, 1538) 409-
 411, 486, 487n65
 Novus thesaurus musicus (1568) 146, 147,
 148-149, 411, 413, 414-415, 423
 Odhecaton (1501) 347
 Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus
 (1615) 182-183, 416-418, 540-541
 Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici
 (1649) 418, 420-421, 510, 529
 Antwerp 72, 349, 354, 355, 359, 452, 504
 Church of Our Lady 355, 357, 358, 359,
 371, 373, 375
 Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap
 (Confraternity of Our Lady) 355, 359,
 371
apparati 511-512, 519, 527, 573, 575, 580, 581,
 597
 Appenzeller, Benedictus 376, 380, 381, 382,
 384
 Appian of Alexandria 511, 573, 575
 Arcadelt, Jacques 316, 383
 Ardemanio, Giovanni Battista 504, 509
 Arthur (son of King Henry VII) 352, 368
 Ascencio, Alonso 459
 Augsburg 20, 31-33, 38, 70, 87-88, 152, 157,
 159n132, 221, 371, 377, 400n13, 406, 408,
 412-413, 423, 468, 470-474, 480, 488,
 489, 490, 584-585, 586, 591
 Aureli, Aurelio 556, 564-565
 d'Avalos, Alfonso (Governor of Milan) 502,
 517-519, 525-526
 Avignon 76
 Badia, Anna Maria 'Lisi' 203, 210-211
 Badia, Carlo Agostino 203, 208, 262, 264
 Baglioni, Girolamo 503
 ballet 167-168, 180, 184, 196, 204, 210, 211,
 243, 256, 258, 259, 261, 263-264, 290,

- ballet (*cont.*)
 330, 331-333, 334-335, 337, 400, 401, 482,
 543, 597, 604, 605,
 Barberini, Antonio 585, 604
 Barberini, Francesco 585, 590, 592, 594,
 596, 604
 Barbireau, Jacobus 368
 Barcelona 84
 Barra, Hottinet 384
 Barreto, Luis 458-459,
basse danse 311, 379n61
 Bassengius, Aegidius 235
 basso continuo 182, 269, 504, 539
 Battle of Lepanto (1571) 116, 584
 Battle of Nördlingen (1634) 39, 483, 587,
 595, 603
 Battle of White Mountain (1620) 37, 191,
 425, 585, 586, 587
 Bauldeweyn, Noel 377
 Bayonne 76
 Belgrade 28
 Benavidez, Don Luigi de (Governor of
 Milan) 523
 Benevoli, Orazio 199
 Bentivoglio, Guido (Cardinal) 592-593
 Bergen op Zoom
 Guild of Our Lady 372, 376
 Berghes, Anthoine de 78
 Berg, Johann vom 146, 480, 487n66
 Berlin 226
 Bertali, Antonio 195, 204-205, 206, 260, 261,
 327, 327n70, 328, 390, 418-422, 469n4,
 483, 485
 Bianco, Baccio del 282, 284n28, 285, 286n28
 Bianco, Pietro Antonio 177-178, 180-181,
 476n31, 477, 538-539
 Binago, Benedetto 504
 Binchois, Gilles 61
 Black Legend. *See* Sack of Rome
 Blanchefort, Charles de (Duke of
 Créqui) 584
 Blas de Castro, Juan 107
 Blois 75
 Bodenstein, Thomas 387
 Bogotá 452
 Bohemia 1, 11-12, 16, 18, 25, 29-31, 33-34,
 36-39, 42-44, 48, 133n11, 135-136, 141, 150,
 167-168, 220-221, 256, 329, 361, 427, 467,
 468n3, 469, 482, 523, 576, 585-586, 587,
 595
 Bologna 86, 206, 266, 277, 510, 519n71, 535,
 578
 Boni, Stefano 535, 556
 Bonmarché, Jean de 111, 384
 Bonometti, Giovanni Battista 182, 416-417,
 541
 Bononcini, Giovanni 208, 262
 Borromeo, Charles 419, 500, 503, 503n16,
 520, 520n79, 527
 Borromeo, Federico 528
 Bourg en Bresse 76
 Bourgeois, Martin 349, 352
 Bouton, Philippe 350, 352
 Bozzolo, Scipio 596, 598-599, 601
 Braconnier, Jean 75, 78
 Brandenburg 32, 40, 469
 Bratislava (Pozsony, Preßburg) 43, 554
 Bredemers, Henry 82, 312-313
 Breslau. *See* Wrocław
 Breuwe, Constans 61
 broadsheets 148n175, 401-402, 415n59
 Bruck, Arnold von 133n9, 136, 139, 141-142,
 411
 Bruges 65, 142, 371
 Brumel, Antoine 374, 382-383
 Bruneau, Wilhelm 224n12, 225, 225n15
 Brussels 82, 199, 201, 208, 226, 321, 349, 371,
 478, 540
 Buchner, Hans 65n34, 475n26
 Buda 30, 46-47, 540
 Buen Retiro (Madrid) 283, 286-287, 301n64
 Buonamente, Giovanni Battista 186, 323,
 329-330
 Busnois, Antoine 61
 Bustamante, Manuel García 291
 Burnacini, Giovanni 535
 Burnacini, Lodovico Ottavio 261-262

 Cabezón, Antonio de 516
 Cabezón, Juan de 516
 Caldara, Antonio 565
 Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 277, 284,
 286n29, 286-289, 293, 299, 301
 Calvinism 31-32, 37-38, 40, 43
 Cambrai 68, 371n42, 476
 Campidoglio (Rome) 580, 598

- Canis, Cornelius 87, 384, 473, 473n17, 480
 Canisius, Peter 27, 594
 cantata 202, 204, 207-208, 212
 cantus firmus 148, 178, 425, 473n19, 489, 518, 582
 canzona 178, 317, 322-329, 521
 canzonetta 161, 162-163, 167, 180, 187, 228, 236, 491, 522, 542-543
 Cappellini, Carlo 204, 206-208
 Carissimi, Giacomo 199, 266-267, 320, 478
 Carpentras 383
 Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome) 577, 603
 Castrillo, count of (Viceroy in Naples) 279, 281-282
 Cathedrals. *See also* Duomo (Milan), St. Stephen's Cathedral (Vienna), St. Vitus Cathedral (Prague) 67, 75, 100, 115-116, 241-242, 297, 299-300, 302, 371n42, 377, 445, 453, 469-470, 473, 486, 500
 of Durango 459
 of Mexico City 443-444, 451-452, 457-459
 of Puebla 452, 457, 459
 of Regensburg 481, 483, 484, 485
 Catherine, Infanta (daughter of King Philip II) 115
 Catherine of Aragon (daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, wife of King Henry VIII) 359-360, 364, 368-369
 Catherine of Austria (daughter of Philip the Fair) 11, 80n83, 361, 366
 Cavalieri, Emilio de' 258
 Cavalli, Francesco 281, 283-284, 554, 557, 561, 564
 Ceballos, Rodrigo de 384
 Cerone, Pietro 121
 Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco 442
 Cervantes, Miguel de 274
 Cesti, Antonio 206-207, 246-247, 247n118, 261, 263-264, 535, 535n4, 551-553, 556-564
 Champion, Nicolas 78, 82-84
chanzoneta 452-455
 Charles I (King of Spain). *See* Charles v (Holy Roman Emperor)
 Charles II (Archduke of Inner Austria) 5, 8, 12, 33, 35, 134, 143, 158, 165n166, 166, 177-180, 212, 233, 240, 315-316, 320, 413-414, 422-423, 473, 476-477, 536-537, 536n7, 594
 Charles II (King of Spain) 3, 5, 13, 41, 103-107, 111, 113-115, 124, 200, 273, 278, 291, 293, 298-299, 301, 443
 Charles IV (King of Spain) 105
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) 5, 8, 11, 21, 25, 27-29, 31-33, 63, 70, 70n54, 74n62, 75, 78-79, 79n79, 80, 80n83, 81, 82-90, 82n84, 109-110, 134, 137, 142, 145, 221, 221n3, 234, 273, 312-313, 352-354, 353n15, 356-357, 359, 361, 362-364, 366, 368-373, 371n42, 374-375, 377, 379, 382, 384-385, 387, 408, 411-412, 441-444, 446, 454, 459, 468, 471-474, 480, 500, 510-512, 513-514, 515, 517-518, 521, 525, 572-583, 578n25, 601n18, 607
 Charles VI (Holy Roman Emperor) 13, 200-201, 209, 268, 298, 564
 Charles VIII (King of France) 311
 Charles Emmanuel I (Duke of Savoy) 115
 Charles, Infante (son of King Philip III) 103
 Charles the Bold (Duke of Burgundy) 59, 61-62, 64, 74, 110
 Chastelain, Charles de 384
 Christian IV (King of Denmark) 38, 586
 Christina of Denmark (daughter of Isabella of Austria) 499, 510, 515
 Christina (Queen of Sweden) 246-248, 296, 552
 Cima, Giovanni Paolo 506, 528
 Clais le Liégeois. *See* Champion, Nicolas
 Claudia Felicitas (daughter of Archduke Ferdinand Charles, wife of Emperor Leopold I) 13, 202, 206, 211, 268, 333n87, 334, 558-559
 Clemens non Papa, Jacob 158-159, 382, 384
 Cleve, Johannes de 143, 178-179, 422, 422n82, 423, 424, 473, 480, 536
 Coello, Claudio 124, 126
 Cologne 469, 490, 574
 colonialism 439-461
comedia nueva 273, 275
 Compère, Loyset 374
 Compiègne 75
 Constance 67-68, 408, 469-470, 472, 475, 475n26, 486-487
 Constantinople 26

- coronations 18, 24n28, 44, 64, 67, 84, 86,
 86nn11, 133, 156nn12, 157, 168, 181, 183-185,
 191, 205, 209, 258-259, 298-299, 329,
 399-402, 403, 408, 408n30, 412, 425,
 468-469, 469n4, 483-485, 484, 576, 578,
 582
 Corpus Christi 62, 246-247, 287, 290, 441,
 460, 485
 Cortes, Hernán 441, 450
 Counter-Reformation 35, 41, 116, 146, 184,
 191, 416, 443, 457, 460, 473, 537
 Courtois, Jean 517
 Craen, Nicolas 384
 Crecquillon, Thomas 158
 Croce, Giovanni 181, 387, 537-538
 Crusades 28, 576-577
 Cusco 444
 Czernin, Humprecht 554-557
- dedications 117, 146, 151, 160-162, 162n147,
 162n152, 164, 166-167, 177, 179, 181-182,
 187-189, 193, 195, 198-199, 225, 227n24,
 231, 235-236, 248, 266, 275n2, 283, 291,
 291n43, 295n51, 320-321, 321n51,
 322-323, 347, 387, 389-390, 405-410,
 408n28, 412-413, 416-417, 416n59,
 418n64, 419-422, 422n80, 424, 424n84,
 426-431, 429n99, 472-474, 474n22, 484,
 489, 506, 507n35, 510n51, 515, 518, 521,
 523, 528, 529, 530, 536-538, 536n7,
 540-541, 546-547, 549-550, 549n65, 553,
 557, 564-565, 572, 583-584, 597, 603
 Defenestration of Prague (1618) 37, 427,
 585-586
 Díaz del Valle, Lázaro 103
 diets, imperial 17, 22, 28, 41, 133, 152, 267,
 400, 468, 469-471, 469n4, 484-485, 598
 of Augsburg (1518) 70, 471
 of Augsburg (1530) 471
 of Augsburg (1547-48) 88, 152, 400n13,
 412, 471
 of Augsburg (1555) 31, 471
 of Augsburg (1559) 423
 of Augsburg (1566) 152, 157
 of Constance (1507) 67, 408, 469, 472
 of Regensburg (1576) 157
 of Regensburg (1594) 235, 469-470, 482
 of Regensburg (1640-41) 484-485
 of Regensburg (1653-54) 194, 247, 485
 of Trier (1512) 149
 Dijon 112
 Divitis, Anthonius 78
 Draghi, Antonio 201n99, 202, 203n106,
 205-208, 211, 261-262, 288-289, 474,
 553-554, 557, 559, 562-565
 Dresden 152, 163, 225, 312n16, 427n95,
 478-479
 Du Fay, Guillaume 76
 Duomo (Milan) 290, 417, 500, 503-505,
 506n31, 507, 511, 514, 515, 517, 519,
 523-528, 529
 Durango 457, 459
 Durón, Sebastián 109, 124, 125,
 Dutch Republic (United Provinces of the
 Netherlands) 33, 460
- Ebner, Wolfgang 196, 331
 Edict of Restitution (1629) 38, 586, 590, 595
 Eggenberg, Hans Ulrich von 584, 586, 588,
 590, 598
 Eggenberg, Johann Anton von 8, 572, 575,
 584, 588, 591, 593, 597-601, 602, 603-607
 Eggenberg, Johann Seyfried von 264
 Eighty Years' War 33, 38
 Eleonora Magdalena (wife of Emperor
 Leopold I) 13, 202, 333n87, 390, 474
 Elisabeth (daughter of Emperor Ferdinand
 I) 12, 411
 Emanuel I (King of Portugal) 11, 350, 350
 engravings 257, 280, 308, 317, 335n93, 397,
 401-402, 403-404, 431, 432, 439, 440, 441,
 483, 484, 523n91, 588, 589, 597
entrata 7-8, 149, 402, 510-525, 513, 514,
 571-607
 Erbach, Christian 488-489
 Ernst (son of Emperor Maximilian II) 12,
 152, 157, 162, 414, 421, 424
 Escalada, Francisco 111
 Escobedo, Bartolomé de 384
 Escorial, El
 Monastery of San Lorenzo 115, 121-122,
 124, 126
 Esquivel Barahona, Juan 275n2, 453
 d'Este, Alphonso (Duke of Ferrara) 414,
 414n54
 d'Este, Ercole II (Duke of Ferrara) 582

exequies. *See* obsequies

Fabri, Stefano 604

Farinelli 105

Faustini, Marco 558, 560-561

Federici, Domenico 556, 562

Felipe Próspero (son of King Philip IV) 279-284

Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Emperor) 4-5, *n*, 23, 25-33, 35, 70*n*54, 80*n*83, 83, 132-134, 133*n*11, 136-144, 136*n*24, 150-152, 156-157, 158*n*128, 161, 163, 166, 168, 177, 220-221, 225*n*15, 361, 366, 372, 385, 410-411, 414, 414*n*54, 421, 423-424, 473-474, 476, 480, 536, 576

Ferdinand II (Archduke of Tuscany) 240, 550

Ferdinand II (Archduke of Tyrol) *n*, 33, 35, 134, 139*n*39, 159*n*132, 161, 163, 220-234, 221*n*5, 228*n*26, 229*n*30, 237-238, 241, 243, 256, 315, 317, 385, 387, 406, 413, 414-415, 423, 430, 477, 536, 536*n*7

Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Emperor) 5, 8, 12, 23, 35-40, 167, 176-177, 180-193, 197, 202, 203*n*107, 212, 255, 258-260, 320-321, 324, 387-388, 402, 416-418, 421, 425-426, 431, 476, 482-483, 537-541, 548, 553, 584-586, 588, 590-591, 594-595, 600

Ferdinand II of Aragon (King of Spain) 3, *n*, 20, 75-77, 83, 443, 577

Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Emperor) 8, 13, 39-42, 44, 176, 189, 190*n*53, 192-199, 194*n*68, 201-202, 203*n*107, 204, 212, 260-261, 264-267, 320, 324, 329, 366*n*32, 388-390, 389*n*104, 401-402, 403, 418-421, 426-431, 429*n*99, 431, 478, 483-484, 520*n*76, 535, 537, 540-541, 545, 547-550, 553, 559, 593, 595-596, 598, 600-601, 603, 605, 607

Ferdinand IV (King of the Romans; son of Emperor Ferdinand III) 13, 41, 44, 198-199, 390, 400, 426, 485, 523

Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante (son of King Philip III) 39, 103, 541

Ferdinand Charles (Archduke of Tyrol) 13, 206-207, 234, 240-241, 242*n*96, 243-249, 263, 535*n*4, 550-552, 558

Fernández, Gaspar 452, 455-456, 459, 551, 553, 582

Ferrara 223, 229, 263, 414, 519

Festa, Costanzo 377, 411*n*41, 582-583

Févin, Antoine de 374, 382

Fifteen Mysteries Devotion (*Andachtsmysterien*) 198, 547-548

Finck, Heinrich 70*n*54, 140-142, 140*n*47, 141*n*48, 167, 475

Florence 66-67, 206, 223, 243, 247-248, 247*n*118, 255-256, 258, 263, 266, 269, 277, 283, 551, 578, 581

Flori, Giorgio 158, 234

Fontaine, Pierre 61

Formellis, Wilhelm 145, 146, 156, 164*n*160

Formschneider, Hieronymus 409, 480, 487-488, 490

Forty Hours' Devotion (*Quarantore*) 107, 290, 527-528

Fosse, Johann de 236

Francis I (King of France) 371*n*42, 544

Franciscan order 222, 227*n*24, 228, 242*n*96, 246, 439, 441-442, 444

Franco, Hernando 453-454, 456-457, 458

Frankfurt am Main 469, 480

Frasso, Mateo 109-110

Frederick III (Holy Roman Emperor) 22, 24, 28, 64-65, 411, 472, 486*n*62, 575, 578, 581

Frederick V (Elector, Palatinate) 22, 37-38, 586

Frederick the Wise (Elector, Saxony) 352, 356-358, 364, 368-370, 370*n*41, 374, 379, 382, 478, 487

Froberger, Johan Jakob 196, 320, 389-390, 492

Fugger (family) 359-360, 366*n*32, 371-372, 412-413, 468, 470, 472, 474

Christoph 474

Hans Jakob 473

Jakob 'the Rich' 470

Philipp Eduard 389*n*104, 474

Raimund the Elder 360, 371-372, 374

funerals. *See* obsequies

Fux, Johann Joseph 196, 262

Gabrieli, Andrea 116, 177, 180, 197, 239, 320, 387, 534, 536-537, 536*n*7

- Gabrieli, Giovanni 180-181, 197, 227, 239, 320, 323, 387, 534, 537-538
- Galán, Cristóbal 111
- Galli, Antonius 145, 146, 158
- Gante, Pedro de. *See* Moere, Peter van der
- Gardano, Antonio 146, 413, 548
- Gascongne, Mathieu 384
- Gatto, Simone 158, 178-179, 476n31, 477, 537
- Gaucquier, Alard du 160-162, 166, 234
- Gelbhaar, Gregor 400
- Gerardi, Antonio 575, 597
- Gerlach (family) 481
- Ghent 82, 85n102, 87, 358, 371
- Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Johannes 374, 382, 384
- Ghizeghem, Hayne van 61
- Giovannelli, Pietro. *See* Joannellus, Petrus
- Gombart, Nicolas 85-87, 86n109, 376, 382, 384, 411, 454, 480, 517
- Gómez de Navas, Juan 111
- Gonzaga, Carlo II (Duke of Mantua) 550
- Gonzaga, Eleonora (wife of Emperor Ferdinand II) 12, 180, 183-186, 186n38, 187, 189, 197-199, 201, 258-259, 320, 402, 426, 483, 484, 539, 541, 543, 546-547, 549, 553
- Gonzaga, Eleonora (wife of Emperor Ferdinand III) 13, 192, 197, 201-206, 261, 264, 267-269, 320, 325, 430, 549n65, 550, 553-555, 559, 564
- Gonzaga, Ferdinando (Duke of Mantua) 187
- Gonzaga, Ferrante (Governor of Milan) 508, 519
- Gonzaga, Vincenzo II (Duke of Mantua) 255, 258, 291-92, 540, 541, 546
- Grave, Cornille de 83
- Graz 4-5, 8, 33, 35-36, 143, 159, 166, 177-183, 188, 223, 258, 263-264, 319, 387-388, 416-417, 473, 476-477, 483, 536-539, 549, 594
- Grenon, Nicolas 61
- Grimani (family) 551-552, 562
- Grimani, Giovanni 551, 556
- Grimani Calergi, Vettor 535, 551-552
- Guatemala 452, 457
- Guerrero, Francisco 90, 383-384, 453
- Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden) 38, 588, 606
- Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan 456
- Hailland, Petrus 145-146, 145
- Hamburg 492
- Haro y Guzmán, Gaspar de. *See* Heliche, Marquis de
- Harrach, Ferdinand Bonaventura 556, 559
- Hassler, Hans Leo 474, 534
- Hèle, George de la 111, 384, 476
- Heliche, Marquis de 278-279, 278n11, 282-284, 286-287, 290, 300-301
- Hellinck, Lupus 376, 382, 384
- Henry VII (King of England) 77, 352, 352n13, 368
- Henry VIII (King of England) 24, 82, 311, 355-356, 358-360, 364, 368-369
- Herben, Rogier 78
- Hermes of Milan 76
- Hernals 42
- Hernández, Juan 458
- Hidalgo, Juan 107, 109, 277, 282, 284, 286-290, 292-293, 302
- Hispañola 443
- Hof (Innsbruck) 220, 223, 231-233, 245
- Hofburg (Vienna) 31, 134-135, 189, 212, 262, 268, 328, 335, 547
- Hofhaimer, Paul 24, 65-66, 65n34, 70, 309, 312, 401, 469n4, 470, 472, 475, 480, 490, 491n79
- Hollander, Christian 386, 477, 491
- Homburger, Paul 483, 483n52
- Hradčany Castle (Prague) 135, 256
- Hungary 1, 4, 11-12, 16-17, 25, 28-30, 32-34, 43-44, 46-47, 70, 135-136, 150, 167, 185, 191, 200, 258, 313, 361-362, 363, 366, 370, 373, 374, 376, 379, 381, 383-384, 387, 425, 431, 467, 523, 576, 590
- Imhoff, Petrus. *See* Alamire, Petrus
- Immaculate Conception 42, 191, 364, 427, 548
- Infantas, Fernando de las 384
- intermedio* 184, 232-233, 256, 263, 269, 281, 290, 516, 520, 522, 524, 541, 597, 604
- Innsbruck 4-5, 26, 65, 132, 134-135, 139, 139n39, 156, 176, 184, 206-207, 211, 220-223, 225-227, 227n24, 228n26, 228n28, 229-231, 233-236, 238-249,

- 240n86, 242n96, 259, 261, 263-264, 290,
317, 328, 477, 477n32, 479, 481, 490-491,
535-536, 550-553, 557-560, 559n98, 562,
565
- Inquisition 443
- Isaac, Heinrich 24, 24n28, 65-69, 72, 76, 80,
87, 312, 312n16, 384, 408, 408n30, 411,
468-473, 475, 478-479-480, 486-490,
486n62, 487n65, 491n79
- Isabella Clara (daughter of King Philip
II) 12, 321, 321n51, 519-522, 530, 550
- Isabella of Austria (daughter of Philip the
Fair) 11, 510
- Isabella of Castile (Queen of Spain) 3, 11,
20, 75-76, 350, 443, 577
- Isabella of Portugal (wife of Emperor Charles
V) 11, 85-86
- Isabel of Valois (wife of King Philip IV) 275,
278
- Istrana, Isabella 230, 230n35
- Ivanovich, Cristoforo 562
- Jachet of Mantua 517
- Janequin, Clément 117, 158, 316, 544
- Jardin, Marbriano du. *See* Orto, Marbriano de
Jesuits. *See* Society of Jesus
- Joannellus, Petrus (Pietro Giovanelli) 146,
147, 414-416
- John III (King of Portugal) 11, 361, 366
- John IV (King of Portugal) 115
- John George (Elector, Saxony) 38
- John Sobieski (King of Poland) 47
- Joseph I (Holy Roman Emperor) 13, 45,
201-202, 208-209, 268-269, 474
- Josquin des Prez 76, 80, 311, 350, 368, 371,
374-375, 377, 382, 384, 406, 472, 478, 486
- Joye, Gilles 61
- Juana of Castile (daughter of Ferdinand and
Isabella, wife of Philip the Fair) 11,
20, 24, 73, 75-79, 82-83, 349, 350
- Juan José of Austria (son of King Philip
IV) 104, 116, 293, 301
- Juan of Castile (son of Ferdinand and
Isabella) 20, 75
- Kerle, Jacobus de 163, 163n159
- Kerll, Johann Caspar 199, 204, 208-209,
469n4, 478, 492
- Kircher, Athanasius 199, 260, 322, 328, 430
- Klingenstein, Bernhard 473
- Komödienhaus* (Innsbruck) 243, 246-247,
550
- Kortrijk 82, 142
- Lambrugo, Giovanni Battista 504
- Lamormaini, Wilhelm 590, 594
- Landi, Stefano 586, 589
- Lang von Wellenburg, Matthäus (Cardinal;
Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg) 377,
408, 470
- La Rue, Pierre de 64, 66, 76-77, 78n74,
79-80, 79n79, 82, 85-86, 312, 350, 352,
364, 368, 372-373, 374-376, 377, 382,
384-385, 411
- Lasso, Orlando di 158, 158n129, 179, 225, 239,
315-316, 387-388, 468, 476-478, 476n28,
476n31, 477n32, 489, 491, 583
- Lebrun, Jean 384
- Lechner, Leonhard 491-492
- Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor) 3-4, 13,
44-49, 176, 195, 199-211, 201n99, 201n101,
247, 247n118, 249, 260-263, 267-268,
287-289, 294n49, 298, 322, 325-326, 330,
330n78, 333, 335-336, 338, 385, 388-390,
401, 421, 469n4, 474, 481, 492, 549n65,
553-560, 564
- Leopold V (Archduke of Tyrol) 12, 184,
237n71, 240-243, 242n96, 263, 550
- Leopold Wilhelm (son of Emperor Ferdinand
II) 13, 199, 199n92, 201-202, 208-209,
265-267, 322, 325, 426, 430, 478, 485,
540, 547
- Lerma 102
- Lestannier, Johannes 87
- Letter of Majesty (1609) 37
- Leuven 72
- Lichtenstein-Castelcorn, Carl (Prince-Bishop
of Olomouc) 332
- Lied 7, 141-142, 161, 167, 226-228, 316, 468,
472-473, 477, 480-481, 485-486, 487n66,
490-492
- Lienas, Juan de 453
- Lille 82, 87
- Lima 6, 273, 277, 296-302, 382, 444
- Literes, Antonio 109
- London 602

- López Capillas, Francisco 453, 459
 Louis II (King of Hungary) 11, 29, 70
 Louis XI (King of France) 59
 Louis XII (King of France) 24
 Louis XIII (King of France) 41n78, 591
 Louis XIV (King of France) 40-41, 45-46, 48, 100, 200, 205, 262, 277, 287, 298
 Ludovisi, Niccolò Albergati 525
 Lully, Jean-Baptiste 205, 330
 Lutheranism 26-27, 31, 35, 37-38, 42-43, 410, 412, 415, 431, 433, 467, 471, 479, 482, 488, 577, 586
 Luther, Martin 26-28, 433, 442, 471, 478-479, 488
 Luython, Carl 140, 154, 156, 158, 164-165, 165n166, 317, 424-425, 473-474, 476
 Lyon 76, 518

 Madrid 48, 96, 103, 116-117, 122, 134, 273-274, 276-278, 282-284, 287-290, 293, 295, 298, 300-302, 301n64, 452, 457-458, 502, 509, 536, 559
 madrigal 116, 160-163, 166, 168-169, 178-182, 187-188, 228, 259, 314, 316, 383n73, 421, 430, 479, 484, 491-492, 504, 521-522, 528, 536-537, 539, 541-547
 Maessins, Pieter 139, 142-143, 146
 Magni, Bartolomeo 546, 548
 Magnificat 78-79, 86, 115, 117, 142, 159, 179, 190-191, 197, 236, 239, 245, 358, 370, 372, 372, 375-376, 380-381, 381, 383, 425, 453-454, 476, 477n132, 479, 502n14, 504-505, 505n25, 538
 Mahu, Stephan 141, 150
 Mainerio, Giorgio 314
 Mainz 469, 490, 492, 587, 590
 Manchicourt, Pierre de 110, 158, 380, 381, 382, 384, 517
 Manetti, Latino Giovenale 579-580
 Mantua 184-187, 223, 242n96, 245n110, 255, 258-259, 263, 265-267, 269, 283, 482, 511, 517, 535, 539-540, 543-544, 544n43, 549n65, 550-551, 553, 555, 591-592
 manuscripts 5-7, 20, 82, 85, 87, 103-104, 121, 136, 136n24, 141, 143, 157, 159, 179, 181, 189-190, 198, 200, 225, 236, 255, 260n14, 261, 266, 277, 284, 284n28, 286, 291, 297, 301, 311, 320, 328-329, 336, 347-392, 347n1, 349n7, 350, 353n16, 355-362, 369n35, 371n42, 374-376, 381, 382n71, 386n86, 389n104, 397, 398n5, 399, 408-409, 451, 453, 478n38, 486n62, 487-489, 492, 534, 537, 541, 587
 Manzini, Luigi 597
 Margaret of Austria (daughter of Maximilian I) 11, 20, 26, 76-77, 79n79, 80, 82n84, 85, 134, 311-312, 352, 352n11, 352n13, 353-354, 355-357, 360-361, 363-364, 368, 373, 379, 379n61, 382, 382n70, 383-385
 Margarita of Austria (daughter of Archduke Charles II, wife of King Philip III) 12, 39, 274, 275n2, 519-523, 520n76, 524, 528, 529, 530
 Margarita Teresa (daughter of King Philip IV, wife of Emperor Leopold I) 13, 45, 202, 207-208, 261, 267, 281n14, 287-289, 333n87, 335, 558, 561-562
 Maria Antonia (daughter of Emperor Leopold I) 269, 293
 Mariana of Austria (daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III, wife of King Philip IV) 13, 278-279, 286, 289, 291, 420, 523-525, 529, 530
 Maria of Bavaria (wife of Archduke Charles II) 12, 35, 177-180, 182, 233, 240, 476, 520n76
 Maria of Spain (daughter of Emperor Charles V, wife of Emperor Maximilian II) 12, 32, 117, 133n11, 134, 234
 Maria of Spain (daughter of King Philip III, wife of Emperor Ferdinand III) 13, 193, 265, 426
 Maria Teresa (daughter of King Philip IV, wife of King Louis XIV) 40-41, 277, 286-287
 Mariensäule (Vienna) 42, 198, 427-428
 Marini, Biagio 321, 321n51, 330, 509-510, 510n51
 Mary I (Queen of England; daughter of King Henry VIII, wife of King Philip II) 12, 525
 Mary, Blessed Virgin 42, 62, 74, 76, 90, 116, 121, 159, 189, 191, 198, 227, 227n24, 241, 368, 355, 364, 370, 370n41, 371, 410-411, 415-416, 419, 427-428, 428n96, 451, 453, 473, 504, 506, 520, 528, 547-548

- Mary of Burgundy (wife of Maximilian I) 3, 11, 22, 59, 64-65
- Mary of Hungary (daughter of Philip the Fair) 11, 25, 29, 70, 313, 362, 363, 366, 370, 373, 374, 376, 379-384, 381, 382n70, 387
- Mary Tudor (daughter of King Henry VII) 368
- Masotti, Giulia 211, 558-559, 561
- mass (musical genre) 7, 45, 61-62, 66, 67, 70, 71, 74, 74n62, 75-79, 82n84, 84, 85n102, 86-87, 89-90, 96, 98-100, 103, 108, 110-114, 114n63, 117, 121-122, 136n24, 146, 149, 151, 157-159, 163, 163n152, 184, 189, 191, 198, 209, 222, 227, 236, 241-242, 246, 279, 299, 312, 350, 353-354, 355-362, 363, 366, 268-372, 374-376, 377, 379-386, 381, 388, 400-401, 407, 420-422, 425, 450, 453-454, 468, 469n4, 470, 475, 476, 476n28, 482-483, 486, 489, 501, 503-505, 507, 515, 521, 528, 538, 547, 573
- cantus firmus mass 425, 489
- parody mass 117, 143, 158-159, 179, 190, 425, 457, 537-538
- Matías, Juan 459
- Matthias (Holy Roman Emperor) 5, 12, 34, 36, 135, 138, 142, 152, 156n112, 162, 162n152, 166-169, 177, 183, 255-256, 258, 387, 491
- Maurizio of Savoy (Cardinal) 592-593, 596-597, 599, 601, 603
- Maximilian I (Duke of Bavaria) 13, 38, 482, 594
- Maximilian I (Holy Roman Emperor) 3, 5, 11, 20, 22-28, 59-72, 60, 67n42, 68n51, 69, 71, 76, 79-80, 84, 133, 137-138, 140, 140n47, 149-150, 212, 220, 308, 310, 310, 312, 338, 349, 350, 352, 352n11, 355-358, 361, 363-364, 365n29, 369-371, 371n45, 373, 376-377, 379, 384-385, 397-399, 397n3, 398n5, 401, 408-409, 411, 468-472, 469n4, 472n13, 474-476, 478-479, 486-488, 490, 581
- Maximilian II (Holy Roman Emperor) 12, 23, 30, 32-36, 87, 117, 133-134, 133n11, 136, 140, 143-146, 145, 148-152, 148n76, 149n79, 153, 154n102, 155-163, 157n122, 158n127, 159n132, 165-168, 226, 234, 234n60, 385-386, 413-415, 413n50, 414n53, 415n59, 421, 423-424, 469, 476, 480, 482n49, 536
- Maximilian III, the *Deutschmeister* (Archduke of Tyrol) 12, 134, 234-241, 234n60, 235n66, 237n71, 238n80, 243, 387, 477, 481
- Mazzocchi, Virgilio 604
- Mechelen 26, 77, 80, 81, 82, 82n84, 155, 160, 349, 364, 384
- Medici (family) 66, 277, 283, 550-551
- Medici, Anna de' (wife of Archduke Ferdinand Charles) 13, 227n24, 206, 244, 246, 248, 430, 550-552, 558
- Medici, Claudia de' (wife of Archduke Leopold V) 12, 240, 263, 550
- Medici, Mattias de' 535, 551
- Melanchthon, Philipp 148
- Melani, Atto 198, 247, 535, 535n4, 551
- Merulo, Claudio 521
- Mexico. *See* New Spain
- Mexico City (Tenochtitlan) 441-444, 449, 451-453, 457-459
- Milan 7, 21, 24, 65, 76, 104, 228, 275n2, 276, 300, 417-420, 419n69, 482, 499-530, 513-514, 529, 575, 606
- Minato, Nicolò 261-262, 557-559, 562-563, 565
- missionaries 296-297, 439, 442, 444, 446, 595
- Moderne, Jacques 142, 518
- Moere, Peter van der (Pedro de Gante) 441, 446, 456
- Mohács 29
- Molinet, Jean (poet) 64n32
- Molinet, Johannes (singer) 82
- Montalto, Francesco Peretti di (Cardinal) 419-420, 529
- Monte, Philippe de 140, 146, 148, 149n79, 155, 158, 160-168, 239, 316, 386, 421-422, 424-425, 474, 476
- Monteverdi, Claudio 182, 184-188, 195, 255-256, 258, 417, 430, 482-483, 534, 536, 540-546, 544n43, 546n54, 548, 549, 553
- Morales, Cristóbal de 383-384, 442, 457
- Moser, Georg 389
- motet 66-67, 72, 78-79, 85-87, 89-90, 103, 115-116, 121, 142-143, 146, 148-149, 148n76,

motet (*cont.*)

- 160-161, 163-165, 167-168, 178, 182-183,
185, 190-191, 196-198, 227, 231, 233,
235-236, 241, 314, 316-317, 350, 355,
357-361, 364, 366, 369-372, 375-376, 379,
381, 383-385, 383n73, 387, 400, 406,
408-414, 411n41, 414n53, 416-431,
416n59, 442, 453-454, 469-473, 476-477,
476n28, 479-481, 483, 483n52, 486, 491,
501-502, 504-507, 517-519, 521, 523-527,
529, 530, 537-540, 547-548, 582-583, 604
Motmann, Cornelius Heinrich 596, 599
Mouton, Jean 374, 377, 382, 384
Munich 38, 135, 159, 179, 209, 230, 315-316,
369-370, 376, 379, 468, 475, 477-478,
480, 485-486, 488-489, 491, 594

Nahuatl language 441, 452-454

Nantermi, Orazio 528

Naples 1, 6, 21, 24, 208, 273-274, 276, 279,
280, 281, 287, 289-293, 295n50, 296,
300-302, 301n64, 565, 576, 578-579, 591,
599

Navas, Juan Francisco de 109

Negri, Cesare 275n2, 520-523, 529, 530

Netherlands 1, 5, 26-27, 33-34, 38, 84, 90,
134-135, 139, 142, 155, 162, 167, 199, 221,
223, 225, 321, 441, 454, 460, 468, 478,
519, 591-592, 595, 606

Neuber, Ulrich 146, 480, 487n66

New Spain 7, 301, 439-461

Nuremberg 146, 210, 236, 338, 359, 361, 371,
409-410, 468, 470-471, 473, 480-481, 484,
486, 487n65, 490-492, 549

Oaxaca 459

Obrecht, Jacob 368, 374, 478

obsequies 62, 76, 82n84, 84, 90, 120, 296,
414n54, 442, 482n49, 500, 525-528

Ocharte, Pedro de 451

Ockeghem, Jean de 76, 372, 374, 382

Oeglin, Erhard 471-472, 490

Olomouc 332, 594

opera 2, 4, 6, 8, 45-46, 48, 105, 180, 184-187,
193, 196, 198, 201n101, 204, 207-212, 220,
231, 244, 246-247, 255-256, 258-269,
273-274, 276-278, 281-296, 288n34,
291n43, 295n50, 295n51, 299, 301-302,

301n64, 329, 331-332, 401, 429, 474, 478,
482, 484-485, 493, 524, 535-536, 543,
547-548, 550-565, 584, 586, 588, 589,
590, 604-607

Alciade 561

Alessandro vincitore di se stesso 552

Andromeda 256, 263

L'Argia 246-247, 552, 557

L'Arianna 185, 255, 543, 547

Celos aun del aire matan 277, 286-290,
292, 300

Il cesare amante 552

Circe 562

La Cleopatra 247, 263, 552

La Dori 247, 263, 552, 558-559, 561

Drama musicum (Ferdinand III) 260n14

L'Europa 263

Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira 556

La finta pazza Licori 186

Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo 278,
284, 285, 286, 288

Il fuoco eterno custodito dalle Vestali 559

La gara 279n14

La gara musicale 185

L'Inganno d'Amore 260, 485

L'Ipemestra 283

Iphide greca 562

Leonida in Tegea 563-564

La magnanimità d'Alessandro 247

Massimo Puppieno 564-565

L'Orfeo 185, 255, 543, 544n43

L'Orontea 207, 247, 552, 561

Il paladino in Roma 48

Il Perseo 263

Phasma Dionysiacum 167-168, 255-257,
258

Il pomo d'oro 45, 207, 261-262, 561

La púrpura de la rosa 277, 286-287, 293,
297, 299-302

Il ratto delle Sabine 211, 559

San Bonifatio 604-606

Sant'Alessio 584-590, 589, 604-606

La schiava fortunata 563

Scipione africano 558

La selva sin amor 276-277

Semirami 561-564

Tessalonica 562

Tito 560-561

La Transformatione di Calisto 259

- Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* 278, 282-284
A un vencido vence Amor, o El Prometeo 208
La Virtù guerriera 564
 Order of the Golden Fleece 61, 84, 104, 519
 oratorio 6, 196, 197, 204, 207-208, 210-211, 261-262, 264-269, 485, 493
L'Amor della Redentione 268
Il Transito di Giuseppe 268
La Vita di Santo Agapito 265
 d'Orléans, Marie-Louise (wife of King Charles II) 41, 293-296
 Orologio, Alessandro 151n87, 163-164, 479
 Orto, Marbriano de 78, 78n74, 82, 350, 352
 Ott, Hans 141, 410-411, 486-487, 487n65, 490
 Ottomans 4, 17, 19-20, 26-32, 35, 46-47, 200, 221, 512, 574, 576, 578, 578n25, 584
 Padovano, Annibale 178-179, 315-316, 320, 536-538
 Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de 457
 Palatinate 31-32, 38
 Palazzo Ducale (Milan) 500, 521-522
 Palazzo Reale (Naples) 291, 294, 301n64, 302
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 140, 160, 189, 236, 239, 266, 383-384, 387-389, 453-454
 Palermo 578
 Pancotti, Antonio 206, 248
 Pandolfi Mealli, Giovanni Antonio 248, 328-329
 Paris 61, 75, 84, 247, 311, 558
 Passau 19, 47, 236, 240, 337, 475n26, 486
 Pastrana, Pedro de 384
 Patiño, Carlos 107, 111, 121, 123
 Payen, Nicolas 86-87, 110, 473, 473n17, 480
 Peace of Augsburg (1555) 20, 31-33, 471, 585-586, 591
 Peace of Prague (1635) 585, 595
 Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) 40, 277-278, 286-287, 302
 Peace of Westphalia (1648) 15, 34, 40
 Pederzuoli, Giovanni Battista 202
 Pellegrini, Vincenzo 417, 527-528
 Perugia 439, 535
 Pest 30, 46, 540
 Petrarch, Francesco 573
 Petreius, Johannes 480
 Petrucci, Ottaviano 78, 347, 363, 389, 392, 420
 Pettau, Johann 235-236, 235n66
 Peutinger, Conrad 408-409, 471-472
 Pfinzing, Ulrich 356, 371
 Philibert II (Duke of Savoy) 11, 76, 352n13
 Philip I (King of Spain). *See* Philip the Fair
 Philip II (King of Spain) 5, 12, 32-34, 84-85, 88, 90, 96-98, 102, 106-107, 110-111, 113-117, 120, 274, 321n51, 363, 373, 375-376, 380, 382-385, 443, 446, 460, 476, 510, 516-517, 521-522, 525-526
 Philip III (King of Spain) 12, 39, 41n78, 103-104, 107, 110, 117, 274, 275n2, 509, 519, 522, 527-528, 529
 Philip IV (King of Spain) 13, 41, 41n78, 99, 103-105, 107, 111-112, 114, 121, 273-275, 277-278, 293, 301, 420, 523, 528
 Philip V (King of Spain) 41, 105, 298-299, 299n61, 302-303
 Philip the Bold (Duke of Burgundy) 59
 Philip the Fair 11, 20, 24, 59n2, 63, 65-67, 68n51, 72-80, 73, 74n62, 82n84, 83, 110, 113, 137, 311-312, 349-350, 350, 352, 354, 355, 363, 371, 373, 382, 384, 411, 411n41, 454
 Philip the Good (Duke of Burgundy) 61, 112
 Picart, Adrian 384
 Piccinini, Filippo 103, 277
Pietas Austriaca 191, 399, 419, 428
 Piéton, Loyset 384
 Pinello di Gherardi, Giovanni Battista 477, 479
 Pipelare, Matthaeus 374, 377
 Piringer, Wolfgang 413-414, 413n51, 414n52, 415n55
 Ploverius, Johannes 413-414, 413n51, 414n52, 415n55
 Plutarch 511, 573, 575, 579
 Poland 7, 47, 135, 140, 223, 259, 411, 467, 571
 Poglietti, Alessandro 204, 208-209, 331, 390
 Pope 8, 18-19, 22, 26, 67, 68, 116-117, 209, 247, 364, 373, 469, 571-572, 577-578, 582-586, 590-591, 593-594, 596, 598-601, 603-604, 607
 Alexander III 575
 Alexander VI 579

Pope (*cont.*)

- Clement VI 86
 Clement VII 510, 517, 577-578, 582, 582n49
 Clement VIII 119
 Clement IX. *See* Rospigliosi, Giulio
 Gregory XIII 595
 Innocent III 582
 Julius II 408, 579
 Julius XIII 595
 Leo X 356-357, 368, 408, 471
 Nicholas V 22
 Paul III 574, 578-579, 583, 607
 Paul IV 31, 119
 Paul V 585
 Pius II 578
 Urban VIII 38, 572, 584-585, 591-596, 603, 607
 Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Melchor (Viceroy in Lima) 298-302, 303n69
 Pozsony. *See* Bratislava
 Pötting, Franz Eusebius 287, 288n34, 331
 Prague 4, 27, 31, 34, 37, 42, 131n3, 132, 135-136, 139, 156, 161, 163-167, 205, 221, 223, 225-226, 225n15, 229n30, 233, 236, 255-256, 257, 259-260, 329, 424, 424n86, 427, 476, 479, 489, 491, 585-586, 587, 590, 594-595
 Prenner, Georg 145, 146
 Preßburg. *See* Bratislava
 prints, music. *See also* anthologies, printed 6-7, 136, 147, 193, 353, 397, 399, 402-433, 405n19, 423, 432, 452, 471, 473, 500, 520
 Priuli, Giovanni 178, 181, 185, 187-188, 323, 417, 482, 538-539, 548
 processions. *See also* *entrata* 68, 184, 220, 222, 231-232, 238, 243, 275, 281-282, 290, 294, 296, 297n57, 298, 308, 332, 388, 402, 427, 439, 445, 448, 460, 485, 507, 511-512, 519, 523-528, 571, 573-576, 581, 584, 601, 602, 606-607
 Protestants 19, 26-27, 29, 31, 33-40, 42-44, 48, 191, 221n3, 369-370, 410, 412, 431, 442, 459, 474, 480, 482-483, 488-489, 537, 584-586, 587, 588, 590-591, 594-595, 606
 Provenziale, Francesco 281-282

Puebla 449, 452, 457, 459

Quarantore. See Forty Hours' Devotion

- Rabelais, François 579-580
 Racholdinger, Elias 241-242
 Rasi, Francesco 185, 255
 Rauch, Andreas 198, 431, 432, 433
 Reformation, Protestant 19, 22, 26, 48, 442, 471, 487, 595
 Regensburg 157, 159, 194, 198, 226, 235, 247-248, 259-260, 267, 469-470, 481-485, 484, 549, 603
 Regnart, Jacob 139n39, 146, 158, 159n132, 160-164, 163n156, 167, 226-228, 226n21, 233, 239, 424n84, 473-474, 477, 479, 481, 491
 Reiner, Ambrosius 242, 245-246
 Reingot, Gilles 78, 82, 86, 374
 Rener, Adam 66n40, 67, 472, 478-479, 487-488
 Renzi, Anna 552, 559n98
 Resinarius, Balthasar 66n40, 479
 Rhau, Georg 479, 488, 488n69
 ricercar 209, 317, 338, 538
 Richafort, Jean 384
 Richter, Ferdinand Tobias 204, 208-209
 Rogier, Philippe 111, 115-116, 118, 118-120, 121
 Rolla, Giorgio 418-421, 419n69, 510, 529
 Rome 8, 18, 20, 22, 26-27, 31, 33, 44, 67-68, 84, 140, 195, 197, 206, 208-209, 242, 247, 264-267, 269, 290, 296, 320, 337, 408, 441, 452-453, 469-470, 478, 511-512, 539, 571-607, 602
 Romero, Mateo 103, 111, 113, 118, 121
 Rospigliosi, Giulio (Pope Clement IX) 586, 596, 604
 Rossetti, Stefano 149, 155, 230-231
 Rovetta, Giovanni 540
 Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico 442
 Rubens, Peter Paul 460
 Rudolph I (Holy Roman Emperor) 18, 25, 49
 Rudolph II (Holy Roman Emperor) 4, 12, 34, 37, 135-136, 143, 148n76, 151n87, 152, 156-157, 157n122, 158n127, 159-169, 159n132, 165n166, 177, 226, 385-387, 402,

- 404, 414, 421-422, 424-425, 424n86, 474,
476, 478-479, 489, 581
Ruffo, Vincenzo 501-502, 518
- sacra rappresentazione* 186
La Maddalena 186, 265
- Sack of Rome (1527) ('Black Legend') 577-
578, 582n49
- Sagredo, Nicolò 557
- Sahagún, Bernardo de 452
- St. Jakob (Innsbruck) 222, 229, 237-238,
238n80
- St. Mark's Basilica (Venice) 119, 178, 181, 228,
475n26, 534, 536-537, 540, 546n54,
553-554, 556, 561, 564, 580
- St. Peter's Basilica (Rome) 573, 580-581
- St. Stephen's Cathedral (Vienna) 158n128,
184, 332
- St. Vitus Cathedral (Prague) 31, 139, 156
- Salazar, Antonio de 456
- Sales, Franz 164, 473, 477, 489
- Salminger, Sigmund 87, 412, 472
- Salve Regina 78-79, 89, 149, 312, 360, 370,
372, 374-375, 383, 416
- Salzburg 19, 241-242, 255-256, 258-259, 263,
333, 337, 408, 475
- Sances, Giovanni Felice 190n53, 195-196,
201n101, 204, 206-207, 210, 261, 390,
418-420, 422, 426-429, 428n96, 547-548
- San Francesco Grande (Milan) 503
- San Gottardo in Corte (Milan) 506-509
- San Jerónimo el Real (Madrid) 120
- San Marco (Venice). *See* St. Mark's Basilica
- Santa Maria della Scala (Milan) 500-507,
502n13, 510, 510n51, 523, 527-528
- Santa Maria presso San Celso (Milan) 503-
504, 520, 525, 528
- Sant'Ambrogio (Vigevano) 500-501, 527
- Santos, Francisco de los 122, 124
- Sartorius, Paul 236, 239, 477, 481
- Saxony 37-38, 221n3, 382, 387, 469-470,
478-479, 487, 490
- Sayve, Lambert de 164, 166-167, 473, 491, 538
- Scarlatti, Alessandro 261n17, 296, 565
- Schloß Ambras (Innsbruck) 223, 231, 317
- Schmalkaldic War 221, 221n3, 412, 471
- Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich 196, 204-205,
210, 261-262, 269, 327-329, 331-336,
335n93, 335n94, 338
- Schönborn, Johann Philipp von 492
- Schottenkirche (Vienna) 140n47, 141, 427
- Schottenstift (Vienna). *See* Schottenkirche
- Schubinger, Augustin 68, 68n51, 76, 150
- Schütz, Heinrich 427, 427n95, 535
- Scribe B 349-353, 350, 363, 372-373, 374-376,
382, 384
- Sega, Orazio 477
- Senfl, Ludwig 66, 72, 141, 376, 408-409,
408n28, 411, 411n41, 469-472, 471n11,
475, 479-480, 486, 487n65, 488-490
- sepolcro* 6, 198, 204, 207, 211, 264-269
- serenata 204, 211, 262
- Sermisy, Claudin de 316, 383-384
- Seville 443, 451
- Sforza, Bianca Maria (wife of Emperor
Maximilian I) 65, 68, 355, 472n13
- Sforza, Francesco II (Duke of Milan) 499-
500, 510
- Sforza, Ludovico (Duke of Milan) 499
- shawm 151-152, 308-309, 311, 316, 318, 446
- 's-Hertogenbosch 355, 361-362, 371
- Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap 355,
362, 371
- siege of Vienna (1683) 47, 200, 202, 209
- Siena 350, 353, 578
- Sigismund II (King of Poland) 411
- Sigismund Franz (Archduke of Tyrol) 207,
220, 240, 247, 249, 263, 559
- Sigoney, Juan de 106, 108
- Sitticus, Marcus (Archbishop of Salz-
burg) 255, 258
- Slatkonja, Georg 67-68, 67n42, 137
- Slavata, Vilem 427
- slavery 28, 443, 458, 588
- Society of Jesus 35, 42, 115, 199, 222, 233,
238-239, 243, 320, 328, 430, 442, 482,
485, 524, 527, 547, 590, 594
- colleges 27, 159, 180, 233-234, 594
- Collegio Germanico* (Rome) 195, 266,
595, 601
- dramas, Jesuit 204, 210, 233-234, 238-239,
244, 604
- soggetto cavato* 178, 473n19

- sonata 188, 210, 222, 248, 320-329, 326,
336-338, 492
- Sopron 43, 185, 258, 431
- Sötern, Philipp Christoph von (Archbishop of
Trier) 600-601
- Spain 1, 3-5, 11-13, 21, 25-26, 29, 32-34, 40-41,
44, 48, 75-79, 80n83, 82-88, 90, 102,
115-116, 118, 124, 133n11, 134, 144-145, 193,
207, 223, 225, 267, 273-303, 275n2, 320,
321n51, 331, 333n87, 335, 350, 350, 352,
353n15, 354, 362-363, 380, 382n70, 420,
426, 442-443, 451, 454, 456-458, 467,
476, 519, 528, 541, 577, 578n25, 585,
591-593, 599, 606
- Spindler, Antonio 427-428
- Stadlmayr, Johann 236-237, 239, 241, 245,
477, 477n32
- Stefanini, Giovanni Battista 502, 504-505
- Stewdlin, Hans 68
- Stivori, Francesco 182, 538
- Straus, Christoph 167
- Straus, Nicolaus 424, 424n86
- Strozzi, Barbara 227n24, 430, 557
- styles, musical 5, 8, 168, 178, 189, 197,
208-209, 212, 337-338, 456, 539, 541, 544
colossal baroque 197
concertato 114-126, 182-183, 196-197, 239,
428, 539, 547n54, 548
concertato alla Romana 197
fabordon 89-90
falsobordone 190
Kaiserstil 322
monody 169, 178, 182, 185-186, 539
polychoral 114-126, 149, 149n79, 164, 167,
178-182, 190, 197, 210, 322, 387-388, 482,
536-539
recitative 124, 182, 186, 188, 208, 259, 262,
269, 276-277, 286n29, 401
stile concitato 188, 544-545
stylus phantasticus 322-323, 328, 336
- Süleyman II (Sultan of Ottoman Empire)
19, 28, 30-32
- Susato, Tielman 142, 314, 349n7
- Sutterin, Cunigonda 203, 210-211
- Szigetvár 32
- Tapissier, Johannes 61
- Techelmann, Franz Matthias 390
- Thérache, Pierrequin de 374
- Thiebault dit Pickart, Adrien 85-86
- Te Deum 70, 85, 90, 142, 149, 198, 222, 279,
282, 371n42, 400, 402, 415, 485, 519, 523,
528
- Tenochtitlan. *See* Mexico City
- Thirty Years' War 37, 39, 44, 46, 136, 180,
183-184, 188, 191, 194, 196, 198, 200, 260,
419-420, 425, 427, 431, 468, 471, 481-482,
492, 537, 545, 571, 574, 583-585, 585n58,
587, 591, 594-595, 599, 603
- Toledo 104, 523
- Torgau 478, 487-488, 488n69
- Torrejón y Velasco, Tomás de 277, 297, 302
- Tosi, Pier Francesco 208
- Tournai 82
- Trautson, Johannes 414, 422-423
- Trier 149, 469, 600-601
- Trent 68, 222
- Tricarico, Giuseppe 205-207, 267, 553-554
- Tritonius, Petrus 471, 472n13
- triumphal entry. *See* *entrata*
- Triumphzug* of Maximilian I 68, 69, 70,
149-150, 308, 310, 398
- Troilo, Mateo 103
- trombone 149-150, 152, 242, 245, 269,
308-309, 311, 315-316, 324, 328, 482, 545
- Tunis 578, 578n25, 583
- Turnhout, Geert van 111, 384
- Tyrol 12, 22, 25-26, 33, 35, 65-66, 76, 134,
139n39, 144, 159n132, 161, 163, 184,
206-207, 220-249, 235n66, 256, 263, 315,
333n87, 385, 387, 406, 413, 415, 423, 430,
477, 481, 489, 529, 550
- Ulhard, Philip 412
- United Provinces of the Netherlands. *See*
Dutch Republic
- Utendal, Alexander 225-227, 387, 479, 481
- Utraquism 30
- Utrecht 371
- Václav (King of Poland and Hungary) 11, 25
- Vado, Juan del 104, 114n63
- Vaet, Jacobus 87, 140, 145, 145, 148n75, 149,
158-160, 167, 239, 414n53, 416n59, 476,
480
- Valadés, Diego 439, 440, 441-442

- Valencia, Martín de 439, 446
 Valenciennes 85, 522
 Valentini, Giovanni 36, 181, 185, 187-188,
 190-194, 197, 208-209, 239, 259, 265,
 323-325, 326, 388, 400, 417, 422, 425,
 478, 483, 538-540, 539n20, 545-546, 548
 Valladolid 117
 van den Hove, Petrus. *See* Alamire, Petrus
 van Reth, Jan 355, 371
 Vasari, Giorgio 574
 Vassily (Grand Duke of Muscovy) 23
 Vecchi, Orfeo 502-505
 Vega, Lope de 277, 298
 Venice 8, 68, 146, 147, 178-179, 181, 187, 195,
 206-208, 211, 236, 261-262, 264, 266,
 269, 290, 294n49, 295n50, 295n51, 320,
 413, 416, 429, 475n26, 516, 529, 534-565,
 575, 578
 Verbonnet. *See* Ghiselin-Verbonnet
 Verdelot, Philippe 384
 Verdina, Pietro 193-194, 197
 Verdugo, Diego 111
 Verona 241-242, 534
 Versailles 46, 49, 298
Via Triumphalis 579-580
 Victoria, Tomás Luis de 117, 389
 Vienna 5, 18-19, 25-28, 30-31, 34, 38, 40-42,
 44-49, 60, 67, 69, 70, 104, 122, 131-132,
 134-135, 141, 144, 153, 160n136, 180-181,
 183-192, 194-195, 194n70, 197-198,
 200-202, 205-212, 223, 225n15, 226, 249,
 255, 258-259, 261-268, 284, 287-289,
 294n49, 310, 327, 331-333, 336, 351,
 366n32, 367, 387-388, 391, 414n54, 420,
 427, 429, 432, 475, 475n26, 276n28, 478,
 491, 510, 517, 535-536, 539-548, 544n43,
 549n62, 550-551, 553-565, 590, 600
 vihuela 89n127, 103, 108, 297, 313, 516
 villancico 103, 110, 114-115, 114n63, 121, 288,
 452, 455, 457-458
 villanelle 161, 179
 Vitali, Filippo 604
 Vincenti, Giacomo 416, 529, 541
 Vinders, Jheronimus 384
 viol 102-107, 152, 166, 168, 203, 210, 244, 269,
 312-313, 313n19, 316, 325, 336, 508-509,
 545
 viola da gamba. *See* viol
 violin 89, 122-124, 125, 133n11, 154, 166n169,
 186, 195-196, 201, 203, 205, 210, 230, 240,
 242, 244, 244n107, 245, 248, 269,
 324-325, 328-329, 333, 336, 481, 492,
 509, 509n45, 529, 542
 Vismarri, Fillipo 203, 206-208, 210
 Vivanco, Sebastián de 453
 Viviani, Antonio Maria 206, 208, 248, 263
 Wallenstein, Albrecht von 38-39
 Walter, Johann 479, 488, 488n69
 War of the Spanish Succession 41, 200, 298,
 443
 Weerbeke, Gaspar van 78-79, 352
 Welser (family) 468, 470
 Philippine (wife of Archduke Ferdinand
 11) 11, 221, 223, 232, 317-318
 Werrecore, Hermann Matthias 507, 517-518,
 526
 Wert, Giaches de 508
 Wilhelm IV (Duke of Bavaria) 360, 369-370,
 377, 379, 475, 488
 Wilhelm V (Duke of Bavaria) 12, 315,
 475-476, 594
 Willaert, Adrian 382
 Wittenberg 478-479, 487-488
 Władysław IV (King of Poland) 13, 259
 Wolfenbüttel 378, 491
 woodcuts 64n31, 68, 69, 70, 71, 308, 310, 317,
 319, 397-398, 401, 407, 407n25, 409,
 413-415, 422, 473n19, 512, 513-514
 Wrocław (Breslau) 151, 165n166, 402, 404,
 489, 594
 Young, William 248, 328, 330
 Zacconi, Lodovico 477
 Zanotti, Camillo 163, 165
 Zaragoza 115
zarzuela 109, 273-274, 276, 284, 286, 301
 Zeno, Apostolo 557, 565
 Ziani, Marc'Antonio 208, 262, 294n49, 555,
 563-565
 Ziani, Pietro Andrea 205-207, 261, 295n50,
 324, 554-556, 559-561, 563, 565
 Zumárraga, Juan de (Bishop) 443, 451
 Zumaya, Manuel de 456, 459